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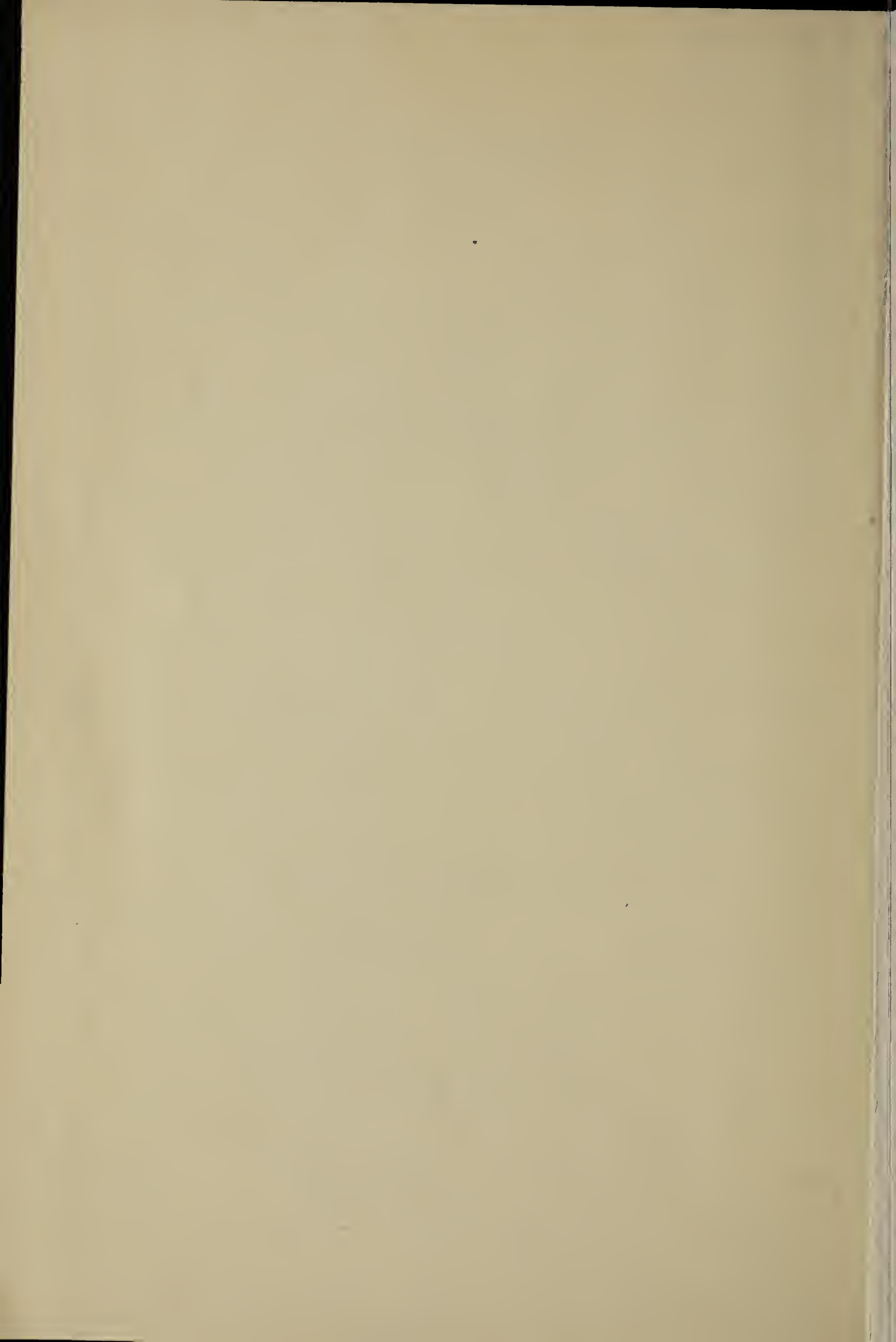
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History of Old Broad Bay and Waldoboro

VOLUME I

THE COLONIAL AND FEDERAL PERIODS

VOLUME II

THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES



History of Old Broad Bay and Waldoboro

by

JASPER JACOB STAHL

VOLUME TWO

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries



The Bond Wheelwright Company
Portland, Maine

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HISTORY OF OLD BROAD BAY AND WALDOBORO

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GREAT INDUSTRY

*God performed no miracle on New England soil.
He gave the sea. Stark necessity made seamen of
would-be planters.*

SAMUEL E. MORISON

THE SETTLEMENT AT OLD BROAD BAY was in its beginnings an isolated community. Vast stretches of forest blocked its contact westward with a settled world. Not until the period of the Revolution did the first man make his way through on horseback to Boston, and another century was to elapse before overland transportation of goods became a reality. There was only one way out, the sea. In this simple economic and geographic fact rested from the beginning the germ of the town's greatest days. The early settlers had seen the fleet of coasters coming for their cordwood and lumber; the Province sloops bringing supplies during the long years of war; the sea itself feeding them in the dark days when other sources of food failed.

No sooner were the hard days past when the more thrifty and imaginative of the settlers began to wonder why their transportation and trade should be an exclusive source of revenue for outsiders. Already there was everything at hand for the creation of a great industry. First there was the need, growing, imperative, and inviting; secondly there were unlimited sources of oak, spruce, and pine stretching back from the coast and river into a great virgin timberland of seemingly unending forest; there was also a population, toughened and resolute, seasoned by decades of struggle, in whom courage functioned and vitality welled with a pristine freshness. The making of ships and the sailing of ships was a simple and inevitable development.

A complete story of the beginning of this industry and its development in the eighteenth century will never be written. Much of the evidence has disappeared forever. The records of our own Custom House were destroyed in the great Waldoborough fires, as were those of Falmouth, our nearest port of registry prior to 1784 when the Wiscasset Custom House was established. Conse-

quently the story of the building, manning, and sailing of the early vessels can only be pieced out from those scraps of evidence which have outlasted the destroying hand of time.

Shipbuilding in Waldoborough was definitely begun by the Germans. The period from 1760 to 1770 had been one of expansion and increasing economic well-being among the more aggressive of these people. Some of the more thrifty, such as John Ulmer, Charles Leissner, Andrew Schenck, and Puritan Colonel William Farnsworth had become small-scale capitalists with an eye ever on the alert for the main chance, and in ships there was one right at hand. Among the original settlers there were many carpenters, William Wagner, Fred Kinsel, John Kinsel, John Genthner, Andrew Waltz, George Heavener, and others. There were also blacksmiths for the iron work, Joseph Weber, John George Gross, Willibaldus Castner, and a goodly number more. The carpenters, to be sure, were housewrights, but for nearly thirty years they had been building small boats for local use and thereby had mastered some of the basic knowledge and experience of shipbuilding. Consequently the groundwork for this industry was laid early in the simple needs of the settlers.

The first known ship to be built was a rather ambitious effort, a brig of one hundred and fifty tons, which leads to the belief that she had a number of smaller predecessors, which had provided the initial school of Waldoborough shipbuilding. This ship bore an un-German name, *Yankee Hero*, and her construction in the town is based on incontestable evidence, since it was provided by a contemporary, Joseph Ludwig, and passed on by him to Cyrus Eaton of Warren.¹ The builder was John Ulmer, senior or junior, more probably the latter as he later was actively engaged in this industry in Rockland. The workmen were local men and the master workman was James Hall who later lived on the Embree farm in Nobleborough near the Waldoborough line. The site of this first major shipyard was in all probability the old Clark yard just north of Alfred Storer's lumberyard. This lot came into the possession of the Ulmer family on February 2, 1767, and while there is no direct proof that the family began its shipbuilding here, it seems a highly plausible assumption that they would do the building on their own land. Since the *Yankee Hero* was built in 1771, and since it is highly probable that she had her predecessors, it may with some reason be assumed that shipbuilding in the town started in the late 1760's, some time perhaps after 1767.

It seems probable that other vessels followed the *Yankee Hero* from the Ulmer yard, even though direct proof is lacking. It is very difficult to avoid the conclusion that another famous

¹Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 148.

little ship, the *Broad Bay*, was built here before the Revolution and probably in the Ulmer yard. She was a "topsail schooner" and bore the name of the settlement on the Medomak, which would seem to indicate her construction before 1773, the year in which Broad Bay became Waldoborough. This little vessel became historic because of her role in the Revolution. About nine o'clock of the evening of September 18, 1775, a fleet of eleven small vessels weighed anchor at Newburyport and put to sea. These little boats carried Benedict Arnold's Quebec Expedition — the *Broad Bay* serving as flagship and carrying the person of Arnold to Fort Western on the Kennebec. In some of the journals of Arnold's captains she is referred to as "the Broad Bay schooner," which would seem to point to her place of origin.² It is not probable that this infant industry in the town continued to develop through the war, since commerce was brought to a standstill by the British blockade of the coast, and under these circumstances shipbuilding everywhere in New England came to a halt. Before the war about one hundred and twenty-five vessels had been built annually in Massachusetts which included the District of Maine, but by the close of the war this output had declined to fifteen or twenty vessels.³

The Revolution, however, did not interrupt the Puritan influx from the shores of Massachusetts Bay and elsewhere. Among the newcomers there were a considerable number of ship carpenters, blacksmiths, ship captains, and shipbuilders which continually swelled the number, right down to the end of the century, of those versed in naval architecture and navigation. These shipwrights included Abijah Waterman, Ezekiel Barnard, Jacob Stetson, Abel Nash, Cornelius Turner, Jr., and Thomas Willet, "the mast maker." Among the blacksmiths were Levi and Abner Keen, Church Nash, and Caleb Howard. There were sufficient captains to make the whole community ship-minded: Charles Samson, Senior and Junior, Solomon Hewett of Scituate, David Vinal, Jonathan Sprague of Marshfield, Cornelius Turner of Bristol, and Stephen Andrews. Among the Germans who turned early to the sea were captains George D. Smouse, Peter Hilt, John Hilt, John Francis Miller, Joseph Miller, George Leisner, and Andrew Schenck. Briggs Turner, Cornelius Turner, and William Sproul were already shipbuilders of experience when they settled here. By these many new accessions to the town the groundwork was strengthened for a quick resumption of the industry as soon as economic conditions might create a demand for ships.

²For more detailed references to the *Broad Bay*, see Chap. XXI.

³Samuel E. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, p. 34.

There was no immediate revival of commerce and shipbuilding following the Revolution. In the years 1785 and 1786 shipping lists reveal few entries other than those made by small vessels engaged in the coasting trade. Waldoborough, however, was bent on handling its trade in its own bottoms, and the movement for vessels began even before the return of settled conditions of peace, and despite the fact that foreign trade was cut off in the old triangle of Europe, the West Indies, and New England. In 1784 Squire Thomas purchased one half of the sloop *Warren*, built by Moses Copeland on his own shore in that town, and the next year a brig was built for Mr. Thomas in the Copeland yard.⁴

A ship of this type would indicate that the Squire was venturing back into the West Indian trade. In these days he provided the outlet for the produce of this area. To his warehouses on the Slaigo inlet there came from the sea, the town, and the deep back-country, dry fish, candles, soap, lumber, shingles, hoops, shooks, and any other products the countryside might produce in hand-craft industries. Mr. Thomas was sometimes the purchaser of such commodities and sometimes the agent. In either case the captain of the vessel would dispose of his cargo at the best price possible in a foreign market, would exercise his own judgment in purchasing a cargo either for a return trip or to some other foreign port. If it were a trip to the West Indies, he might ship a new cargo there for Liverpool or London and then return to the river here with a load of English manufactured goods for the local market. In such a case, people over a wide area would pay an early visit to the Squire's stores for purposes of trade and barter.

This foreign trade as well as the great demand for lumber and cordwood in the more heavily populated districts of southern New England served as a stimulus to the shipbuilding industry in these years. Unfortunately the record of such building is most scant, for the vessels may have been registered in any district between Machias and Philadelphia, and in many of these custom-houses the papers have long since been destroyed in fires, as is the case with our own early records and, most important for early shipbuilding, those of Falmouth which were lost in the great Portland fire of 1866. The registry of Beverly and Salem do show, however, that construction was going on in Waldoborough at least as early as 1787, when the brigantine *Success* was built here, by whom is not known, but possibly by Cornelius Turner. Indirectly it is known that he was building vessels in these years, through a lawsuit with Doctor Dodge of Thomaston who had contracted to have Turner build him a lime-carrier.⁵

⁴Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed., p. 229.

⁵See Chap. XIX, Section on the Turner Family.

Captain Turner's original purchase of a homestead site in Waldoborough was Lot No. 15, the original Jacob Achorn lot which embraced a part of the farm of the late Rodney Creamer. Here near the rock where Thomas Creamer built boats for so many years and where Light's Ferry used to shuttle across the Medomak in early days, the channel makes in close to the western shore and here on his own property Captain Turner in all probability had his yard and built vessels through the 1780's and the 1790's.

In the 1780's new trade routes were opened up which indirectly were to affect most vitally the shipbuilding industry in New England, as well as its local economy and standard of living. In 1784 the New York ship *Empress of China* reached the land whose name she bore. In May 1787 the Salem ship *Grand Turk* arrived in her home port from the Orient with a cargo netting her owners enormous profits. In the same year John Brown of Providence sent the *General Washington* to the East Indies and in eighteen months she was back in her home port with a cargo valued at \$100,000. At about this same time the fur trade of the great Pacific Northwest was opened up, which provided New England ships with cargoes which they could exchange for the riches of China such as silks, chinaware, teas, and spices. This was the beginning of the great days of American sails. By 1792 the Boston-Northwest-Canton-Boston route was soundly established, and more and more ships became engaged in its traffic. This development affected the economy of all New England coastal centers including the port of Waldoborough, for Boston and Salem became distributing centers for the products of the Orient and these began creeping into local markets via the active coastal trade. Of the greatest effect perhaps on American shipping was a Federal tariff in 1789, giving protection to American shipping against the competition of foreign carriers. The effect of this move was felt immediately and the proportion of American vessels in foreign trade rose from 123,000 tons in 1789 to 576,000 tons in 1796. New England as the main shipping center of the country received its share in this growth and entered on its period of maritime supremacy.

The effect of this new prosperity was felt first of all in the New England coastal towns, and the fishing and the coasting trade especially received a new spur as the distributors of the cargoes brought in the great ships from the Orient to Salem and Boston. Shipbuilding at Waldoborough, at a low ebb in the eighties, increased markedly in the 1790's, although the scanty records render an exact appraisal of its growth a hopeless task. The following data gathered from all known and extant sources furnish perhaps as

complete a record of vessels built at Waldoborough as is now possible to compile:

VESSEL	BUILDER	DATE	RIG
<i>Success</i> *	Cornelius Turner (?)	1787	Brigantine
<i>Neptune</i> **	Unknown	1793	Schooner
<i>Sally</i> **	Unknown	1793	Sloop
<i>Betsey</i> **	Unknown	1794	Sloop
<i>Elizabeth</i> **	Unknown	1794	Schooner
<i>Mary & Sally</i> **	Unknown	1794	Sloop
<i>Petersburg Packet</i> **	Cornelius Turner	1794	Schooner
<i>Polly</i> **	Unknown	1795	Sloop

VESSEL	TON- NAGE	MASTER	OWNER
<i>Success</i> *	96	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Neptune</i> **	115	Chas. Ewell	Thomas McGuyer
<i>Sally</i> **	80	Chas. Samson	Chas. Samson, Sr. & Jr. Thomas Moore, Boston
<i>Betsey</i> **	72	Geo. Leissner	Peter Sidelinger Robert Turner & Fred Creamer
<i>Elizabeth</i> **	32	Eph. Davis	Andrew & Anthony Hoffses
<i>Mary & Sally</i> **	57	John Ulmer	John Ulmer
<i>Petersburg Packet</i> **	68	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Polly</i> **	47	Malachi Ewell	Joseph Ludwig Peter Light

*Salem and Beverly Registers, Hist. Colls. (Essex Institute), XXXIX, 185.

**Wiscasset Registry, Me. Hist. Soc. (Portland, Me.), Vol. I.

These vessels were all small. They were one and two masters and were largely engaged in the coasting and West Indian trade, although one should not infer the limits of cruising range from the size, for these little ships wandered in distant places. In 1783 the fifty-five-ton Hingham sloop *Harriet* started for the Orient and meeting at the Cape of Good Hope a British East Indiaman made a profitable trade on cargo and returned. Nor can one infer the full scope of the industry from the meager list here given, for it is known that Caleb Turner was a shipowner, William Sproul an owner, master, and builder, and John and Joshua Head were likewise owners and backers of the local industry. Waldoborough carpenters also worked occasionally in the neighboring towns. When James Head built the brig *Neptune* in Warren in 1796 he secured the services of Ezekiel and John Barnard and Jonathan Harriman from this town. The industry locally was feeling its way along, acquiring skill and experience on smaller ships, and a body of workmen were coming into being fully trained to essay the task of big ships in the great days ahead. In these early years the master carpenters were uncannily clever in building the small vessels.

They laid their lines and trued their frames by the eye and imparted their skill to scores of fellow carpenters and young apprentices.

The trade upon which the wealth of New England was founded — the great fortunes of Boston and Salem families, the homes of Newburyport and Portsmouth furnishing some of the finest examples of domestic architecture in America — was the West Coast and China trade. In these early years Waldoborough shipbuilding had not yet reached a stature where it was building bottoms for this distant traffic. The Atlantic seaboard, the West Indies, and Europe formed the eastern shipping triangle in which Waldoborough ships were engaged. Following a promising start after the Revolution a new European struggle broke out, with its inevitable and disconcerting effect on New England's West Indian trade, and through it on shipbuilding.

Economically the colonies had always been an integral part of the European order. Independence did not modify this status, and the new American state remained enmeshed in the European system in a score of ways — a system which embraced all the world that America had any connections with except the Northwest and China trade. Our local vessels faced Spain in Florida and South America, and the Swedish, Danish, English, and French in the West Indies, while north of the border and west of the Alleghenies it was British trade again. In fact, every outlet of trade was integrated with the European system and suffered or prospered according to the peace or war status of the Old World. By 1793 the war in Europe growing out of the French Revolution had become general, and as far as commercial policy was concerned this condition applied to the dependencies of England and France in the West Indies.

With the advent of this struggle between France and England, the former country, impelled by its economic need, opened its West Indian ports to neutral trade. England at the same time, moving toward conquest of the French possessions, issued orders for the capture of all American and neutral ships engaged in trade with the French, and in order to profit from neutral trade relaxed restrictions on her own West Indian ports. The French promptly countered with decrees authorizing the seizure of neutral vessels under certain conditions and their dispatch as prizes to French ports. In 1790, 101,000 out of 167,000 tons of shipping to America from the West Indies came from French ports. Thus it was that the New England-West Indian trade was caught between the hammer and the anvil of European strife. During this decade about seventeen hundred American vessels of light tonnage representing an average value of \$9,000.00 each were captured by the French, and fully two thirds of these prizes with their cargoes were con-

demned. New England suffered heavily and Waldoborough shared in these losses. One Waldoborough built vessel which eventually escaped was the ship *Hibernia* owned by Edward Kavanauh, Matthias Cottrell, and James Smithwick of Newcastle. She was captured by the privateer *La Jeune Créole* in the straits of Guadalupe and eventually released by order of the French Court of Commerce, which reprimanded the master of the privateer "and constrained him in all ways from doing further damage."⁶

The English likewise subjected American commerce to seizure. By 1798 such a policy on the part of both belligerents together with the search of ships by the British and the impressment of American seamen into the British naval service had become unbearable. In consequence in April of this year Congress at last acted by creating an American Navy and authorizing American merchant ships to arm, to repel by force any attack upon them by the French, and to effect the seizure of any American ships that might have been captured by the enemy. Thus it was that the decade ended with a state of unacknowledged war with France in West Indian waters with its widespread effect on New England economy.

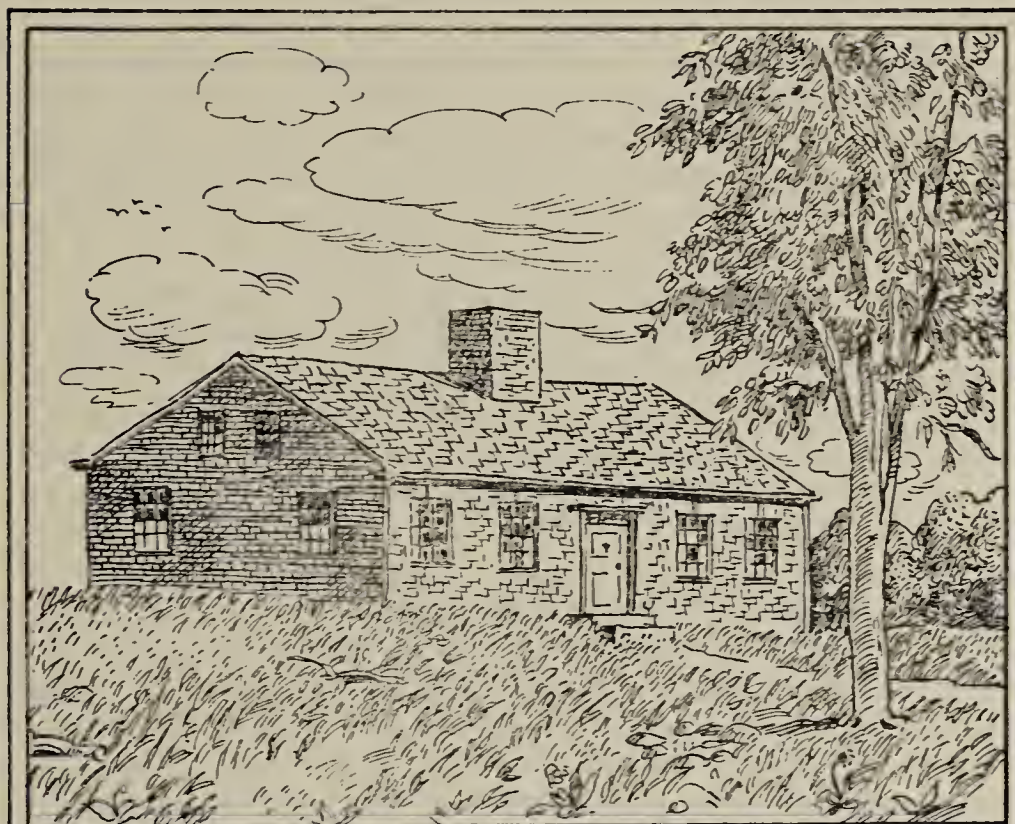
Against this background of uncertainty and loss, Waldoborough shipping and shipbuilding carried on in the last decade of the century. Squire Thomas continued business with more emphasis on coastal and European commerce, while the local West Indian trade became the monopoly of a younger and more venturesome spirit from the upper waters of the Medomak, Captain George Demuth Smouse.⁷ Captain Smouse seems to have been the grandson of George Smouse, one of the glass workers brought from Germany to Braintree by Joseph Crellius in 1751 or 1752. A son, George Smouse, apparently came to Broad Bay with others of this migration and was a soldier in the St. George company in the French and Indian War. His son, George Demuth Smouse, was born during the course of this struggle in 1759, possibly in the Mill Garrison.

The original Smouse lot was on the west bank of the river, about one half mile above the Great Falls, the lot now occupied by George Holden. Here in the field across the road from the Holden house is located the old Smouse and neighborhood cemetery. Here young Smouse spent his boyhood amid hard frontier conditions, as the Smouses at this time were as poor as everybody else. How he achieved his rise from poverty is not a matter of entire certainty. There is ground for believing that he took to the sea while a boy in his teens and as a privateersman in the latter years of the

⁶Document in possession of Ruel Eugley, Waldoboro, Me.

⁷Original German spelling, Schmaus.

Revolution accumulated enough prize money to establish himself as a maritime trader. In this role he contracted for ships with local shipbuilders, sailed them, had them sailed for him, conducted a store and buying agency in Waldoborough, had his agents in the principal ports along the Atlantic seaboard and in the West Indies,



THE OLD SMOUSE HOUSE,
Residence of Capt. George D. SMOUSE

By tradition the first frame house in the town
possibly built by David Holzapfel, Circa 1769.

and moved continuously from one point to another personally supervising his business dealings.

It is not clear just when Smouse started to engage in the West Indian trade, but from 1795 he emerges in the documents as operating on an extensive scale. Prior to this time it is probable that he started trade in a single vessel under his own command. John Paine was engaged in building ships for Smouse by 1797. In this year articles between Paine and Smouse show the former

constructing a schooner at Broad Cove under Smouse's direction. Paine did the building and Smouse contracted "to furnish and deliver at Freeman's landing, Waldoborough all the timber, planks, masts, spars and trenails." Smouse was to pay \$13.17 for each ton. The building was started in April and the vessel delivered August 30, 1797. The one hundred and twenty-six tons, carpenter's measurement, cost Smouse a total of \$1659.42 for construction.⁸

Among the ships owned or partly owned and engaging in this trade under Smouse's direction were the schooners *Lucy*, *Bien*, *Dart*, *Friendship*, *Bartholomew*, *West*, and the sloop *Rover*. His network of agents embraced his uncle, George Demuth, at Waldoborough, Gorham Parsons in Boston, B. Eyries & Co., in Martinique, Dr. Francisco Ravigo in Trinidad. Smouse when in the West Indies seems to have made his headquarters in Orinoco. He traded in everything the Indies would buy and accepted everything in return that was salable in American ports. Like Waterman Thomas he purchased his Waldoborough cargoes from the whole countryside. In a cargo made up at Waldoborough in 1803, he bought lumber from thirty-two different individuals, and red oak staves from eight. This material was cut and fabricated during the winter, and strings of ox sleds transported it over the snows from the deep back-country to the docks at the head of tide for loading during the ice-clear season. Broad Cove too was a shipping center as well as the scene of shipbuilding, for here cargoes could be discharged and loaded when the upper reaches of the river were closed by ice. On this trip Captain Smouse among other commodities brought back to Boston "1843 gallons of rum and 1250 gallons of molasses," a cargo valued at \$10,184.10. On another trip he took out from Waldoborough 14,339 staves sawed out at local mills and 58,395 feet of lumber. Among his local ship captains were John Light, David Bryant, Captain Howard, and Captain Thomas Burns.

One may wonder how Captain Smouse was able to carry on his trade in these troubled years on seas where vessels were continuously preyed on by British and French warships, by privateers, and Spanish picaroons. But it is known that he did carry on even though such evidence as has been preserved does not reveal the whole story of his enterprises. His ships after authorization from Congress went armed, probably fighting where they had to and outsailing where they could. But in the available data there are bare references to this romantic and exciting phase, and it may be inferred only from casual entries of the Captain as in the two following, excerpted from his papers: "What may come out of the

⁸These data are drawn from the Reed-Smouse papers now in the possession of Mrs. Warren Weston Creamer and Carroll T. Cooney, Jr., of Waldoboro, and Dr. Wm. H. Hahn of Friendship.

rum, guns . . . of the Rover sleep [sloop] which she left in Neves and St. Thomas cost me \$5298.00." Here the reference is to guns. In the following a possible loss by seizure is suggested: "Profit or loss of the sleep Rover, my half share \$529.00." This "loss" may have been incurred in the sale of the cargo, but it is more likely that it came about through loss of the sloop, possibly through seizure.

In order to complete the picture of Captain Smouse's activities and of the economic life in the town at the end of the century, there follow a few miscellaneous entries from his papers, which offer glimpses of his ships in Waldoborough and West Indian ports, of his methods, and of his losses and profits:

\$50.00 for piloting the schooner, Dart, Capt. Howard to Oronoco; cash paid first voige in the Bien for grass for cattle or muls \$48.00. My profit of selling $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Bean [Bien] to Ravage for the first voige I went to St. Croix with the Been to fit out, \$425.00. My principal put into the Weste and cargo first voige, \$6430.00; what is sould of mast and spars til now from schooner, Lucy, to the one mast of mine brought out for the Been, \$304.00 . . . the proffit of the 3 voyges of the schooner, Bein, \$6077.00.⁹

In a letter from St. Pierre, Martinique, of August 20, 1800, to his agent "Dear Unkel Demuth" in Waldoborough, he advises the latter to have four bills of exchange, which he enclosed, converted into "hard dollars and carry them home and save them for me." At the close of the letter he significantly adds that he must get his affairs in the islands settled soon in order to return home for his health. This he apparently did and while there arranged for the construction of his store for local trade in West Indian goods. He located the building on the south side of the road opposite the site of the old town house. His visit, however, was interrupted by the evil news of the loss of his property in the Spanish possessions, conveyed to him by one of his captains in Trinidad, whose letter follows:

Trinidad, Port of Spain, Jan. 2, 1801

Capt. George

Dear Sir, — I am very sorry that I must be the informer of this bad news to you. This last week there was a lanch Came with Indigo or Contryband without leaf from Orinoco: Ovonoz, Ignaccis, and Augustins, all of your old acquaintances, and they tould me to write you and to let you no that your wife is dead and that the Governor of the town sent his Secretary to Mr. Francisco Ravago's House to see what outstanding Debts or notes he had of yours in his Possession and then from thence he went to your House and Demanded all notes and outstanding debts in your name. The Secretary has recorded them all. What the

⁹Capt. Smouse's use of English render some of his entries a subject for second study.

Governor is going to do is to keep all for him [self] as you are a furrener and Left no Hairs [heirs], he is Hair himself for all furreners. They tell me it is Spanish laws that all furreners whom are dead or absent and have no Hairs, even a wife without Children is called no Hair, the Governor gets all.

Sir I remain your most obedient and Humble Sarvent.

Isick Smith

I shall send the duple of this for
fear one might be miss Carried.

On this letter Smouse made the notation: "The letters from Trinidad from Isack Smith concerning my losses in Oranoco, 2, Jan. 1801." Such a notice was sufficient to start Captain Smouse for the West Indies again, probably with health unrecovered. It seems that the property in Orinoco never was restored and that Smouse had no further dealings with the Spanish. Meanwhile a letter from the Waldoborough agent, George Demuth, shows the work moving ahead on Smouse's trading post in the town, and other items revealing business activities in the local center. On May 2, 1801, the frame for the new store was ready, but "Peter Schwartz would not raise it nor put the sleppers in for \$80.00 . . . then I a greed with Mink for \$80.00 to put in sleppers and all raty for Bording."¹⁰

Your wessel with Kinsel comes on very slow. I seen her yester Day. She hath only the frame up . . . says she will be raty in August. . . . Mr. Paine says he will let¹¹ him iron as fast as he wants it, says he must have money for his men that work on the vessel. . . .

Friedrick Kinsell could get no lode for the schuner. . . . I went with him to Gen. Knox to Thomaston and bought a freight for \$8.00 per thousand.

In August of this same year Johannes Dieffenthaler, Smouse's agent in Trinidad, was quoting to Mr. Demuth some rather handsome prices on Waldoborough products, the following of which are here listed: "Lumber, \$58.00 M., Shingles, \$10.00 M., Staves, \$56.00 M., Salt fish, \$8.00 per hundred, Beef, \$14.00 bbl., Pork, \$24.00 bbl., Butter, 18-24 per pound, Flour, \$16.00 per bbl.," and he adds longingly in the way of a personal request, "a little German cheese from your mother's house."¹²

In the summer of 1802 Captain Smouse was back again in the river and with a malignant disease on his vessel, the *Bartholomew*, either yellow fever or malaria. He was held in quarantine at Schencks' Point. On August 13, 1802, the selectmen instructed him as follows: "as reported to your schooner is liable to have the infection of a malignant fever on board, you will not bring

¹⁰Geo. Demuth to Capt. Smouse, Martinique, May 2, 1801.

¹¹Supply.

¹²Mr. Dieffenthaler was a German.

her any further up the river . . . you may land what rum you have on board . . . hides must be soaked in salt water."¹³

Apart from his own labors and profits Captain Smouse provided a large market for the farmers and business men of Waldoborough, broke many a local lad into the ways of the sea, and made work of all kinds for the town's artisans. A few little excerpts from his small account book here following afford some insight into the scope of the activity centering around his enterprises:

Nov. 23, 1801 John Koon [Kuhn] entered [shipped] for \$125.00 a year. George Achorn and Jim Givens entered both on bord schooner Friendship for \$100.00 yer yr.

Schooner Friendship, disbursements.

George Achorn entered 23 Nov. 1801 at \$10.00 per month.

John Demuth for \$16.00 per month.

John Sides, Dec. 1, 1801, at \$20.00 per month.

Seners Thomson entered Decem^r 5, 1801 for \$20.00 per month.

Thomas Gellert entered on Monday, December the 21, 1801 at \$20 per month.

Expences schooner Friendship, Dec. 1, 1801.

To Wincenbach painting the cabin	\$8.00
to ten gallons mollassis	6.75
to Keen for pich [pitch]	1.50
to Mathis [Matthews] for 31 bu. corn	184.00
to ditto for bat hash [battening hatch]	.34
to ditto for marlin spick [spike]	.34
to James Hall for graving ¹⁴	4.00
to Spragg [Sprague] for loading	7.00
to Paine for one baril tar	5.50
to Labe and Manning for rafting boards	6.64
to Rum for Lape and his people rafting boards at Esqu. Thomas	1.00
to one Cord Wood on Bord	2.00

Expenses schooner Friendship Dec. 16

to one lantarn	\$1.34
to 5 gallons Rum. mine	5.84
to 10 gallons rum, Fitzgerald's	11.68
to clearing out	7.15

Schooner Batholamy

Joseph Miller enter'd on Bord schooner the 30th day of November, 1802 at 7 dollars per month.¹⁵

Wm. Larman (Lermond) enter'd for to go a voyage in sail Schooner for 15 dollars per month the 22 day of December, 1802.

Captain Thomas Burns to Captain George D. Smouse, Martinique, Montserrat, February 5, 1803. . . . I sold my cargo for 21 dollars per M. and took rum for payment, it being all that I could buy.

Captain Smouse from late 1803 seems to have centered his personal activities at Waldoboro and to have directed his enter-

¹³Orders in possession of Carroll T. Cooney, Jr., Waldoboro, Maine.

¹⁴Cleaning a vessel's bottom.

¹⁵Still in the crew Dec. 11, 1803, when he received \$31.09 wages.

prises from that center. On September 9, 1803, the selectmen approved "of Capt. George Demuth Smouse as a suitable person to keep a Publick inn and to sell spirtuous liquors by Retail in this town." Here he conducted his inn, his store, and his West Indian trade. It is doubtful if he ever returned to the scene of his earlier activities. His health seems to have been undermined by some tropical disease, possibly malaria, and mindful of the uncertainties of this life he made a will on April 17, 1801, and that his wishes might be made effective beyond doubt, had its terms recorded in the Office of the Register of Probate at Wiscasset.¹⁶ In this document he made provision for his father and mother by settling an annual income on them of \$1500.00, and "they are to keep and take care of the little boy Nicholas Smouse until he is fourteen years of age and then bind him to some good master in Boston to learn a Rigger or Tailor trade." Up to the age of fourteen they are "to let him have all the schooling possible they can." When he should set himself up in his trade \$500.00 of the sum designated for the parents was to revert to the boy "for his sole use."

George Smouse, Sr., had also made provision for this little boy as early as 1800, for on November 10 of that year he deeded to him twenty acres of his farm for "the love I bear to my grandson, Nicholas Smouse," and for the sum of \$10.00 reserving "one acre by the road for a burying place for the use of the freshwater people."¹⁷ The farm is the old Boyd Creamer place on the Winslow's Mill Road, and was the old Smouse Homestead which George Smouse, Sr., was occupying as early as 1765.¹⁸ The old cemetery here mentioned lies on a knoll in the field on the east side of the road opposite the house. Here were interred the remains of George Smouse, where they rested for one hundred and twenty-five years and then were removed and placed in the old German cemetery by Messrs. William Reed and Warren Weston Creamer.

Captain George D. Smouse died in March 1806, at the age of forty-seven. In his last years he made a second and final will omitting all reference to the little Spanish or Creole, Nicholas, but providing as in the first will for his parents, while the residue of his estate went to his local wife and children. For the period in which he lived and from a small-town enterprise Captain Smouse accumulated a sizable estate. He was engaged in an uncertain business in uncertain times. The confiscation of his property by the Spanish Governor of Orinoco, and his losses through seizures by foreign privateers probably reduced the size of his estate substantially. At the time of his death he owned five eighths of the

¹⁶Bk. 59, p. 22.

¹⁷Lincoln County Registry of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 46, p. 66.

¹⁸Cf. above, "George Smouse's Plan," Bk. 46, p. 66.

schooner *Rising Sun*, commanded by Captain Timothy Weston of Bremen, long actively and prosperously engaged in the coasting trade. This property was appraised at \$1875.00, and the appraisal of Smouse's schooner *Barthelemy*, of one hundred and fifteen tons, was set at \$1900.00. His homestead farm of ninety acres, now owned by Millard Winchenbach, was valued at \$4000.00, and another piece of real estate of one hundred and sixty acres received an appraised value of \$800.00. The total inventory, conservatively arrived at as always, was \$14,000.00 in round figures, a very considerable property in a time and place when a Revolutionary pensioner was able to live on a stipend of \$8.00 a month.

Captain Smouse was not the largest-scale operator in the Waldoborough of his day, but he was the most venturesome. The maritime activity of the town in the eighteenth century was so considerable that in no sense was it limited to his enterprises. The fishing industry drew Waldoborough men and Waldoborough boats. Captains Ewell and Miller receive reference in contemporary papers and there were Waldoborough vessels and many Waldoborough skippers engaged in the coastal trade and Atlantic shipping. In reality there was much coming and going and a mighty stir on the river, but of this romantic and venturesome story the record is gone. Only a simple memorial slab reveals the fact that Captain Peter Hilt died at sea in 1785, and that Captain John Francis Miller was lost at sea in 1785 or 1786. Of the many others the record is even less revealing, and it can only be concluded that the curtain is finally drawn on some of the most daring and fascinating episodes in our history.

In these years, in every part of the world, the men from this town who went down to the sea in ships faced hazards other than those natural to the elements. The savages in the inland waters of the Pacific Northwest were almost invariably treacherous; the Chinese coastal areas swarmed with pirates; Mediterranean waters were infested with Barbary corsairs, and the British Navy assumed the right to abduct and impress American seamen whenever its ships happened to be short of needed hands. A brief glimpse of these hazards is found in the letter of a Waldoborough captain to the owner of his ship in Boston. This letter is presented here in full as the concluding word in this chapter. It appeared in the *Eastern Herald and Gazette of Maine*, Portland, under the date of March 30, 1797, and under the caption "Pathetic Letter." It follows:

Algiers, Nov. 19, 1796

Sir: — When I wrote you last I was on board the Turkish Gally that took me; but perhaps you did not receive the letter. I will now inform you that on the 2nd of August last, distant from Malaga 5 or 6 leagues, I was captured by a Barbary corsair belonging to the Bashaw of Tripoli, mounting 14 guns and 110 men consisting of Turks and Moars. On the

20th of August the same corsair captured the U. S. brig, *Sophie*, Capt. O'Brien. On the 8th of September we arrived at Tripoli where your ship, the *Betsey*¹⁹ was condemned and the crew made slaves. The *Sophie's* cargo was cleared, having a Passport from the Dey of Algiers. It is customary for the Captains of the Corsairs of Tripoli to have one slave out of the crew. Accordingly the Captain of the Corsair took me for his slave, and being not entirely destitute of humanity, told me I was at liberty to go away when I pleased. I pleaded all that lay in my power for Mr. Hinckley and the boy, James Bridgham, but to no purpose, as the Bashaw positively refused to let them go until the U. S. made a peace with him and ransomed them. I then embarked on board the brig, *Sophie* on the 19th of September and arrived at Algiers on the 2nd of October where I have remained till this time, and as I do not wish to return to America till I have tried to get Mr. Hinckley and the rest of the crew at liberty, I am going from here in a brig for Tunis and from thence to Tripoli, and I hope I shall succeed as the French Ambassador goes in the brig, who I hope will have some influence with the Bashaw, but must leave that for time to determine.

Please to tell Mrs. Bridgham not to be concerned for her son, for I will get him away or tarry there a slave myself.

I beg you will recollect the \$400.00 you insured for me; if you will get them when they become due and deliver them to Mr. Barber, he will forward them to Mrs. Sampson, which will greatly oblige me and to some measure alleviate a distressed family, as it is uncertain when or how I shall return to America.

Mr. William Boardman,
Merchant, Boston.

I am, etc.,
Chapin Sampson

To this letter the journal adds this note: "Captain Sampson belongs to Waldoboro in the County of Lincoln, where his wife and family now reside."

Captain George D. Smouse's influence on the economic future of the town was pervasive and enduring. His own bold and romantic career was a focal point of public interest; he gave substance to the dream of gold in the seas; in his vessels a generation of Waldoborough youth were trained, and from these many future ship captains were graduated; he brought the produce of the Indies to the table of local folk, and he guided home industries into the production of commodities that were exportable. Together with Squire Thomas he gave the push to the local economy that pointed it to a destiny on the sea.

¹⁹Possibly the Waldoborough built *Betsey*, 1794, of 72 tons.

XXVII

THE GERMAN PROTESTANT SOCIETY

Unser Herr Gott war ja Deitsch

OLD PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SAYING

BY THE TURN OF THE CENTURY the Lutheran congregation in Waldoboro found itself definitely handicapped in many ways in the management of its affairs by reason of the fact that it had no corporate or legal standing. It was accordingly decided to seek such a status and the General Court in Boston was petitioned for an Act of Incorporation. The desired grant was made on Feb. 28, 1800, when an act was passed by the General Court "to incorporate a Religious Society by the name of the German Protestant Society in the Town of Waldoboro in the County of Lincoln." The incorporators named in the act were Jacob Ludwig and ninety-four other members in the religious society.

Those named were the following: John G. Bornemann, John Benner, John Borchhard, Cornelius Bornheimer, Martin Benner, Peter Crammer, John Cramer, Jacob Cramer, George Clouse, Christopher Crammer, Jacob Crammer, Georg Dahlheim, Daniel Eichhorn, Georg Eichhorn, Daniel Filhauer, Peter Gross, Conrad Gross, Andrew Genthner, Jacob Genthner, Andrew Hofses, Anton Hofses, Conrad Heyer, Mathias Hofses, George Hofses, Georg Heibner, Charles Heibner, Michael Hoch, Georg Hoch, Godfrey Hofses, Christian Hofses, Mathias Hebner, William Kaler, Charles Kaler, Jacob Kaler, Frederick Kinsell, Paul Kuhn, John Kinsell, Francis Keizer, Joseph Ludwig, Asamus Lash, John Light, Paul Lash, Jacob Ludwig, Jr., Joseph H. Ludwig, John Miller, Frank Miller, Charles Miller, John Martin, Frank Miller, Jr., Philip Mink, Valentine Mink, Paul Mink, Peter Mink, Charles Mink, Philip Neubert, Charles Oberlach, Joseph Oberlack, Henry Oberlack, Frank Oberlack, John Orff, Frederick Orff, John Stahl, Henry Stahl, Christian Storer, Charles Storer, Conrad Seyder, Jacob Schwartz, Philip Shuman, Katharina Shuman, Georg Shuman, Peter Schwarz, John Schnowdeal, Peter Schnowdeal, Jacob Winchenbach, John Christopher Wallizer, Christopher Woltzgruber,

Charles Walch, John Winchenbach, Jr., Andrew Woltz, Daniel Woltz, John Weaver, Andrew Wagner, Cydonia Welt, Henry Winchenbach, Georg Woltzgruber, John Winchenbach, Henry Walch, Jr., John Walch, Jr., John Weaver, Mathias Woltz, and Jacob Winchenbach, Jr.

In this list of incorporators the varieties of spelling of certain family names are a matter of interest. The spelling, however, gives little indication of the original German orthography, for already at this time the practice of anglicizing names was far on its way. The absence of a great many names of old families is also a conspicuous feature. Some, to be sure, had already migrated, and a few families had become extinct as to name, but others who were still numerous in the town, such as the Castners, Procks, Feylers, Werners, Schencks, Comery's, Demuths, Hahns, Levensalers, Walters, Smouses, and Eugleys, appear not to have been among the more active members of the church, and in some cases were associated with other religious groups.

From the time of its incorporation the German Society was meticulously legal in the manner in which it transacted its business. Meetings were called through the issuance of a warrant exactly as is done in the case of our Town Meetings in the present day. The first warrant for such a meeting was issued by Jacob Ludwig and is here presented as issued. It may be taken as the prototype of all later warrants, of which as many as a half dozen might be issued in the course of a single year:

Lincoln: To Jacob Winchenbach of Waldoborough in said County of Lincoln Gentleman_____one of the members of the German Protestant Society in said Town of Waldoborough_____ Greeting. . . .

You are hereby Required in the Name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Warn and Give Notice to all the members of Said Society, to meet to Gether on Thursday the third Day of April next at ten of the Clok in the forenoon, at the Meeting House of Said Society in said Town – to act according to the Corporation granted by the General Court, February the Twenty Eight one thousand eight hundred. . . .

1 ly: To Chuse a Moderator to Regulate said first Society Meeting.

2 ly: To chuse a Clark

3 ly: To chuse a Treasurer

4 ly: To chuse all necessary officers for said Corporation – and you are to make Return of this Warrant at the Time and Place Above mentioned.

Given under hand and Seal and by the Power invested in me by Authority, the eighteenth Day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred.

Jacob Ludwig, Justice of the Peace

At this meeting Capt. Joseph Ludwig was chosen moderator, Jacob Ludwig, clerk, and Jacob Winchenbach, treasurer. Thereafter the meetings of the Society in its earlier years were held with

great frequency. During the cold months of the year it was the custom to meet at the church and then to adjourn immediately to the near-by house of Charles Kaler, where deliberations might be conducted under conditions of warmth and comfort. The minutes of these meetings were taken down by Jacob Ludwig in his minuscular script in one of his characteristically small notebooks, and were later transcribed to the large record book now in the possession of the Trustees of the Society. These transcriptions are not entirely complete.¹ The untranscribed records do, however, furnish many interesting little side lights, such as, on the back side of the first page of Ludwig's notes, the following notation in his handwriting: "No. 23 and 24 and 31 vacant Pews, Price from \$12 to \$14."

Jacob Ludwig continued his clerkship until the meeting of Jan. 30, 1815. It seems from the minutes that Jacob, now an old man, had come to the meeting and for once had forgotten to bring his famous notebook. This fact caused some remark to be made, probably of a jocular nature, whereupon the old man in a huff resigned and soon thereafter joined the church of his guiding light, Isaac G. Reed, which was the Congregational Society. Following this unexpected turn in events, Jacob Bornheimer was elected clerk pro tem of the meeting. The next regular clerk was Christopher Crammer who officiated as such until his death in 1827. On the 5th of May of that year he was succeeded by his son Christopher Crammer, Jr. The first recorded deacons or elders of the new Society were William Kaler, Michael Hoch, Frank Miller, Jr., and Peter Crammer, who were elected May 21, 1803.

The first preacher under the new covenant was the Reverend Friedrich Augustus Rodolphus Benedictus Ritz. His pastorate coincided with the heyday of the Society's enthusiasm and strength. Its affairs proceeded with relative smoothness, and there is little in the records from which the new pastor's personality can be inferred, but the Reverend John J. Bulfinch, who knew people who remembered Mr. Ritz well, notes that "he preached exclusively in German and was a man of high Christian character and education, and commanded the respect and esteem of all who knew him. He was successful in his work and large numbers were added to the church during his ministry."² His salary never seemed to have reached an impressive figure. From 1802 to 1806 it stood unchanged at the level of \$230.00 per year. There were unquestionably many perquisites such as hay, wood, and food which enabled him to supplement his meager income.

¹Beginning 1812 the minutes of meetings were not entered in the church book, which contains only the warrants. These minutes, however, exist in manuscripts in the possession of the Sexton, Mr. Herbert Standish. The regular entries were resumed in 1815.

²"A New England Relic of the Lutheran Church," *Lutheran Observer*, Phila., April 12, 1889.

Despite the scant compensation paid to its pastor the Society was frequently in arrears and seems to have depended on the pastor's account of funds received rather than on its own treasurer. The following is both a typical and frequent entry in the records: "May 21, 1803. Voted to choose a Committee to wait on Mr. Ritz to see how his Sallery stands. Mr. Winchenbach, Mr. Gross and Jacob Ludwig a Committee for that purpose."

In the winter of 1810, Mr. Ritz died and he died poor, for on April 1, 1811, the town voted to "defray the funeral expenses of the Rev. Augustus Ritz." The expenses of his last illness were apparently assumed by one of his parishioners, for on March 28th the Society voted a Committee "to settle with Mrs. Ritz, and William Kaler. Capt. Stahl, Joseph Ludwig and Christopher Cramer the committee." On April 2, 1811, the church "voted to Get a Pear of Grave Stones for the Rev. Mr. Ritz," and on May 6th of this year, it was voted that "the Mrs. Widow Ritz have the benefit of the School Land the Present Year." This land was the unused section of the lot on which the church and cemetery are located, and which, as previously indicated, was on Sept. 15, 1795, allotted to Mr. Ritz for his use only — he having during the years of his pastorate worked the soil like his parishioners to eke out his meager existence.

This grant of the Society's land clearly caused a good bit of subsequent trouble, for Mrs. Ritz was loath to relinquish the lot. In September 1812 Capt. John Stahl headed a committee "to settle with Mrs. Ritz and report next meeting." Capt. Stahl's committee apparently could not settle and lost its relish for the task, for on Jan. 9, 1813, it was voted that "a new committee be chosen to notify Mrs. Ritz to produce all her papers and chose an agent for herself if she wishes to have a settlement with the Society." Mrs. Ritz had in reality no legal case but her obduracy won her point in part at least, since on July 14, 1813, it was voted "to accept the report of the Committee to pay the Mr. Ritz estate \$70.95." This controversy, however, was slow in dying. As late as March 1817 it was voted to give reconsideration to the two acres of land which "it is believed by some was promised to Mr. Ritz." The final settlement came seven years later when it was voted "to accept the report of the Committee to give the heirs of Mr. Ritz \$20.00 and Mr. Charles Kaler \$15.00 for them to quitt all their demands against the Society."

Clearly Mrs. Ritz had been left in indigent circumstances and her stubbornness rose in part from her needs. On May 18, 1815, Isaac G. Reed assumed the guardianship of her two sons, Augustus Friedrich and Augustus,³ and on April 15, 1839, the selectmen of

³Reed papers in possession of Mrs. Warren Weston Creamer.

the town were authorized "to furnish Mrs. Ritz with partial support." This is merely one of the many tragic incidents characterizing the period of the church's decline in the first half of the nineteenth century.

As a people the Germans have loved music perhaps as do no other people, and singing has always played a large part in their social and religious life. With the Waldoboro Germans this was the case from their first religious service in the first Broad Bay church. In all the history of the parish, however, there never was an organ or any other kind of instrument in the church. Its role was taken by a head singer whose function it was with his pitch pipe to set the pitch and then start the hymn. In this period this essential service was performed by Frank Miller, Jr. In the meeting of April 21, 1800, it was voted "to agree with some man to be the head singer or set the tune." At the next meeting on May 20th, it was recorded that "Mr. Frank Miller, Jr., will not serve as head singer under eight dollars per year." His terms were apparently met, and in 1803 an assistant singer was appointed who was none other than Conrad Heyer in his fifty-fourth year. At this time Mr. Heyer had been singing in the church choir for forty years, and he was destined to lead the singing at the last service ever to be held by the old Germans in Waldoboro.

In the days before the parish possessed hymn books it was the custom of the pastor to read the words of the hymn by couplets, the congregation singing each couplet as soon as it had been read and then waiting for the next. This practice continued in the church for many years, and tradition has preserved a humorous incident arising out of this procedure. Mr. Ritz's successor, the Reverend Mr. Starman, it seems, was overprone to dwell on his bodily infirmities, and certainly in his later years he had sufficient grounds. One Sabbath he rose in the pulpit and as he wiped his eyes he remarked:

"Mein sight ist poor, mein eyes ist dim,
I scarce can see to read dies hymn."

The congregation immediately took up the couplet and sang it. The startled preacher hastened to say in his broken English:

"I did not mean to sing dies hymn,
I meant to say mein sight ist dim."

These words were picked up and sung by the congregation as was its wont. Whereupon the old gentleman, exasperated, blurted out:

"I tink der Debbel ist in you all,
Das vas no hymn to sing at all."

Even with this last couplet the congregation followed through, but beyond this point tradition is silent. This incident

probably took place at a time when English was beginning to take its place beside German in the church service. The first mention of such a change in the singing is indicated in the records under date of April 20, 1826, in the following comment: "To have a committee to regulate the singing in both the German and English languages."

A study of the records certainly leaves one with the conviction that the Germans in these later years did not serve their God for naught. Every service performed was charged to the Society, and there was clearly a good reason for so doing. These were a poor people and they lived widely distributed over the present area of the town. Each service meant time taken from their own labor, perhaps to a remote neighborhood on foot or on horseback. Hence the insistence on compensation is in part at least understandable. It did, however, make the parish expenses heavy, and the Society was almost always dogged by the specter of debt.

From 1800 on, the church was continually being improved and brought within and without to its present state. In 1802, eight years after the removal of the church structure from the east side of the river, the costs of rebuilding had not been paid. There was still owed at this time the following accounts to the rebuilders: Jacob Winchenbach, \$17.00; Jacob Ludwig, \$24.00; Capt. Weaver, \$17.50; Peter Crammer, \$19.50; Capt. Ludwig, \$20.00; Peter Gross, \$15.00. On November 29th of this year J. C. Wallizer was paid for his services as chairman of the committee in charge of moving and rebuilding the church. In 1803 it was voted "to choose a committee to agree with some painter to paint the meetinghouse." It was painted for the first time in 1804, and Christopher Wallizer was paid \$60.00 for doing the job.

There were also many other improvements of a varied character. The warrant for the meeting of April 15, 1809, contained the following article: "To see if said Society will give leaf to Joshua Head, Esq., to build a Doom on said Society's Buring Place." At the meeting in question it was voted "that Mr. Head has leaf to built a Doom on this Society's Burying Place." In 1811 a committee was authorized "to git a Paul Cloth⁴ and charge said Society with said cloth." On July 14, 1813, it was voted to fence the burying ground "as Mr. Georg Clouse will not allow to join our fence to his line fence." Up to the spring of 1814 the church had been used without any kind of heat. In April of this year Capt. Stahl, Capt. Isaac Winchenbach, and Capt. Ludwig were appointed as a committee to procure a stove. They were authorized "to draw \$150.00 when wanded for said stove out of the Treasury and be accountable for said money." The funnel of the stove was for many

⁴Pall — a heavy cloth of black or purple velvet, thrown over a coffin, hearse, or tomb.

years led out through a window, until on Oct. 17, 1825, it was voted "to alter the stove and lead the pipe through the roof." In 1818 the Trustees were authorized "to superintend the Burying Ground and stake four lots onto the same for strangers." On May 31, 1820, it was voted "to clothe the pulpit with a cushion and cloth and also with an *English Bible*."⁵ In 1821 it was voted "to assist the people on the Dutch Neck so called with the fencing their burying ground with the sum of twenty-five dollars." On May 22, 1822, it was decided "to put the old fence up around the burying ground and the making a decent gate with Iron hinges and a latch and key at auction to the lowest bidder. George Kaler bitt itt of for 6 dollars 75c." The warrant of Oct. 6, 1785,⁶ contained an article "to see what the Society will do about providing a hearse for the Society." In 1834 it was voted that "if any person die not belonging to the Society they shall not be buried in the burying ground unless they buy a spot."

The church reached the peak of its strength in the decade following 1800. In these years it was practically the sole church in the town, and in a measure the English-speaking element attended its services and joined to a degree in its support, more especially those Puritans who had married German wives. Its membership included the first, second, and third generations of the Germans, and some of the more religiously minded of the English for whom there was no other church home.

The Sabbath from earliest days down to this period had its social features. The good folk would gather from the remote parts the town and from neighboring towns such as Nobleboro, Warren and Thomaston. The Starretts would come from Warren with their small children in their saddlebags;⁷ the Ulmers from Thomaston and branches of the Sidelinger, Waltz, and other families from Nobleboro. There were morning and afternoon services, but the people generally gathered for the whole day. "Old Miss Clouse's Tavern" was a rallying point for the more distant worshippers. This stood on the present site of the house of Mr. John Burgess. In fact, the ell of his house was a part of the old Tavern.⁸ Here the news and the gossip was swapped over Aunt Polly's molasses and New England rum, which was generously served for three cents a glass.

The records of the church furnish us with some evidence of its far-flung membership. On April 9, 1804, it was voted that "J. Ludwig, Peter Crammer and Mr. Ritz be a committee to sign receipt to those belonging to other towns, who belong to this

⁵Italics mine.

⁶An obvious error in the record.

⁷Oral tradition: Mr. Lewis Kaler from his grandmother who was a Shibles from the Georges River.

⁸*Ibid.*

Society.”⁹ A warrant for a meeting of Dec. 27, 1808, contained a clause on the admission to membership of John Ulmer of Thomaston. On April 9, 1804, it was voted “to except Peter Sidelinger of Nobleboro as a member of said Society by request of George Clouse, Wallizer and Jacob Ludwig; also to except Andrew Woltz, Jr., of Nobleboro requested by J. Wallizer, P. Sidelinger, T. F. McGuer [McGuyer].”

All was not peace in these days in the German Protestant Society. These Germans seem to have become well-developed individualists, somewhat prone to trample on one another's toes and to carry on aggressive warfare in the courts for their rights, and even for their whims and advantages. In this respect the records are rather sorry reading. Land seems to have been the source of most of their trouble. It was the commonest form of wealth, was eagerly sought, and its possession stoutly disputed. The Society was perhaps the largest single owner of land in the town. It possessed the school lot on which the church now stands and only a small part of which was used at this time. There was also the church and ministerial lots at Meetinghouse Cove, and a second school lot on Dutch Neck. With the exception of the latter these lots were of one hundred acres each. Their wealth of wood and virgin timber certainly offered an inviting prospect to those whose lands were immediately adjacent.

It was the rights vested in these properties that the Society was called on frequently to defend. In the meeting of May 20, 1800, \$20.00 was appropriated “to carry on law suits in behalf of said Society to protect said Society's land.” On April 9, 1804, it was voted that “C. Storer, Paul Kuhn and F. Kinsell be a Committee to inspect the Ministerial Land and to have the power to prevent and defend Trespass committed on said land.” On August 18, 1806, it was voted “to carry on the action between the Society and George Sidelinger, and that the Society Treasurer be directed to collect all the money that is due to said Society, and provide money to carry on said action on said Sidelinger by our agent.”

The records of the Society represent a tale of poverty. The church was always poor, always in debt, and always faced with difficulty in paying its bills. It is difficult to understand this, for all towns were required by law to levy a ministerial tax for the support of a “settled minister.” In 1779 “on complaint of the Grand Jury” the town had complied with the terms of the law, and funds were raised intermittently for this purpose on to the end of the century, although when the church had no minister the Germans were always willing to vote that “no money be raised for the support of the Gospel,” thus frustrating any plans the English-speak-

⁹Necessary to exempt the out-of-town member from his local ministerial tax.

ing minority might have for securing preaching in that tongue. For a few years following 1800 the pulpit received no consistent support from the taxpayers. In 1800, 1801, and 1803 there was no money raised, and Mr. Ritz had to be supported by his own parish. The town apparently felt poor in these years due to the defalcation of a tax collector, and to the possible loss of their farms by the citizens under the pressure of the Knox claims. The English citizenry was also beginning to exercise some veto power through its vote and to demand its proportionate share of the tax for the support of a minister of its own. On such an issue the Germans were always reluctant to give ground, but the alternative was to pay the salary of Mr. Ritz out of their own pockets; they yielded only when they had to, and were always ready to raise the issue anew in the hope they would have the votes at hand to carry it.

In 1806 a tax levied on all polls raised \$500.00 for the support of the gospel. Each group was allowed \$200.00, and any excess was to be divided equally between the two societies. On May 7, 1807, it was voted that there should be two ministers "*in the interests of harmony.*"¹⁰ Mr. Ritz was to receive \$220 a year "for the remainder of his life whether he is able to preach or not," and an English minister to receive \$430 a year, "for such time as he is here, and not in the usual mode of other towns for life." This arrangement apparently continued up to the death of Mr. Ritz in 1811, and then the issue of the ministerial tax was raised again. A committee appointed by the town to confer with the German Society reported on May 12, 1812, that the German committee proposed to raise \$750.00 for preaching, "they to have two thirds" — Mr. Starman's entire salary — "one of the gentlemen did say if the town would raise \$800, it might have \$300 for its part," viz., for the support of an English minister. "Your committee is of the opinion that it is not expedient to raise any money." That the report of the committee was accepted by the town would indicate the declining power of the German vote and influence.

The next year the Germans were glad to accept the half of a \$600 appropriation. Thereafter they raised no further difficulties except in committee negotiations with the English. When the Reverend Mr. Mitchell assumed the Congregational pastorate in 1816, the tax was raised to \$1000 and for this one year was divided equally. Thereafter Mr. Mitchell received five parts of the tax and Mr. Starman three, until 1823 when all church support ceased and each parish was compelled to support its own pastor by funds raised by the societies.

That the German Society was always in financial difficulties was in a considerable measure due to bungling and inept manage-

¹⁰Italics mine.

ment, for apart from the revenue drawn from the ministerial tax it was one of the larger property holders in the town. Section III of the Act of Incorporation had conveyed to the Society all lands originally set aside by the proprietors for the use of the parish on the following terms:

Be it further enacted that said society *should have and hold*¹¹ the several trusts and parcels of land given, granted, conveyed and sett off to the Dutch Settlement on the Western side of the Muscongus River by the Committee of the Proprietors of Lands at or near Pemaquid in the County of Lincoln by a Deed or Grant dated the second day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four in trust to and for the special purposes mentioned and specified in the Grant or Deed aforesaid.

Of these four lots only one was in a small part pre-empted by the church and cemetery. Here then was a source of wealth that could be used to clear the Society from its ever present debts and to provide a liberal endowment for the continued "support of the Gospel." The thrifty "Dutch" were not long in seeing the point and on April 5, 1803, it was voted "to sell the Society land" and to choose a committee to consider the selling of said land — the Committee: C. Miller, J. Ludwig, Capt. Light, C. Kaler and J. Winchenbach. The committee apparently made little progress. There was doubt about the legality of the action proposed. In the meantime, on May 20, 1807, the committee of the Trustees was empowered "to sell all the wood below the Bristol Road to the best advantage to the said Society and to turn said land into grass." This was the portion of the lot east of the road on which the church now stands. Six days later it was voted "to chose a committee to receive the deed of a lot of land of John Eugley and to convey the same to George Eugley." John Eugley to whom the sale of one of the church lots had been agreed upon had his doubts as to the legality of his title and in the end refused to accept the deed.

There was in reality a real legal snag involved in this transaction. The Act of Incorporation had simply conveyed to the Society the right to have, to hold and to use the land "for the special purposes mentioned and specified in the Grant or Deed," of the heirs of the original proprietors. In other words, the right of sale was not implicit in the Act of Incorporation. Accordingly it became necessary to proceed on a new tack. On April 27, 1809, it was voted "to petition the Legislature to sell part or whole of the Real Estate to pay the debts and finish the meetinghouse." From this time on the sale of the land was continuously agitated, but in no case were sales made that were fully to the advantage of the

¹¹Italics mine.

Society. The Germans were land crazy and were prone to acquire land on a shoestring.

On April 2, 1811, the warrant for a meeting contained a clause "to see what measures said Society will take about the school lot where the meetinghouse is on." May 6, 1811, "Voted to run out¹² the school lot as soon as may be. Voted: The committee . . . to have power to run a fence a gross this school lot above the meetinghouse." In May 1812 a semblance of rationality and realism entered the picture when Jacob Ludwig and ten others petitioned the Society "to secure leave of the General Court to sell all the Society's land in order to erect a fund for the maintenance of a minister for the Society." By January 1813, even before such sanction had been secured, land had clearly been sold, for on January 19th the following entry appears in the records:

We the undersigned committee chosen by the German Protestant Society to settle with the committee for the sale of their land beg leave to report.

We find by settling their accounts of Repairing and painting the meetinghouse their remain due to the German Protestant Society *in notes of hand*¹³ to the amount of \$943.33.

Christopher Crammer	} Committee
John Stahl	
Isaac Winchenbach	
Frank Miller	

In February 1814 the Society received legal sanction from the General Court to dispose of its holdings, and it lost no time in so doing. On March 21, 1814, it was voted that "the Publick Land of the Society to be sold at Poplick sail or private sales to the best advantage of said Society, viz., the ministerial land and the School land on the Neck so called. C. Miller, Jos. Ludwig, Isaac Winchenbach, C. Kaler, Jacob Ludwig, Capt. Stahl, Jos. H. Ludwig to be the committee of the before going vote." On April 18, 1814, it was voted "to give the Committee of the 21 March last for selling part of said Society land fool Power to sell and convey said land to the best advantage for the Society accorting to the act of the General Court, Feb. 12, 1814."

"John Uckley Bought the Ministerial Lot of Land for nine hundred and ninety-five dollars, Paid earnest money Ten Dollars: Give his note for \$89.50 for the Remianders of the earnest money; to be paid in twenty days" and it may be added that the Society took a mortgage deed for the balance.¹⁴

"Doctor Brown Bought the School Lot on the Neck so called, for \$260.00, gave his note for the earnest money to be paid in

¹²Survey.

¹³Italics mine.

¹⁴Lincoln County Registry of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 88, p. 110.

twenty days for 26 or 27 dollars. Said Doctor Brown gave up his bargain to Christopher Walch." May 6, 1814, "Received of Christopher Walch for said land twenty dollars in cash and a joint note¹⁵ for \$240.00."

To Daniel Uckley for \$1200.00 went the old church lot at the Cove on which stood the log meetinghouse. To mark its location in the minds of those living and of those still to live in the old town, its bounds are here briefly sketched. The lot began

near the head of the northern-most creek of meetinghouse Cove, so called, at a hemlock tree marked, thence northwest 640 poles to a hemlock tree standing on the southeast branch of Pemaquid Upper Pond, then northeast 25 poles to a stake and stones, then southeast to 640 poles to a stake standing on the bank of said northern most creek, thence southwest to bounds first mentioned, said lot being 25 poles in width, containing 100 acres, being lot No. 29 in Elijah Packard's Plan, bounding Northeast on Benjamin Uckley's lot, and southwesterly on the ministerial lot, reserving only the burying place and the road that leads to the creek, so called.¹⁶

Since this was not a mortgage deed it may be assumed that Daniel Eugley paid cash for what he received.

The last of the church properties — the school lot on which the present church stands — was sold June 20, 1814, to Charles Kaler, the church and cemetery land excepted. This land went for \$640.00, Mr. Kaler giving his note for this sum. Thus it was that the church properties were disposed of, sold by the Society to its own members. With the exception of the lot sold to Daniel Eugley, the church held on these sales very little more than the paper of some of its own members.

Throughout its history the German Society was both a borrower and a lender. When it had no money it borrowed from individuals and paid interest, and when it had surplus funds it loaned to individuals and received interest. Its financial embarrassment in these years was not infrequently due to the fact that it could neither collect principal nor interest on the notes which it held. Following the sale of its land in 1814, it squared itself of debt, and paid its arrears on Mr. Starman's salary and Mrs. Ritz's claim of \$70.95. In addition it paid off its indebtedness to about a dozen individuals, the largest amount of which was \$110.10 paid to John Stahl in October 1816.

In June 1815 it held notes of its member as follows: "One note of hand against John Uckley for the sum of \$895.00. . . . One note of hand against Charles Kaler for the sum of \$600.00. . . . One note of hand against Christopher Walch for the sum of \$240.00. . . ." Notes for lesser amounts were held against Frank

¹⁵Endorsed by Capt. John Stahl.

¹⁶Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 80, p. 222.

Miller, Jacob Kaler, Anton Hoffses, George Acorn, Henry Overlock, Michael Hoch, and Paul Kuhn. On May 20, 1817, Jacob Winchenbach, Society treasurer, reported as follows: "To the Honorable Committee of Trustees. This is to inform you how your property stands. Your Principle and Interests stants thus: \$3220.60. Paid out per order and receipt \$381.44. True statement of my Book, errors excepted." This principal sum naturally was not in cash, but included the notes held by the Society.

On May 25, 1826, the Society had in its treasury including notes held, a total of \$3408.26. After ten years, however, the notes were still dragging along unpaid and were causing difficulty. John Eugley either could not or would not meet the terms of his indebtedness. The next year it was voted that "if Mr. John Eugley owes \$91.00 interest due, the Society will give up his notes by his giving up the lot of land which he received of the Society." Later in the same year a committee was chosen to receive the deed of John Eugley and to convey the same to James and Daniel Eugley. John Eugley managed, however, to hold on to the property and the affair dragged along. In 1831 he sought some form of abatement which was rejected by the Society, which gave him "five years to pay his debt in five different installments yearly." Since the records contain no further entries in this case it is possible that a solution was effected on this basis.

On May 1, 1841, the Society had \$829.66 due it in notes and interest alone. On May 1, 1842, the following were in debt to the Society: Charles Miller owed \$206.40; Godfrey Ludwig owed \$43.50; Jacob Ludwig \$75.30, on which sums interest had not been paid nor principal reduced. Michael Hoch had discharged his obligation in full. Joseph Kaler, Isaac Winchenbach, George Wallis, John Bornemann, John Shuman, and Henry Wincapaw had met the interest charges on their obligations. Such fiscal incidents as these are typical, and a reflection of the life, practices, attitudes, and problems faced by the parish and some of its members in these days.

The Reverend John Wilhelm Starman was the last of the Lutheran preachers in Waldoboro. By act of destiny his ministry was extensive with the transition period in which a German colony was becoming an English town. This shift from one racial and linguistic tradition to another was as marked in business, education, and social life as it was in the religious sphere; hence it should be treated in some detail. No more suitable mirror of this cultural change can be found than Mr. Starman's ministry, for the changes reflected in it may be taken as typical of the basic shift which was slowly taking place in every phase of social and community life.

The death of Mr. Ritz in 1811 simply served to bring into the open parish and community differences which had been slowly and quietly developing over a number of years. At this time there was in the parish a group of old Germans, among whom were a few of the original immigrants. For the most part, however, the group was made up of those of the second generation who had been children in the early colony, and who now were old and possessed of some means and influence. Those from the outlying districts especially spoke English imperfectly, understood only its simpler colloquial phrases, and could not follow the more literary form of a pulpit discourse. With unflinching devotion they clung to the old ways, the old forms, and the old service in their mother tongue.

Opposed to this group were some of the third-generation Germans who had adopted the ways and language of the now dominant English culture. These felt that if Lutheranism was to live it should, as the only church in the community, be a church of all the people. Their number was augmented by some of the English who at this time had no other church and who wanted a service where the word of God would be preached in a language which they could understand. Besides, since the church was supported by a community tax on all polls, it seemed reasonable that there should be a minister who could and would preach in both English and German. The struggle between these two groups was in real essence a culture conflict—on the one hand, an advancing culture seeking the realization of inevitable objectives; on the other hand, a receding culture clinging tenaciously to a lost cause. So long as Mr. Ritz lived this struggle was quiescent. With his death the opportunity came for it to define its position.

Mr. Ritz died in February. In the meeting the following March the opposition won its first point and it was voted to choose a committee "to receive Propositions from the town committee or Selectmen concerning filling the pulpit of Mr. Ritz for the future." This afforded the English element a chance to make its viewpoint felt, and this was done in no uncertain way. In the preceding March the Germans had asked the Gentlemen Assessors of the Society to insert in the warrant an article "to see what the Society will do about getting a nother *German Minister*."¹⁷ The petitioners to this article in the warrant were Jacob Ludwig, Jacob Ludwig, Jr., William Kaler, Jacob Kaler, Joseph Kaler, Jacob Crammer, John Shuman, Peter Crammer, George Weaver, Frank Miller, Jacob Miller, Henry Miller, Charles Overlock, Frank Miller, Jr., Christian Stahl, Jacob Winchenbach, and Peter Gross.

¹⁷Italics mine.

When the April meeting came the opposition was strong enough to secure a compromise, and it was voted "to choose a committee to joint the town committee to sent for a minister to pritsch the Gospel in German and English." The committee, however, was drawn from the old Germans — Joseph Ludwig, Jacob Ludwig, and Christopher Crammer — who could be depended to hold out for a German preacher. In the meantime, since this was the only church edifice in the town, there were groups who were using the building for services with any minister whose services could be secured for a given Sunday. Such services were in English and were unquestionably fostering the growth of new sects in the town. The Society's meeting of April 2nd called a halt to this trend by voting a committee made up of Charles Kaler, Charles Miller, and William Kaler, "to have the care of the meeting house and not to give leaf to ervery Person to Pritch in said house."

For some time the question of a successor to Mr. Ritz hung fire. The old Germans were entirely clear as to their wishes, but a substantial portion of such a preacher's support being derived from the town, those desiring some English preaching were able to make their influence felt through the town officers. Economy in taxation was also a factor, for a single minister preaching in both languages was cheaper than two ministers, the one using German and the other English. On May 27, 1811, a committee of the old Germans made up of Jacob Ludwig, Frank Miller, and Jacob Winchenbach was appointed to confer with the town committee relative to the spending of \$450.00 "for the Gospel Ministry in this town." Their instructions, however, were not to their liking, for they were to the effect that "said committee is to joint in having a good minister for a certain time and that the meeting to be about one Sabath at this meeting, the other at the town house." This in plain English meant one man preaching in two languages on alternate Sundays at the church and the town house. But the old Germans were not downed and were successful in bringing the negotiations to an impasse — no minister at all was hired.

On Aug. 24th a petition to the assessors brought again to the surface the demand of the old Germans for a minister to preach exclusively in their language. It contained an obvious note of impatience and of ruffled dignity:

Gentlemem, We, the Subscribers, members of said Society, pray you would please to call a meeting, . . . and see if any and what measures the Society will adopt to get a *German* minister for the Society according to a vote of the Society at one of their former meetings; all exertions for a man who could preach in both languages to us seem to be in vain:

and your petitioners shall in duty bound acknowledge this as a great favour from you.

The signers furnish us an index to the make-up of the old German group. They were: Charles Miller, Jacob Miller, Frank Miller, Jr., Chrisen Stahl, John Miller, Jr., John G. Bornemann, Charles Miller, Jr., Charles Wallis, E. Wallis, Jacob Kaler, John Stahl, Nathan Sprague, Cornelius Sides, Isaac Winchenbach, Charles Overlock, Jacob Genthner, Andrew Genthner, Henry Seider, Jacob Winchenbach, Jr., M. Hoffses, George Miller, John Bornemann, Daniel Sidelinger, George Weaver, Godfrey Barnabus, John Walch, Jr., and Henry Miller.

This demand brought results along with an apparent concession to the opposition. On Sept. 12, 1811, it was voted "to sent for a Gospel Minister that can preitch both English and German, if not English to Preatch in German." This minister was to be supported for one year on trial. On Sept. 24, 1811, it was voted

that the Society to receive proposals for any man to go to Philadelphia and to git a minister to pridge the Gospel in English and German Lang-wich. Voted to except of Charles Miller for going to the Southward for a minister, to set out in 14 days: to have \$150.00 and the Society is to bear the expenses for the minister if he prings one.

Charles Miller was a member of the old German faction and his quest to the "southward" for a bilingual pastor was not a successful one. The man of his choice was the Reverend Johannes Wilhelm Starman, a German who spoke little English and who could preach in that language not at all.

The Reverend Starman was born near Elberfeld in the Palatinate in 1773 — the son of a Lutheran minister. He came to New York in 1796, studied for the ministry, and was examined and accepted by the New York Synod. The church in Philadelphia recommended him highly to Charles Miller, who met him, outlined the conditions in the Waldoboro parish, returned, and made a favorable report to the Society. Charles Miller, John Stahl, William Kaler, Paul Lash, and J. G. Bornemann were elected on Nov. 25, 1811, as a committee "to treat with the Reverent Mr. Starman for our minister." An offer of \$400 a year was made to Mr. Starman, "his sellery to begin at the time he leaves New York and said Society is to pay his passage." The reverend gentleman countered by setting forth to the Society the conditions under which he would accept the pastorate. They exist in a memorandum in the handwriting of Jacob Ludwig, unsigned, and are as follows:

1. He wands an a Greement for Call for Life, or yearly as long as he pleases.

2. He wands the Society to sign and seal said agreement.
3. He keeps 4 weeks to himself yearly to go to New York, and we are to pay the cost and expenses.
4. We are to pay him yearly \$500, without any reduction, at every six months.
5. The minister reserves to himself that if any English Society should give him a Call that he might except said Call and to pridge one half the time English and half the time German, in our meeting house or els wear.
6. We are to be under the direction of the Sinot of New York.¹⁸

On March 30, 1812, it was voted "that the Deakins or Elders to be impowered to write to the Reverent Mr. Starman and that they are empowered to sign a call accepting to his last request." On Sept. 18, 1812, Mr. Starman presented a bill for travelling expenses "from New York to this place, \$32.29." With this began his ministry in Waldoboro—a ministry of long, hard, and fateful years which was to witness the slow decline and the extinction of the work to which he gave the better part of his life.

The old generation of Germans had triumphed, but the issue was not to be settled by the mere installation of a new German pastor in their church. The old generation was dying off and with them was dying the German tongue. The spiritual needs of an increasing English population and of the Germans who were becoming English speaking had not been met by the coming of Mr. Starman. The church was losing support, and to meet expenses was an immediate problem. Moreover, these were war years; trade was at a standstill under the Embargo and the war. On July 13, 1813, a committee reported "that the Rev. Mr. Starman will serve the Society for \$400.00 the next year." The opposition was breaking away from the Lutheran Church and a new English parish, the Congregational, was being organized in the town. By 1815 the Society was in arrears in the payment of its pastor's salary, owing Mr. Starman \$581.80. On March 20, 1815, he wrote as follows: "I beg the Society will make arrangements for the payment of the balance of what is due to me. And I expect, if the Society wishes me to stay with them any longer, that they will raise my salary again to \$500.00, as it was the first year, beginning the first of August next."

With the passing of time it seemed to become clear even to those of the old order that nothing had been settled. The nub of all the trouble was the continuation of the church service exclusively in the German language. This was driving the town in the direction of a regular settled English minister. The 1816 report of the joint committee of the Town and the Society gives a clear

¹⁸Jacob Ludwig was now an old man, and his English once good, was on the downhill grade—his memory failing and his spelling reverting to the sound patterns of his native German.

indication of the existing dissatisfaction, revealed in the following excerpts:

as your agents are impressed with a firm belief that it¹⁹ may have a tendency to promote a better harmony of most all the inhabitants of the town, and we hope the permanent settlement of the Gospel ministry for the future. . . . If the town should be so happy to obtain a minister on hire or probation in whom a majority of the people can cordially unite, we may then have an opportunity and we hope a disposition to make further exertions for a permanent settlement for our worthy and reverend Mr. Starman.

From the first Mr. Starman had stood staunchly with the old Germans for the use of German in the church service. This is understandable. German was his native tongue. An imperfect mastery of English was not fitted to that freedom of thought which in public discourse is the source of flexibility, eloquence, and power. In other respects the good man was untiring in his efforts for peace and harmony in his parish. A notable achievement in this respect was his reconciling the differences between the Reformed and the Lutheran elements in his church and bringing them together in a common communion. But even this did not quell the spirit of discontent in the hearts of those who wanted the Word of God in a tongue they could understand. An undated report around 1817 indicates the effort being made in the way of straightening out the unsettled condition:

We think it best to report as follows: 1. That it is expedient to make trial to obtain a man able to preach the Gospel in the German and English languages.

2. That a small committee should be appointed on the part of the town and also on the part of the German Society to write to New York and Philadelphia for such a man, stating the situation of the Town and the Society.

3. That such a man (if such can be obtained) shall preach such part of the time in each of the said languages as may be agreed on yearly.

4. That we recommend to the town to raise \$450.00 for the support of the Gospel the approaching season. The said money to be expended for said purpose under the direction of a committee of the town and of the said society and if it should happen that a German preacher can be hired for a few sabbaths he is to be paid from said appropriation.

While the question at issue was being agitated the dissidents were swelling the numbers of the new Congregational parish. Since 1807 a small group of members of this church had been holding meetings in the town house. In 1816 the Reverend D. M. Mitchell appeared on the scene and was installed as the regular Congregational pastor. He was, in fact, installed in the Lutheran meeting-house on June 9, 1816. "The sermon was preached by the well

¹⁹Preaching in both languages.

known Dr. Payson of Portland, and it is remembered by the oldest inhabitants that the last salmon caught in the river was served up to the council on that occasion, as an eminently proper diet for the successors of Peter and his brethren."²⁰ With the advent of Mr. Mitchell, and in order to satisfy the younger German element in the church and to retain their allegiance to the parish, it was voted on May 26, 1817, "to invite the Rev. Mr. Mitchell to preach the Gospel in this house on Sundays in the afternoons." At the same meeting it was voted "to have a committee to discharge the Rev. Mr. Starman, as he has requested his discharge."

Apparently both the parish and Mr. Starman thought better of such a move, and the action authorized was never taken, even though the good man still remained reluctant about preaching in English. While this action was pending a committee was "authorized to Write to the Bishop of the Episcopalian Church of this State to see if there be a good Pious man to be had to preach the Gospel to this Society." In the face of pressure of this nature and of the dwindling numbers attending the services, the good Mr. Starman finally yielded and on March 30, 1820, wrote as follows:

To the German Protestant Society

Dear Brethren and Friends: Your Committee told me that you think it necessary, for the *building* up of our Church, to have more English preaching than you have had hitherto. I myself have thought so for a length of time. And though I find myself but poorly qualified to preach regularly in English, I will in dependance of the assistance of Christ make an attempt to preach English every third Sunday in the forenoon, and if possible likewise in the afternoon. I will give notice on the day I preach in English whether the afternoon service will be also English. I will however have sometimes to change with my brethren in the ministry.

Affectionately your Pastor,

John W. Starman

The acquiescence of Mr. Starman on an issue which had rocked the Society for twenty years, came too late to save it from a languishing death. On May 1, 1823, there was a balance due Mr. Starman of \$828.84. A petition of June 26th of the same year containing the clause: "As the contract between the Town and the Society for the support of the Ministry is broke up," etc., is an indication that support through taxation was at an end, and the full weight of the burden of Gospel support had fallen on the shoulders of an ever-dwindling number of those faithful to the old order. Once more it became necessary to resort to popular subscription to carry on the work of the church, and to this task the Society doggedly dedicated itself. On July 14, 1823, the Society

²⁰The Rev. John J. Bulfinch, in *The Lutheran Observer*, Philadelphia, April 12, 1889.

voted "to try and keep Mr. Starman to preach the Gospel to the Society as long as he and the Society can agree." Four solicitors were appointed "to go around to members and other inhabitants of the town to see who will support Mr. Starman to preach the Gospel for the next year." In March 1824 this committee reported its collections as follows:

Isaac Winchenbach	\$131.25
Peter Mink	89.25
Jacob Burnheimer	72.50
Joseph H. Ludwig	81.75

This support came in the main from Dutch and Gross necks, the "westside," and the scattering back-districts, where the old German families had not been displaced by the Puritans, and where the cultural pull of the English was in no sense comparable in strength to that in the village area. It is also worthy of note that it was in these districts that the people were poorest.

In the year 1824 Mr. Starman was paid a salary of \$450.00, and it was voted to allow him "to preach the Gospel in the English Language 2 Sabbaths out of three and to administer the Holy Sacrament in the English Language and not to interfere with the Germans." This latter clause doubtless means that the old Germans, in case they refused the Sacrament in English, were not to be unduly urged or coerced. In 1826 the Society had \$3408.26 in what were virtually frozen assets in the form of notes held in payment for its lands. Money raising was never easy among the Germans. They were all tight in such matters and very many were poor. So difficult did the problem become that as a possible means of shaming some of them it was voted "that the Elders notify Mr. Starman and lett him know who his supporters are and who are not."

In April 1828 there was a balance due the pastor of \$474.35. On April 11th he requested a settlement that he might, as he said, "be able to pay the balance due on his house and other outstanding debts." On Aug. 5, 1826, Mr. Starman at the age of fifty-three had taken to himself a wife. The bride was Mary Ann Kaler,²¹ a daughter of John William, and the couple were united in marriage on this date by the Reverend D. M. Mitchell.²² In preparation for this event the pastor had acquired land on the present Jefferson Street and built the home now owned and occupied by Belle and Dorothy Waltz. The inference is a certain one that the good man possessed courage, and to a rich degree, blind faith.

From 1828 the scene changed and worsened rapidly. The Society was hard put to hold the congregation together and to pay its bills. The drift can best be inferred from the minutes of

²¹Her home was the "old Arch. Kaler place."

²²Records of the Town Clerk for the year 1826.

meetings over the next few years. April 12, 1828, "Voted that the Rev. J. W. Starman preach in the German language the first Sabbath in each month and the rest, part in the English language." May 17, 1828, "Voted that the Rev. Mr. Starman preach continuously in the English language." Sept. 19, 1829, "Voted to see if the Society will authorize Joseph H. Ludwig to pay certain notes to the Rev. John W. Starman for the remaining part of his salary due him." May 9, 1831, "Voted that all the collectors that have subscription papers go to their subscribers and see what they can get of them in money on their due bill and if not to cross out their names." May 12, 1832, "Voted that the arrearages now due to the Rev. Mr. J. W. Starman up to the first of May 1832 be assessed on the notes of the Society." April 20, 1833, "Voted that the Society agree to let the Rev. J. W. Starman go $\frac{1}{4}$ of the year to any neighboring town." (The device of farming their minister out to churches in neighboring towns with no regular pastors reveals the straits in which the Lutheran parish now found itself.) May 4, 1833, "Voted to accept the report of the committee that went to make arrangements with the inhabitants of Bremen that they take Mr. Starman $\frac{1}{4}$ of the year." June 2, 1834, "Voted to raise \$300.00 by subscription for the support of the Rev. John W. Starman for the present year, and to let him go to Warren or Bremen, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, or $\frac{1}{2}$ the year."

This was all a long-drawn-out tragedy for Mr. Starman. His dream had vanished. His life work had failed. There was ahead of him a bitter struggle to survive and in the end a penniless old age. He continued, however, to exhort the few remaining faithful to new efforts to carry on the work. On May 7, 1836, he sent a letter to the Society which reflects concretely and tragically the conditions existing. It follows:

The Society have forgotten in their last meeting to appoint a committee to settle with me. I enclose my account herein. The amount due me up to the first of May 1836, is \$447.05. . . .

If the Society sees not fit to engage any further my services as their pastor, they will be pleased to remember that our contract demands from them to give me three months notice before our [contract (?)] can be dissolved, and to make arrangements for immediate payment of the balance due me.

If the Society should conclude to engage my services for another year, I hope they will not think of offering me less than 300 dollars. Even with this sum I find it hard to support myself and a family and to keep a horse. In this case I hope the Society will not forget to give me a draft on their Treasurer at least for the amount of the interest on the money due to the Society. I cannot deny I feel extremely grieved that the Society has shown so little love for their aged Pastor as not to furnish him last winter even with wood. If they had chosen a proper person for that work, he would have been as successful, I have no doubt as Joshua Head and Isaac Reed was the year before last. The Society is

under great obligation for very liberal subscriptions to a few of their members, and in particular to George Kaler and Capt. Stahl and Mr. Gross, who notwithstanding that Hay was last winter so scarce, still have made out to collect three loads of Hay for their aged Pastor. This shows what the Society can do if they exert themselves.

Perhaps the town of Washington and Union might on proper application be willing to engage your minister for a few Sabbaths in the year to preach to them. If you see proper you might choose Christian Walter as a committee to go to Washington for that purpose and George Kaler and some other proper person to Union and to report at the next meeting of the Society.

If you should resolve to continue preaching amongst you for another year, I would recommend to chose the following collectors: George Kaler, Jacob Gintner, James Urkley, Christian Walter, James Cremer, Christopher Cremer, Peter Mink. The collectors ought to use their exertions, that not only a liberal sum of money is subscribed, but also that their pastor is supplied with wood and hay.

I would further recommend that George Kaler supply each of these collectors with bills and appoint the district they are to collect in, and if any collector refuse to serve, to supply his place with any other proper person, and to encourage the collectors to discharge their duty faithfully and in proper person.

I have no doubt, if the Society thus earnest engages and perserves in this good work, God will be with them and bless their labor.

I am with due respect

Your affectionate Pastor

John W. Starman

Waldoboro, 7th May 1836.

From the middle of the fourth decade of the century the life of the parish continued its rapid ebb. Here again this trend can be seen most clearly in excerpts selected from the minutes. Mr. Starman's letter cited in full above served only to effect a temporary quickening in the Society's efforts. In April 1837 he writes: "There have been paid this year \$100 more subscription money than last year, and there must be yet a considerable sum due which I would advise the collectors to collect without delay." The year before the Society had advised its pastor to make arrangements "to preach in the districts in the furthest part of the town" as a means of augmenting his salary, for the parish was steadily falling behind in its finances. In April 1837 it owed Mr. Starman \$497.11. The frequency with which meetings were adjourned without transacting business would indicate the lack of a quorum, and that interest as well as membership were declining steadily.

In May of this year Charles Miller, Peter Mink, and Christopher Crammer were named as a committee "to settle with the Rev. John W. Starman and to have power to dismiss him." Here again there was compromise and Mr. Starman was retained. In May 1843 the minutes contain their last reference to the question of raising money for the pastor's salary. Thereafter money was

doubtless raised from time to time, or drawn from the Society's funds, of which in 1841 there was still outstanding in notes and interest \$829.66. The aged pastor continued to preach intermittently when not preaching elsewhere, and as often as failing health would permit. The Society continued to provide him with such money as it could to the end. On June 17, 1845, it was voted "to give John W. Starman \$150 out of the funds of the Society, and if he should be sick and need more the Trustees to give him more." Similar votes were passed in June 1847 and in June 1848. On June 18, 1850, it was voted "that the Rev. Mr. Irish²³ may preach in the Meeting House when it don't interfere with the preaching of the Rev. Mr. Starman." When the old pastor preached for the last time or when the German language was heard for the last time in the walls of the old church is not known. Its use was probably continued at the funeral services of the old Germans in these early fifties after the walls of the church had ceased to resound to the old familiar sounds of song and exhortation.

Mr. Starman apparently received some financial support to the end of his days in Waldoboro. As late as 1851 the name of a Christian Schweier appears as a collector for the Society. These collections were now in part in the nature of alms contributed by all worthy citizens irrespective of race or creed, actuated by considerations of respect or pity. The town also made occasional grants and paid the old pastor for his services on the School Committee, while benefits and "donation parties" were held from time to time in the interests of softening the old man's penury. In the last years of his life Mr. Starman was a village institution. The Reverend John Bulfinch, who was a neighbor in his boyhood, years later wrote: "His skullcap, gown and cane were familiar objects of interest to his friends and neighbors in the latter part of his life. . . . One bare-footed urchin of eight,²⁴ well remembered in after years the fatherly expression with which he was greeted on his way from school: "Who would think that one small head would hold so much!"

Mr. Starman sometimes supplied the Congregational churches in the neighborhood, after he had given up regular services in his own church. One of his hearers said to him after such an occasion. "Father Starman, I don't see but you preach as well now as you did twenty years ago."

"I ought to," he said, "for I wrote that sermon twenty years ago."²⁵

That his work would be continued was one of the fondest hopes of Mr. Starman in his last years. Writing to William D.

²³A Methodist circuit rider.

²⁴Mr. Bulfinch himself.

²⁵*The Lutheran Observer*, Phila., Apr. 12, 1889.

Williamson, he said: "I hope soon the Lord will call me to his rest and supply my place, not only by one who is younger, but by one who knows more than I do — who is wiser, holier, and more faithful."²⁶

The Lutheran old guard entertained the same hope, and after Mr. Starman had been incapacitated by age, weakness, and disease, the remaining handful appealed to the New York Synod to send them another preacher. The Reverend Dr. Pohlmann of Albany was sent to Waldoboro by the Synod to survey the situation and arrange if possible for a continuation of the work. Dr. Pohlmann has left a detailed account of his visit which for sheer pathos is unsurpassed in our documentary history. It was in October 1850 that the Rev. Pohlmann reached Waldoboro and went directly to Mr. Starman's home. He writes:

I found him a perfect wreck of his former self, afflicted with erysipelas, almost blind and nearly helpless; yet, the same simple-hearted, prayerful, God-fearing, and God-loving man as ever. Never shall I forget the gleam of joy which illumined his aged countenance, as I alighted from the stage coach and entered his humble dwelling. His troubles now seemed to be over, the desire of his heart to be gratified. His people were once more to be gathered in the old church, and to hear the Gospel from the lips of a Lutheran minister. Immediate arrangements were made for religious services on every day of the limited period of my visit. On Friday evening I preached in a neighboring school house; and such an audience of aged men and women, my eyes had never before beheld. At the close of the services, which were listened to with rapt attention, they clustered around me, and had I been the President of the United States, I could not have received a more hearty greeting, while they hailed with joy the proposition I made in behalf of the Ministerium, that we would send them a minister, provided they would aid in his support by the contribution of \$150.00 annually. On the following afternoon I addressed the congregation again at the house of Conrad Heyer, the first born among the settlers at Broad Bay, who, although one hundred and one years old, was as brisk and active as a man of fifty; and who according to his wont for more than eighty years, acted as chorister, and led us in a hymn of praise, reading without spectacles the small print of Watt's duodecimo Hymn Book, and singing even the highest notes with scarcely any of the tremulousness of age. But Sunday was the great day of the feast; for all the settlers far and near, to the third and fourth generations, crowded to the dilapidated church, on foot, and in all kinds of ancient vehicles. The aged pastor was there wrapped in flannels, having been carefully conveyed thither by one of his attentive deacons — the little remnant of his flock was there, ancient men and women, not a few having for the most part passed three score years and ten, fondly recalling the days of their youth, when they kept holy day together, and had gone to the house of God in company. After two services in the old church, and a third in the Baptist meeting-house in the village, the congregation was dismissed to meet on Monday afternoon to listen to another sermon and to learn the result of the

²⁶Wm. D. Williamson in *The American Quarterly Register*, XIII, 162.

effort which was being made to comply with my proposition, and secure the services of a minister. At that meeting it was announced that the committee appointed for that purpose, after the most strenuous efforts, had been able to secure only between fifty and sixty dollars; and the amount of a collection taken on the spot, for my expenses, which they insisted on defraying, was only one dollar and thirty-one cents. It was not that they did not desire the services of a Gospel minister. It was not because they were penurious; for I doubt not that each one subscribed to the full extent of his ability. But it was because for the most part they were almost entirely destitute of the means of a comfortable living, and had absolutely nothing to spare from their scanty earnings.

Under these circumstances, as the feeble few were unable to supply even the necessary clothing for a pastor, and as there was no material in the settlement which might be counted on for the resuscitation and growth of the congregation, they came to the unanimous conclusion to disband their organization, and seek a spiritual house in the neighboring Congregational Church, where since the disability of their pastor they had been fed, and in whose communion many of their children already numbered. Though with great reluctance I could not but acquiesce in their decision; and commending them to God and to the word of his Grace, the parting prayers was offered, the farewell hymn sung, and we separated, to meet no more, until assembled:

Where congregations ne'er break up,
And Sabbaths ne'er shall end.²⁷

The old pastor died in 1854 with the realization that he had outlived the cause which was his life's work. With his passing there passed the last main symbol of an order which had valiantly but vainly sought to perpetuate itself amid the insistent changes of an alien world. On June 16, 1855, the Society voted "to give \$25.00 for erecting a monument for Mr. Ritz and Starman." The major part of the sum of \$200 was contributed by the citizens of the town.

Hereafter the meetings of the Society were few and dealt largely with questions affecting the cemetery. The Trustees on June 22, 1850, appointed Edward Kaler the first sexton "to serve for what he gets from those he burys." At a meeting of the Trustees "holden" at the town house, Nov. 1, 1851, it was voted "to choose a committee to see Edward Kaler and see if it could buy an acre or half acre adjoining the burying ground. Thus it was that the Society was buying back the same land which it had sold as the school lot less than half a century before, for the old Germans and their descendants continued even in death their inexorable claim to rest beside their fathers.

On May 24, 1856, it was voted that the Committee of the Burying Ground be authorized to find a suitable place to bury one of the last of the old Germans, Conrad Heyer, "in the German

²⁷Rev. Henry L. Pohlmann, D.D., *The German Colony and the Lutheran Church in Maine* (Gettysburg, 1869).

Burying Ground," and furthermore "to see if it be necessary to make any repairs to the Meeting House for the purpose of burying Mr. Heyer and do the same." Conrad Heyer's life had been co-extensive with more than a century of Waldoboro history. Born amid the hard rigors of the early days at Broad Bay, he had for one hundred and seven years lived on to see his race assimilated, his native language die, and his church disappear. Amid changing scenes the old faith received its final vindication through him, and when the Patriarch of Waldoboro laid down the burden of his long years there was not one in all the land who did not rise up to do him honor. With the death of Mr. Starman Lutheranism in Waldoboro passed into history; with the death of Mr. Heyer it may be said that the last symbol of a once dominant culture vanished.

The Lutheran Church has maintained itself in American life down to the present as a vital religious element, and because of this fact it is reasonable to raise the question why this was not the case in Waldoboro. The answer is to be found in a variety of conditions. Perhaps the most potent factor was the isolation of these early Lutherans. At best they were a small group surrounded by a great alien culture — the English. So long as their isolation continued they maintained their original linguistic and religious characteristics. Following the French and Indian War the Puritans rolled in to their very door stones, buying up farms and settling down in their midst. These Puritans were better educated, had more money, more necessities and luxuries, and on the whole represented a higher standard of living. The Germans traditionally have always been quick to abandon their own culture and adopt alien culture patterns. Here at Broad Bay they were confronted by superior modes of living. In all its aspects the Puritan pattern was appealing to these Germans. Thus it was that the old allegiance and loyalties weakened. One after another they made the new patterns their own. Their faith was the last value to be abandoned. In the end they relinquished this, too, and joined the churches of the more fashionable and more monied English.

Cultural imitation, however, was only one factor. The second compelling reason was language. The old Germans clung too obstinately to their native tongue and too insistently to a church service in the German language. When the first permanent English settlers came to the valley of the Medomak there was only one church they could attend — the Lutheran. Many attended and some joined even when they could understand little of the service. As their numbers grew they asked for part-time services in their own language. Had this request been acceded to after the Revolution, the church could have held their loyalty. In its creed it

was little different from the Episcopal and Congregational churches, and it could have easily met the religious needs of the whole community. Had the services at this time been half in English and half in German, the transition to a full English service in the fullness of time would have been natural and inevitable.

As has been pointed out the inflexibility of the old Germans and their pastors thwarted such a development. Gradually the English speaking element — both Puritan and German — withdrew, and as their strength and numbers increased, they established churches of their own, which slowly drew away from the old church the younger and English-speaking Germans. As death thinned the ranks of the uncompromising faithful, the Lutheran church found itself a parish without a membership sufficient in wealth and numbers to support it. Thus died the faith of the founding fathers. The determination which showed itself triumphant over the rugged boulders and “stubborn glebe” of their farms proved the death of their religion.

Today the German Protestant Society still carries on with a degree of financial strength and of business efficiency unknown in the annals of the early period. Its present purpose is the administration of cemetery matters, and the preservation of the church edifice as an historical memorial. Once a year it opens its doors for services, and the sixth, seventh, and eighth generations assemble from far and near to do honor to their heroic forebears. For a number of years the pulpit was supplied at these services by Dr. Samuel Trexler of the church's original synod, that of New York, and the head of the Lutheran church in the United States. At this annual service Dr. Trexler by rare dignity, grace, and eloquence reinterpreted to the descendants of the old Lutherans, the courage, simplicity and piety of their ancestors. In his lifetime he had a deep interest in the history of the old settlement and of its church, and under his inspiration a worthy tradition was made to live again in the hearts of the later children of these rugged Teuton pioneers.

XXVIII

THE MAKING OF THE VILLAGE

The village community has been central in human affairs since plants and animals were domesticated and men's relations to nature were transformed from conquest to alliance.

BAKER BROWNELL

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HAD BEEN a period in which economic, social, and religious life in old Broad Bay and Waldoborough bore the unmistakable stamp of a feudal German pattern. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the English were increasing rapidly in numbers and influence; new figures and new personalities, some of them educated and resourceful, were settling in the town, taking over the direction and management of its affairs, and imparting to its life the character of a virile and enterprising New England community.

The census of the year 1800, apart from its furnishing a considerable body of interesting data, reveals, as do subsequent censuses, the steady drift from the German feudal pattern to that of a Puritan civilization. This enumeration shows a body of three hundred and seventy-six native English in residence in the town, a number not including families where the father was German and the mother English. In most of such households the English language was unquestionably the prevailing medium of speech, since the Germans entering into such unions were themselves in good part anglicized. In fact, this was a condition true at this time in reference to all the prosperous and influential Germans. The economic world in which they lived was English, and to do business in it and to share in its prosperity involved a fair mastery of English speech. Consequently the wealthier and more influential Germans, such as George Demuth, Captain George D. Smouse, Jacob Ludwig, the Ulmers, Charles Reiser, George Werner, John Kinsell, and many others in this generation had become bilingual. But in the homes of the back-country, in fact everywhere where agriculture and not trade was the source of livelihood, German remained the prevailing language.

The census of 1800 was taken by Samuel Davis, appointed for this purpose as a deputy to the United States Marshal of the District of Maine. It sought little data other than the actual counting of members making up individual households and their division into age groups, perhaps in order that the young nation might have some index to its military strength. The enumeration was made under the two headings of Free White Males and Free White Females. These two classifications with their age divisions follow:¹

FREE WHITE MALES	
Under ten years of age	274
Of ten and under sixteen years of age	139
Of sixteen and under twenty-six years	115
Of twenty-six and under forty-five years	135
Of forty-five years and upwards	99
FREE WHITE FEMALES	
Under ten years of age	269
Of ten and under sixteen years	135
Of sixteen and under twenty-six years	118
Of twenty-six and under forty-five years	136
Of forty-five years and upwards	91

A further examination of the schedules shows five individuals listed otherwise than free. These included two negroes bearing the impressive name of Port-Royal, who lived in the economic orbit of Squire Thomas; a negro, sex unknown, living in the household of Captain Charles Samson, and a negro man and woman in the household of Captain Stephen Andrews. There were also additional negroes in the town who, for rather obvious reasons, escaped the census. Since slavery was no longer legal in the District of Maine it is theoretically difficult to determine the status of these colored adjuncts, who were originally slaves brought to these parts from the West Indies by sea captains; but mindful of the traditionally serene indifference in Waldoborough to the statutes of the General Court, it is an entirely warrantable assumption that these negroes lived here in these homes in a serving capacity in return for food, clothing, and shelter.

This census also furnishes interesting data on the size of Waldoborough families. Of the two hundred and forty-five family units in the town, there were nine with eleven members and twelve with ten members. These twenty-one households made up about one seventh of the population of the town. The largest family among the Germans was that of Charles Kaler with a count of thirteen noses, and among the Puritans the households of Caleb Howard and Squire Thomas numbered eleven each. It is also of interest to note that the families that have been the most

¹Schedules on file in the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

numerous in these later years ran for the most part true to form in an earlier day. In 1800 there were in the town twenty-two Achorns, forty-six Benners, fourteen Castners, fifty Creamers, twelve Eugleys, twenty-three Feylers, eight Grosses, nineteen Heaveners, forty Hoffses, fifty-one Kalers, thirty Ludwigs, thirty-six Millers, forty-two Minks, twenty-one Storers, and thirty-eight Walks. Of the Puritans there were in the town nineteen Coles, twenty Farnsworths, twenty Howards, and thirty-three Simmonses.

At the turn of the century then, if family names be a criterion, the town had become about one-quarter English, but the fact should not be lost sight of that culturally the Puritan influence was out of all proportion to its numbers, and that in later censuses, as the Germans became more completely anglicized and intermarriage in consequence increased, names were no longer a true index of culture. In fact, it was in a large measure due to this fusion of blood that the two cultures ultimately merged. The Germans learned to live like the English and the latter in their turn absorbed some of the more fixed and enduring Teutonic traits, so that to this day those who are sensitive to the subtleties of racial and cultural characteristics and modes of feeling and thinking, can still discern in the present Waldoboro folk an underlay of German culture beneath the overlay of New England Puritanism.

Through the eighteenth century Waldoborough had remained a settlement of German peasants who according to their Old World mode of life lived on farms scattered throughout the township. In their former environment these peasants had never been village makers. They were a part of the land in the same sense as the present-day Polish or Russian peasants. The soil was their element and they were of it, just as their blood brethren in contemporary Pennsylvania. The *Bauernhof*, a group of buildings providing all essential services for their basic needs, fulfilled all requirements of their mode of life. In the fullness of time a more concentrated and contiguously settled area would probably have developed, but it didn't. They lived by agriculture, whereas their Yankee fellow citizens were more traders by nature. It was the Puritans who accepted the implications of this tradition, and the making of Waldoborough Village was almost entirely the work of their hands and minds.

The growth of the present-day village began in the 1790's and by 1810 it was securely established as the nucleus of the present township. The thought of such a development gave little concern to the Germans, but to some of the Puritans who were more inclined to land speculation it was a matter of considerable

importance. From the advent of Squire Thomas on the Medomak around 1770, and through the war and postwar period, the district at the foot of Thomas' Hill and Slaigo brook became a center of considerable activity, competing for importance with the head-of-tide area. Here were located Squire Thomas, the Samsons, and Andrew Schenk, all men of means, of enterprise, and influence. Here arose a center providing all the services needed in the early period. Here was the sawmill and the gristmill of Squire Thomas, to which people in the southern and southeastern part of the town brought their lumber for sawing, and their corn, rye, and wheat for grinding. Just across the brook on the west side was the tannery of Andrew Schenk where hides could be prepared for their manifold uses in the local economy. Here also were the wharves, warehouses, and the store of Squire Thomas, buying the exportable surplus of the settlement for the Boston, West Indian, and European trade, and providing the settlers with their needed goods drawn from these sources.

The business of Squire Thomas was extensive in these times, dwarfing that in any other part of the township, and so long as the main travel was by water this Slaigo mart was even more accessible to the lower westsiders than the head-of-tide district. Here also was the first customhouse² for the district of Waldoborough, of which Squire Thomas was the Collector, a magnet drawing shipbuilders and businessmen from all parts of the district which, on the east, reached to the Penobscot. Close at hand was Waterman's Ferry service providing transit of the bay and river for all travellers passing to the eastward and westward over the lower route. In short, it may be said that at this time there were in the town the nuclei of an upper and a lower village.

These were all substantial advantages in the development of the Slaigo site, but there were drawbacks, some natural and some artificial, which the hopes and dreams of the lower eastsiders could not overcome. Their site was not so central; the volume of water in the brook made grinding and sawing a seasonal business, whereas the dams on the upper Medomak provided water power the year around; again, there was no natural channel leading to Squire Thomas' wharves. In fact, at low tide there was no salt water at all, and only boats of the shallowest draft could lay alongside the wharves at high tide. In handling trade all commodities had to be loaded on scows and lightered to the larger vessels at their anchorage in the bay, and lumber had to be floated out in rafts and loaded alongside from the water. In the case of ships discharging, cargoes had to be handled the same way.

²A frame wooden building on the east side of Slaigo creek. It was moved in later years to East Waldoborough by Mr. Wade and made by him into a home. Oral narrative of Mr. Sheldon Simmons.

Such costly handicaps as these were nonexistent at the head of tide where ships could lie at the wharves and discharge and load. These and other factors of an economic nature united to make the head-of-tide area the inevitable village site. This development, however, was hastened by a tragic reversal in the fortunes of Squire Thomas which exercised a marked crippling effect upon the Slaigo center. This reversal arose from the one basic flaw in the Squire's character. As pointed out in earlier chapters, he lived, conceived, and transacted business on the grand scale and in so doing was prone to overextend himself, and then, in order to recoup, to resort to expedients in the way of temporary aid to himself, which were of dubious legality. In an earlier pinch such a thing had happened with no evil consequences to any one. The real trouble came with the Federal Government in his customs accounts. Here the easy-going local financial practices were not an accepted vogue, and an apparent misuse of Government funds met with a swift check in 1802. The consequences are recorded in the office of the Lincoln County Registry of Deeds at Wiscasset where the following entries appear:

The President of the United States of America to the Marshall of our District of Maine or his Deputy Greeting. Whereas the United States of America by the consideration of our Judge of our District of Maine aforesaid on the first Tuesday of September last recovered Judgement against Waterman Thomas of Waldoborough, Esquire, Joseph Eaton of Cambden, yeoman, and all in said District of Maine for the sum of \$4000 dollars debt or damage and \$33.32 costs of suit as to us appears of Record, whereof execution remains to be done. We command you, therefore, that of the goods, chattels or lands of the said Waterman . . . you cause to be paid and satisfied unto the said United States at the value thereof in money, the aforesaid sums, being \$4032.32 . . . We command you to take the bodys of said Waterman . . . and them to commit unto either of our gaols in our District of Maine . . . and detain . . . until they pay the full sums above mentioned.³

The funds necessary to meet the damages awarded to the Government were not available, and James W. Head of Warren, William Thompson of Waldoboro, and Matthew Cottrell of Damariscotta were appointed appraisers to set off sufficient of Squire Thomas' real estate to satisfy the verdict of the Court. The lands so delimited for sale comprised

all that part and parcel of the farm whereon the said Waterman now dwells, which lies and is situated on the northerly and easterly side of the public road leading from the bridge over Slaigo brook, so called near said Waterman's Saw Mill to Captain Charles Samson's dwelling house on the easterly side of said brook . . . together with the barn, Store and buildings thereon standing. . . .

³Bk. 51, pp. 232-235.

This blow broke the financial power of Squire Thomas and removed from this neighborhood its economic spark plug, leaving the Slaigo area in a crippled state. Thereafter the nucleus of a village at the head of tide held the field and developed without any other competing center.

It is a great tribute to the character of Waterman Thomas that this blow crushed him only in an economic sense. He had been too great a benefactor, too influential a leader, and too beloved and admired a figure to lose caste and confidence among his fellow citizens. They promptly elected him as their representative to the General Court in 1803. Thereafter he continued to live among them, more quietly, to be sure, and on a scale less grandiose. From this time on, his name appears less frequently in town annals, for he was an ageing man and in his time he had borne his full share of civic cares and responsibilities as the town's first squire and foremost citizen. For a few years his name appears as a surveyor of land until around 1810 when further mention of him is lacking in the records, and it may be that his death occurred about this time. The place of his burial is not known, but there is a strong likelihood that it was with his old friends in the private cemetery on the Farnsworth estate.

Apart from the reverses of Squire Thomas and the decline of his influence, the formation of a village at the head of tide had been inevitably implicit in the beginnings of the plantation. The facts of geography as well as those of circumstance were in its favor, for here was situated the greatest single source of water power in the valley. The saw and gristmills at the three falls, in an area less than half a mile in length, made it a center of essential services for the most densely populated areas of the town. At the head of tide the river channel touched the banks, making possible the erection of wharves where vessels could moor and discharge their cargoes directly on land. At this point the roads east and west now met and were joined in the 1780's by a bridge across the river, which made this a point of convergence for all traffic moving east and west. At Head's store on the west side on the post road was the first post office.

All these factors drew men to this point in ever increasing numbers, and as they gathered or passed they would stop to trade, which led to the establishment of stores and to the rise of a trading center. Here before the turn of the century Captain George D. Smouse established his store on the east side of the road across from the old town house, and here was Smouse's wharf and warehouse, the center of his West Indian business. On the east side, just west of the present Gay block, was the store of Payne Ewell, and on the site of Miss Eugenia Keene's home was the general

store of William Thompson. In short, it was not plan or design that led to the rise of the village at this point, but the inescapable facts of economic geography.

Present-day Waldoboro Village was carved out of the lands or farms held in early days by William Wagner, David Holzapfel, Matthias Römele, John Ulmer, and John Martin Reiser. These lots were located as follows: William Wagner, a carpenter of the migration of 1753 held the farm on the west side of the river adjoining the lower falls of the Medomak. He was probably not the first to hold it, for such an important lot was most desirable due to its mill privileges, but it is clear that Wagner was settled here during the French and Indian War. The lot, however, was coveted by the more enterprising Matthias Achorn, a miller, and on September 21, 1761, he induced Wagner to exchange it for one a little farther up the river. The deed of this conveyance reads: ". . . said William doth hereby give and dispose unto the said Matthias his farm lying on the west side of the Medomak Falls, bordering north to the lot of John Beiner, south to the lot of David Holtapple, twenty-five rods wide and running back till one hundred acres are complete."⁴ This lot extended south to a point near the present highway leading across the bridge, and here for many years Matthias Achorn had his sawmill. In 1772 he conveyed three-quarters of the mill right to his sons, Matthias and John, and to George Kline, a probable son-in-law. In 1774 a deed of conveyance among the owners mentions "two grist mills, houses and barns."⁵ In 1795 this lot was in possession of Jacob Achorn and on May 18th of the same year he conveyed it to John Head.⁶

In this manner this one-hundred acre tract came into the possession of the Head brothers, John and Joshua, and so far as this section of the present town is involved, they were among the village makers, for, apart from the mills, they set up a large general store north of the road on the top of the hill near the residence of Alfred Storer. In this same year, 1795, John Head, the first postmaster, located the first post office in his store, thus greatly facilitating a trade which laid the basis of the Head family fortune in the town. In the years around the turn of the century Town Meetings, in an increasing measure, had convened in this central location, namely, in the homes of William Sproul and Ezekiel Barnard, and in John Head's store. In view of this fact the two brothers were shrewd enough to make a small lot available next door as the location of a town house, and to this point in 1803 the courthouse was moved from "Kinsell's Hill." Years later, when Joshua had become rich and influential, he built himself the man-

⁴Lincoln County Registry of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 7, p. 170.

⁵*Ibid.*, Bk. 11, p. 41.

⁶*Ibid.*, Bk. 34, p. 161.

sion, now the home of Joseph Brooks, on the northwest square of Kaler's Corner.

South of the highway leading over the hill from the bridge lay the two lots originally allotted to David Holzapfel which ran south along the river beyond the present Smouse's Wharf, and sufficiently far back in the hinterland to embrace two hundred acres, being lots Nos. 2 and 3 below Medomak Falls. In 1772 when Holzapfel migrated to North Carolina he sold these two lots for £135 to Captain Solomon Hewett of Scituate, Massachusetts. After a few years of residence and development the Captain had died in 1778, and in 1796 his heirs, Philip and Deborah Chandler, of New Hampshire, sold substantial portions of these two lots for \$1300.00 to Captain George D. Smouse, "mariner." These lands acquired by Smouse became the center of his West Indian activities and in this way contributed in a marked sense to the centralizing of business in the village area.

Captain Smouse's house is still standing on its original site, albeit in a sad state of disrepair. Near by on the roadside at the top of the hill across from the Heads was his store, managed by his uncle, George Demuth. The wharf and the warehouses of Smouse on the waterfront probably came a year or two later. At this time Captain Hewett's house was still standing on Lot No. 2 nearer the river. This was the full extent of the village development on the west side around the year 1800, although the one church in the town was located a little farther down the river on the Bremen road.

The main part of the village, as is known, grew up on the east side of the river. The reason for this is to be found mainly in the fact that the large landholders on the west side, Captain Smouse and the Heads, held their acres intact, while the landholders on the east side deliberately cut up their holdings into small lots and sold them for business and residential purposes.

The earliest holders of the village lands on the east side are unknown. William Burns was located in 1736 on a ninety-acre lot lying between the present bridge and lower falls, but he was compelled to abandon his holdings during the Fifth Indian War, and thereafter his lot seems to have reverted to the proprietor. Sometime later, when and how is not known, a two hundred and sixty-five acre tract in the very heart of the present-day village came into the hands of Captain John Ulmer, Sr. By the 1790's the Ulmers were disposing of their real estate in Waldoborough and moving to the eastward, namely to Thomaston and Rockland.

In consequence, on April 7, 1794, John Ulmer sold his lands at head of tide to David Doane of Barnstable, Massachusetts, including the saw and gristmills on the lower falls, excepting the

one half acre below the county road "granted to the town for a public landing." Doane engaged for a short time in the milling business in the town and served for one year as first selectman, and then on October 31, 1796, disposed of his holdings to Ezekiel Barnard and William Sproul of Bristol, and returned to Massachusetts.

On May 9, 1804, these two partners effected a partial division of their land holdings. Barnard took roughly the land to the north of the road running east and west through the village, and Sproul the land south of the road, albeit this division does not seem to apply to the mills or mill lots, nor to the land between Jefferson Street and the river.⁷ Sproul tended to hold his portion intact, while Barnard was more active in selling his land off in small lots. In 1805 he sold a small lot to Daniel Howard on the site of the present sail loft for a blacksmith shop. Two-thirds of the way up the hill to Gay's Corner on the lot now used for parking purposes was the village tavern kept by Barnard and his wife, Mary. To the east of the tavern on the road front a lot was sold to Payne Elwell for a general store — different from all other stores in the village in that "Deacon" Elwell never sold rum, flip, or intoxicating liquor in any form. At a little later date on Gay's Corner was Mr. Groton's store.

In 1809 on the opposite corner, occupied for so many years by "Ed Randall Benner's drug store," Henry Flagg purchased a small lot for a store, and two years later Charles Miller entered into partnership with him. Just north of this store was Abner Keene's blacksmith shop, and on the same side of Jefferson Street, farther north, Barnard sold in 1809 the "Reed house" lot to John Ruggles Cutting, the first Congregational minister in town, who started to erect the present Reed mansion, known at that time as "Cutting's Folly," as indeed it proved to be for a man on a preacher's salary. He never finished his project. In 1811 Colonel Isaac G. Reed acquired the property and by 1816 had completed "the folly," and it had become the magnificent Reed mansion of the present day. On the west side of Jefferson Street, right across from the Reed lot, Barnard and Sproul sold the tract extending from the road to the river to Sam Hale, who drove the mail and whose home stood on the river bank. The lot next north of Hale was sold for \$580.00 in 1805 to Samuel Morse, schoolmaster, who soon turned to the more lucrative channels of business and erected a tannery on the river bank on the west end of his lot. At a later date he built for himself the residence on the west side of the highway now occupied by the Bear Hill Market.

⁷Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 55, p. 45.

North of the land of Deacon Morse lay the one-hundred-acre farm of Matthias Seitenberger owned by this family since early days. In the first decade of the century he, too, was selling small lots to people now settling in the growing village area. One acre from this farm was sold on the east side of the road to William Smith, blacksmith, for his brother, Thomas, of Litchfield, together with a dwelling house, the whole sale totalling \$200.00. The west end of this lot had been sold earlier to Robert Chase of Newcastle, who operated the mill known as Chase's mill on the site of the old Soule mill. Next north of the Seitenberger farm was that of John Gross, the shoemaker, who, on his marriage to the daughter of John Martin Schaeffer, had assumed the name of Shepherd, the English equivalent of the name Schaeffer. Adjoining Shepherd on the north was the old Orff homestead farm owned at this time by Henry Orff, and on it at the foot of the Great Falls, extending along the river to the mouth of "Orff's brook," was the "tan yard" of Philip Hilt. On the Great Falls itself was located the saw and gristmill owned and operated by Kinsell and Achorn. This was roughly the development of the immediate village area north of the County Road.

On the south side of the County Road the immediate area was owned by William Sproul, and immediately south of his holdings were the two lots, the original homestead farm of John Martin Reiser (Razor). They extended from the southern line of the old Mary Hutchins lot to the southern bounds of the farm now owned by Clifton Meservy. Around the turn of the century this tract running through to the river was owned by John Martin's son Charles, and formed a part of the present village area. Like others in these years, Charles Reiser sold off small sections of this farm at a good profit. On January 28, 1795, he sold to William Thompson, "merchant," two acres extending from William Sproul's south line on the river, "round a certain point of land called Razor's point," to the head of a cove known as Razor's Cove.

This point was the present site of Alfred Storer's lumberyard and the cove in question was the area on the river back of Jesse Benner's stable. From these two points the lot ran easterly to the main road. Here on the present site of Eugenia Keene's home William Thompson erected his store. On the opposite side of the street he purchased an additional acre and forty rods of Reiser, which "extended eight rods south from William Sproul's line." Here he built himself a house which must have been completed by the spring of 1796 since a Town Meeting was held on April 4th of that year at "William Thompson's new house."⁸ This house

⁸Waldoborough Clerk's Record, under date of April 4, 1796.

of Thompson's was later secured by Payne Elwell through a mortgage and occupied by him in his lifetime. Destroyed in the fire of 1846 the lot was then acquired by John H. Kennedy for \$1000.00, and he erected the brick house now standing on it and owned by Maynard Genthner.

At this time the only other house in the immediate village area south of Main Street was the "mansion house" of William Sproul, located on the site now covered by the northern end of the Sproul



block. Close by on present Main Street and to the east of the mansion house was the town pound. This enclosure for the care of estrays came as the result of Mr. Sproul's offer of land and a road leading to the pound "for so long as the town would use it for this purpose." This offer was accepted on May 2, 1802, at which time it was voted "to erect a pound near William Sproul's dwelling house . . . of good pine and juniper." The enclosure was built by Jacob Benner for \$54.00.⁹ Also located on Sproul's waterfront was the town landing in the form of a stone wharf immediately adjoining on the north the wooden-piered wharf of the Clark shipyard. A road led into this landing from the County Road just east of the bridge. This landing together with the Smouse house are the only surviving monuments of the original village.

Charles Reiser made further disposition of his land in 1795 when he sold to John Matthews of Warren the major portion of

⁹Clerk's Record, May 6, 1802.

his farm west of the highway, having as its north bound a point at the head of Razor Cove, and as its south bound the south line of the present Brick Schoolhouse lot. Here he built his home, the smaller of the two houses owned in recent years by a descendant, Mrs. Jane Brummit. This was one of the few houses situated at this time on the west side of the Friendship road. A second one so located was that of Doctor John C. Wallizer, who in 1793 had bought of Paul Lash for £30 the west end of the old Lash homestead farm including all the land between the highway and the river. This lot had as its northern bound an extension across the road of the northern line of the land of Raymond Jones, and as its south bound an extension beyond the highway of the northern line of Harold Levensaler. Somewhere along the road between these two bounds Doctor Wallizer built his house. In the mid-nineteenth century this house was owned and occupied by Hiram Brown, who eventually sold it, and it was modernized and moved onto the lot next north of the Methodist parsonage. It is today owned and occupied by Dick Benner.¹⁰

Beginning in the year 1800 one of the foremost citizens of the town, Doctor Benjamin Brown, began acquiring bit by bit all the lots on the west side of the highway between the northern line of Ralph Hoffses and the southern line of the lot now owned by Richard Castner. This tract was known in later years as the Marble farm, and for many years Governor Marble lived in the house built by Doctor Benjamin Brown as a residence for himself. This home and fine set of buildings was burned about twenty-five years ago during the occupancy of Fred Scott.

Around the year 1802 Joseph Farley came to Waldoboro as Collector of Customs, and soon thereafter began buying up the available sections of the Reiser farms. Ultimately he came into possession of all the land east of the highway between the southern lines of the old Mary Hutchins farm and that of Clifton Meservy. The buying up of these lands was completed by Mr. Farley in April 1815, when Charles Razor, who had removed to Putnam (Razorville), conveyed to him the major part of Lot No. 22, the old Alfred Storer place, "being the same lot of land on which I formerly lived."¹¹

All the houses on the Friendship road, apart from the three on the west side of the road, were located on the top of the high ridge running south along the Medomak River. The first of these was that of Charles Reiser on the level at the top of the hill back of the house now occupied by Leavitt Storer, the vague outlines of the cellar being still visible. South of him on the ridge was the

¹⁰Oral tradition of Mrs. Jessie Achorn, daughter of Hiram Brown.

¹¹Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 88, p. 206.

house of Georg Kuhn on the farm now owned in part by the Gay sisters. Next south on the Captain Pollard place but back on the top of the ridge was the home of Georg Werner. Beyond Pollard's south line was the house of Friedrich Schwarz, then Georg Demuth's house now occupied by Henry Hilton, and in order, proceeding south, the house of Paul Lash on the Raymond Jones place; the widow Chapman's home on the Harold Levensaler farm; Caleb Howard's house in the old "Asa Reed field"; Isaiah Cole's home, now occupied by Jasper J. Stahl, and west of the highway on this farm the house of Jabez Cole and his son-in-law, George Leissner. South of the Cole farm was the home of Michael Eisley, now occupied by Mrs. Velma Scott; next south the house of Ludwig Castner, the residence of the late Walter Boggs; this line took in the cabin of "Dr. Wing" at the head of the cow lane on the old Moses Burkett farm, and came out close to the highway on the Godfrey Feyler place, in recent years the home of Mrs. Carrie Feyler Hart.

The later development of the village to its present form consisted in the sale of smaller lots from the farms of the Heads, Smouse, Reiser, Barnard, and Sproul. The residential section of Main Street, Church Street, Shady Avenue and Dog Lane came gradually into being as Barnard and Sproul disposed of their holdings in the form of house lots, mill lots, shipyards and factory sites.

In the decade of village making from 1800 to 1810 the increase of the Puritans, in both numbers and influence, was a rapid one. Whereas in 1800 about one out of every four inhabitants bore an English name, by 1810 the ratio had become better than one to three. Both English and German were village languages, but in the back-districts German had receded little and was still almost exclusively the language of the fireside.

The census of 1810 was taken by Thurston Whiting, the Congregational minister of Warren and its form follows strictly that of 1800. It gave the town a population of 2160 divided among 327 families, of whom 207 bore German names, and 120 English ones. These families, broken up into their individual component members, reveal 1381 German names and 779 Puritan. The division into males and females follows:¹²

FREE WHITE MALES	
Under ten years of age	383
Of ten and under sixteen years of age	194
Of sixteen and under twenty-six years including heads of families	222
Of twenty-six and under forty-five including heads of families	175

¹²Schedules on file in the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

Of forty-five years and upwards including heads of families	142
FREE WHITE FEMALES	
Under ten years of age	339
Of ten and under sixteen years of age	191
Of sixteen and under twenty-six years including heads of families	214
Of twenty-six and under forty-five including heads of families	166
Of forty-five years and upwards including heads of families	130

The wide divergence in numbers between the first and second classifications, for example the 383 free white males under ten, and the drop to 194 between the ages of ten and sixteen, reveals the heavy mortality among children so common and inevitable in early days.

There were still large families in 1810. There was one family of fourteen members; there were five of thirteen members, nine of twelve members, twenty-one of eleven members, and thirty of ten members. The largest German families were those of Christian Hoffses, Anthony Hoffses, Jacob Ludwig and Friedrich Schwarz, with thirteen members each. The Puritans were not far behind. There were fourteen people in the household of Joshua Head, thirteen in that of Abner Pitcher, eleven each in the homes of Benjamin Brown, Nathaniel Brown, John Clark, Robert McClintock, Edward Manning and William H. Thompson; and ten members in the household of Robert Farnsworth.

The prolific breeders included the same old familiar names of 1800 and other bygone decades. There were a few changes. The Kalers had increased their lead widely over the Creamers, and the Benners led the latter family by the thin margin of one. The nineteen most productive German families had given the town more than a third of its population by 1810, despite the losses undergone through migration of many of their members to other parts. The count of noses in this census showed in the town: thirty-three Achorns, sixty Benners, thirty-six Bornheimers, fifty-nine Creamers, nineteen Eugleys, twenty-seven Feylers, twenty-two Genthners, forty-six Hoffses, seventy-six Kalers, twenty-four Kuhns, forty-nine Ludwigs, fifty-three Millers, forty-eight Minks, thirty-two Schwarzes, eighteen Seitenbergers, twenty-five Seitlingers, thirty-nine Storers, fifty-four Walks, and twenty-seven Winchenbachs. Today only two of these family names have become extinct in the town, while many of the others have been successful in maintaining their numerical prominence.

ANNALS OF THE EARLY CENTURY

*Ne perdons rien du passé. Ce n'est qu'avec le passé
qu'on fait l'avenir.*

ANATOLE FRANCE

AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW CENTURY the community was grievously troubled for the second time within a decade by that dread visitant of early days, the smallpox. Against this scourge there was no known defense. The disease was usually brought to the New England coastal town by some seafarer home for a visit with his people. This time it was first contracted by William, the young son of John and Sophia Schenck Fitzgerald. The homestead of this family is still standing at East Waldoboro and is the first house beyond the old Charles Fogler farm now occupied by Ivan Scott. The case was well developed before its nature had become apparent to anyone, and the neighbors as well as friends of the family in near-by Warren had already been exposed. On March 19, 1800, when the selectmen were first notified of the calamity, the disease had already broken out in four houses in the East Waldoboro district. On receipt of the news John Currier, the town crier, equipped with his bell went from house to house carrying the evil tidings and warning the citizens of a Town Meeting to be held the next day.

This disease was so dreaded that its presence was sufficient to alert the entire town. A whole community rising up to meet such an invader, with such primitive means as were in its power, provides an interesting insight into New England cultural history. On March 20th the town convened in a general meeting to devise ways for meeting the emergency. The first move was to close the roads at the house of William Fish, standing at what is now known as Fish's Corner. This was the northern limit of the quarantine, and on the south the road was blocked off just beyond the home of Edward Manning, the last house on the East Waldoboro road leading south. The committee to enforce this and other measures was made up of Edward Manning, Charles Samson, Jr., Peter Mink, Joshua Paine, and Charles Razor.

This committee was empowered "to erect smoke houses where to them may appear necessary," in order that any citizens in doubt on the question of his contacts might receive a thorough smoking. In line with its ancient prejudice the citizens in this meeting voted unanimously not to permit any inoculations. The measures taken by the committee including the creation of smoke houses totalled \$217.69 in cost, a most unexpected, and to the thrifty Dutch as well as to their little less thrifty Puritan neighbors, a most intolerable outlay. Consequently at a May 5th meeting it was voted that "the Selectmen call on all those persons infected with small pox for such parts of the Committee's accounts as the town by law are not obliged to pay."¹

As the spring advanced there was no abatement of the plague and again the town acted in its customary penny-hugging way. It was voted that "William Sproul, Ezekiel Barnard and Abner Keen be a committee to correspond with the town of Bristol respecting erecting a Hospital and not to charge the town for their time." This move apparently led to naught, and finally, confronted by an emergency against which no headway was being made, the town on June 9th consented

that Dr. Benjamin Brown be permitted to erect a hospital for the purpose of inoculating persons for the small pox on Isaiah Cole's Hill,² so called in this town, which hospital so erected, to be under the direction of a committee of this town to be appointed for that purpose at the expense of said Brown, and that the said hospital be conducted in every respect agreeable to the laws of the Commonwealth, provided all this be without any expense to the town.³

This action waived a long-standing medical prejudice, and perhaps for the first time in its history Waldoboro was a jump ahead of legal requirements, for in 1809 a statute was enacted directing all towns to introduce and practice vaccination at the corporate charge. The town committee appointed to supervise Dr. Brown's experiment was made up of Joshua Head, William H. Thompson, George Demuth, Jacob Winchenbach, and Ezekiel Barnard. The Doctor was compelled to give \$1000.00 bond, two sureties of \$500.00 each, "for the faithful performance of his duty respecting said hospital."

This first hospital, if we ignore the element of compulsion, marked something of a moral milestone in Waldoboro history, for the town down to more recent times has ever been insensitive to change and rigid in its conservatism. Even with the dark threat of disaster hanging over it, it behaved true to form. It was suspicious of hospitals; it was skeptical of scientific innovations, and

¹Clerk's Report of the meeting of May 5, 1800.

²The hill back of my residence.

³Clerk's Minutes, meeting of June 9, 1800.

it approached new methods cautiously, and in this case only when all other ancient medical lore proved unavailing and the plague had taken a considerable toll of life, after claiming little William Fitzgerald as its first victim.

Roads have ever been the rat hole of Waldoboro taxpayers, primarily because families tucked away in remote and inaccessible spots in the town's great geographic area have successfully "stood on their rights" in this matter. In the beginning of the new century the town continued its unchanging policy of developing its road system. Its appropriations for this item rose from \$1200.00 in 1801 to \$2500.00 in 1822. Around 1800 wages paid for road work were twelve and one half cents per hour for "each man who diligently works." A yoke of oxen received sixty-six cents per day, and twenty years later \$1.00 was paid for oxen and seventy-five cents per day for the use of a plow. In 1806 the road on Jones' Neck was laid out to join the town road at Back Cove; in 1815 the road "from Charles Feyler's Corner near the schoolhouse leading towards Union" was put up at auction and its construction bid off to Jacob Benner for \$190.00; in 1816 the Lovell Road joining the Augusta Road to Jefferson Street was laid out.

The main feat in road building, however, was the trunk line over Benner Hill to the bounds of Nobleboro. This road from Joshua Head's house⁴ to Hall's Mill in Nobleboro was allocated for building to the men through or along whose property it ran and was constructed in 1817. The following landowners each built their part and were paid by the town as follows: John Lash \$119.00; John Kinsell \$215.00; Charles Kaler \$331.00; Charles UMBERHIND \$290.00; William Sproul \$296.00, and George Kaler \$171.00. In addition to this outlay the town expended \$711.00, making a total expenditure of \$3133.00. On August 22, 1818, "the new county road was accepted," and a petition was addressed to the Circuit Court of Common Pleas "to have the old county road from McGuyer's to the Nobleboro line discontinued." This move, however, was blocked by the subsequent action of Friedrich Kinsell, and to this day the town is still maintaining a portion of this road.

In these days people built homes in most inconvenient and out-of-the-way places, and wherever a citizen had his home he wanted the town to make him a road leading thereto. The resolution of some of these back-district people in this matter is a phenomenon to marvel at. Such untempered audacity is clearly illustrated by a curious bit of wildcat road building involving a highway, across the farm lately owned by William Kelley, to the Nobleboro line. Against the vote of the town but backed by sanction of the Court, the parties interested went ahead and laid out

⁴The Brook's residence at Kaler's Corner.

the road they desired, and at the meeting of May 8, 1820, the subscribers reported to the town their action in laying out the road "on the land of John Light on the Nobleboro line, then on the land of Henry Winslow, Jacob Schwartz and joining the present Jefferson Road near the house of John M. Schwartz." They assessed no damages on anyone as they considered "none sustained," and added, "we consider said road to be a public benefit."

Such license on the part of a few men confronting the town with a *fait accompli* angered the prudent citizenry, and on August 22nd Gorham Parks and Colonel I. G. Reed were appointed agents "to use all means in their power to oppose the action of the lower court." In December the Court was petitioned to have the road discontinued "as said road will involve the town in very great expense." In January 1821 the selectmen were instructed "to petition the Court of Sessions to have the road lately laid out through the upper part of the town discontinued, and to employ counsel in addition to the two attorneys in this town if they deem it necessary." All this action was unavailing and the town was compelled to accept the road. On May 14, 1821, it reluctantly appropriated "\$50.00 for road from Black's Mill to John Light's." In these times ironclad mulishness was the common denominator to a great part of the dealings of man with man as well as in the corporate life of the town.

This period was also one of bridge building, some of it voluntary and some not. The villagers were quite willing to take all they could get for themselves but were reluctant to incur expense for the benefit of the folk in the back-districts. So it was that the Borneman bridge, now known as the Wagner bridge, was built under compulsion, for on May 8, 1820, this bridge "near Bornemann's Mill" was ordered built by the Court of Sessions. The Goose River bridge was a somewhat different matter. It was a main connecting line to the coast and the lack of a bridge across this stream was an inconvenience to the villagers who were now travelling by chaise. Accordingly on April 1, 1822, it was voted "to build half of the bridge over Goose River" at a cost of \$70.00.

The bridge across the outlet of Medomak Pond was authorized on December 26, 1805. When the bridge was built at the second falls of the Medomak is not known, but it must have been prior to 1811, for on April 21st of that year it was "voted to build a road from the road on the west side over a bridge to the road on the east side." The life of these early bridges was of short duration, and on July 18, 1818, an article was inserted in a town warrant "to see what action the town will take to repair the bridge near the Rev. Mr. Mitchell's house." Apparently the little Cape Cod cottage house on the corner adjoining the mill lot at the second falls

was the home built by the Reverend David Mitchell for himself during the early years of his pastorate of the Congregational Church.

The early bridges were flimsy structures unable to cope with the ice and water of the great spring freshets, and in consequence were always under repair. The bridge below the First Falls was repeatedly washed away, and it was years before a structure was built that possessed any considerable degree of permanence. The eccentric weather of 1802-1803, had put the bridge to the test and on New Year's Day, 1803, a Town Meeting at John Head's store had allowed Thomas Willett \$3.50 to make the Medomak bridge passable for the balance of the winter. Before the storms and freshets of another winter came it was tardily voted at a meeting of November 7, 1803, "to rebuild Medomak bridge of stones." The contract was given to George Ried for \$480.00. But the season was late and Ried made little headway during the winter. Furthermore, he refused to give bond for the quality of the job, or a time limit when it would be completed. Accordingly, at the meeting of March 5, 1804, Jacob Ludwig, Peter Gross, and William Sproul were appointed a committee "to call on George Ried and demand his bond according to his agreement with the town for building the bridge." Unable to overcome Mr. Ried's recalcitrancy in this way, the town countered by warning him "to remove all rocks he has placed in Medomak River within twelve days." It is no false observation to aver that these were cantankerous times, and that to turn the other cheek never became the vogue in Waldoboro history until recent times.

In the spring of this year the services of an outside bridge builder were secured. Mr. William McMonagle was to build the bridge for \$650.00 and have it finished by August 31, 1804, "he being present and agreeing to arrangements," whereunder he was "to keep a free pass while building and to have free use of all rocks in the river." Joshua Head, Peter Gross, Jacob Schwartz, Ezekiel Barnard, and William Sproul were to be the committee of Inspection, and the building was to be paid for by a bond issue, the first such in the history of the town. On September 13th the committee reported that the bridge be not accepted for the following reasons: in the first place it was not sufficiently underpinned, and in the second place it did not have sufficient gravel, the west end not being as high as laid down in the plan. As to its length, the bridge was found acceptable, but otherwise it was agreed to hold McMonagle to his bond until the bridge was accepted. In 1805 McMonagle's bondsmen attempted to get the town to compensate them "for extra work done on the bridge and other losses sustained by building the same," but the town, true to tradition, held the contractor and his bondsmen to the contract.

In 1813 the bridge was again under repair and "the privilege of repairing and covering the bridge . . . at the head of tide" was bid off to William Sproul for \$50.00. From this it would seem that, for a number of years at least, Waldoboro's main bridge was an old-time covered structure. In 1818 the bridge was further strengthened "by building up two stone butments against the stream as they formerly were when the bridge was first built." This work was struck off to the lowest bidder, John Achorn, for \$212.00.

Since the more normal and settled days following the French and Indian War, every farm had its full quota of cattle, sheep, and swine, which in a considerable measure enjoyed the freedom of the town. Before stonewalls had been completed around field and pastures, a long and laborious building task, fences were made from rails or from brush which were too flimsy to restrain the errant quadrupeds. Pigs enjoyed the freedom of the city, of highways, and public lots, where they fended for themselves for a considerable portion of the year. Each neighborhood had its hog reeve to assume custody of these animals whenever they overstepped their ancient privileges. By 1820 such freedom had been curtailed and hogs were very generally confined to sties. Herewith the office of hog reeve became largely titular and a distinction humorously reserved for newcomers to town and the newlyweds. It was an office that waived all social distinction and was conferred on the newlywed back-district lad as readily as on the greatest of the village grandees; in fact, it was an office with which the common run of citizens used to remind the great village squires of the scriptural injunction, "He who is greatest among you let him be the servant of all." In 1808 there were twenty-seven hog reeves elected and among them was Deacon Samuel Morse, Colonel I. G. Reed, Thomas Willett, Joshua Head, Joseph Farley, Charles Samson, and Charles Razor.

Cattle and sheep posed a problem somewhat different from that of swine. They could not be confined to sties as were hogs, and in consequence an elaborate system of marking and impounding estrays was in vogue to protect the owners against loss, and to make identification possible. In earlier chapters mention was made of the pounds on the east and west sides, and later of a central pound on the property of William Sproul between the present Main Street and Dog Lane. As the village area became more densely populated an enclosure at the very center of the town filled with bellowing cattle was too heavy a tax on the public nerve, and a new location for a pound was sought. Hence at the meeting of May 12, 1810, it was voted "that the Selectmen should take a lease of Mr. William Sproul for a convenient place to set the town pound for the use of the town as long as used for that purpose;

to move the pound to this location," and to dig a well under the pound. While details are lacking, it seems that at this time a lease was taken on land purchased for a pound on its present site.

The first structure here erected was apparently of wood, for at the meeting of May 15, 1819, it was voted "to receive proposals for rebuilding the old town pound." That the present structure was built of stone around 1820 seems probable. The present pound, so beautifully built as to be still standing, is one of the most unique local monuments still in existence memorializing the life of an earlier day.

In the year ending in March 1802, four hundred and sixty-one estrays were reported for the period of a twelvemonth. To prevent loss and to insure the identification and claiming of such stock an elaborate system of markings was in use. These could be, and in many cases were, a matter of record with the town clerk in order to enable the owner to establish a legal claim to his property, and to provide a clearing house against the duplication of markings. For example, among the recorded markings for the year 1810 were the following: "For cattle and sheep Dr. Benjamin Brown," a hole through the right ear and a crop of the left ear; Nathan Sprague, "both ears cropt off"; Henry Orff, "cropt off the right ear"; Peter Gross for sheep, "both ears cropt and a slit in the right ear"; Ezekiel Winslow, "a slit in the left ear." For the year 1812 Joshua Head's mark on sheep was marked through the right ear thus Δ , while John Orff's sheep had "the tail cut off and the right ear cropt." That the perennial question of errant rams had not been entirely solved at this late date, the following notice of October 18, 1815, bears witness:

To Henry Flagg, Esq., Clerk of the Town of Waldoboro. The subscribers hereby give notice that on the 17th day of October instant in the afternoon, we found and took up within our enclosure in said Waldoboro, three white rams, two of them with a small crop on the left ears, and a large piece cut out obliquely from the right ear, the other with a slit in the left ear, and a halfpenny, so called, on the under side of the right ear.

Isaac Reed
Joshua Head

This somewhat elaborate system of identification to a degree rendered fences superfluous, and it provides an added insight into the shrewdly inventive character of the early economy.

Beginning with the new century the present village as the central and most populous part of the town became the scene of all Town Meetings. With the rapid increase of population even the largest houses or stores had become too small to provide room for these meetings. Thus there arose the urgent need for a central town

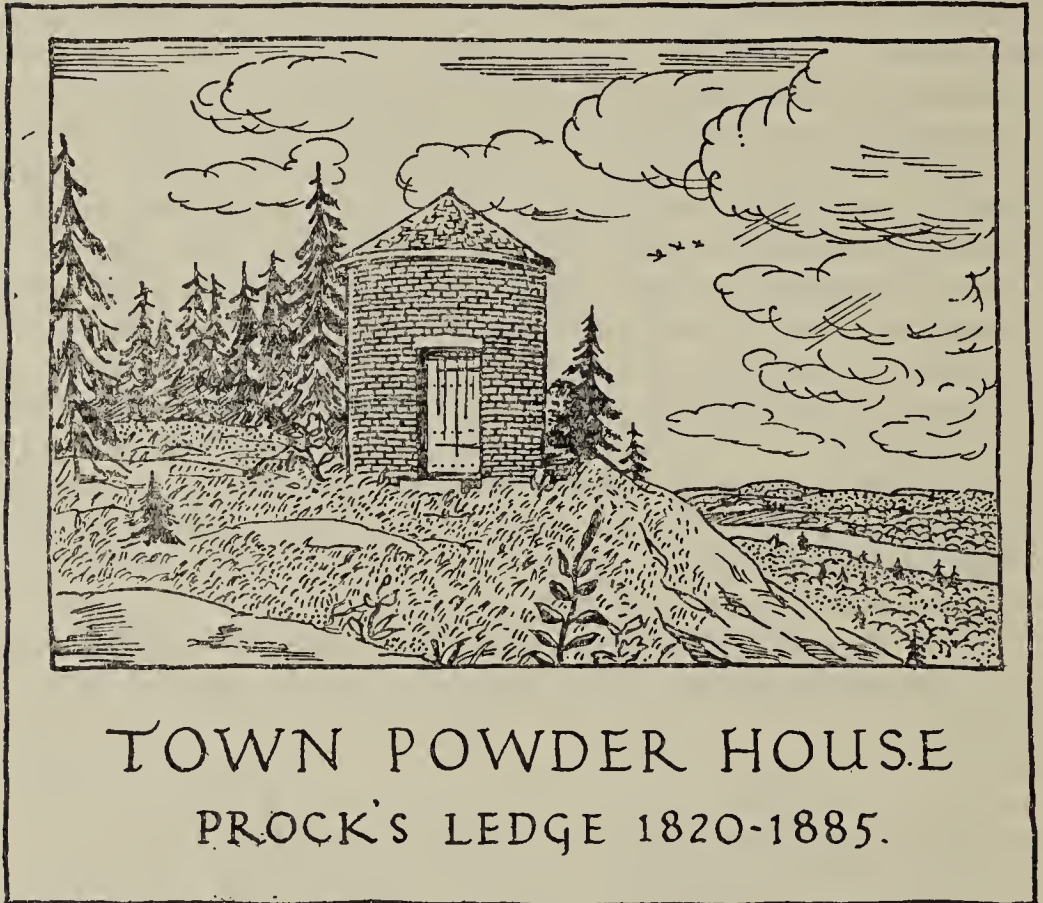
house. The old Court House on Kinsell Hill had served this purpose for a number of years, and since the Court had been moved to Warren late in the last century the old building was lacking a specific usefulness. In the face of such a condition the Head brothers figured that it would be good business to move the Court House to a location near their store and to have it used as a town house.

Accordingly an article was placed in the warrant and at a meeting held on July 25, 1803, it was voted "to procure a town-house." A committee was appointed to consider ways and means of meeting this need, and at a meeting on October 13th of this year it submitted an account of its doings as follows: "Your Committee reports that considering the present need the town has of a house to do public business in, we have agreed with Mr. Joshua Head, agent to the proprietors of the Court House, and purchased the same for \$230.00, he giving a deed of sufficient land to accommodate the Building, and he to secure his pay in the next year." The report of this committee headed by Doctor Benjamin Brown was accepted. In 1805 a stone underpinning was placed under the town house and "the building levelled." Here Town Meetings were held for many years. It is a matter of doubt, however, if the building used in recent years by Merton Winchenbach as a garage was the original Court House. This doubt is based on a reference in the Reed correspondence, a reference made in a letter written by Colonel Isaac G. Reed.

In the early days following the French and Indian War and the Revolution all towns in Massachusetts were required by law to maintain on hand adequate supplies of ammunition. The reason for the requirement was that in case of emergency a sufficient supply of powder would not otherwise be available for defense. In the years following the Revolution Waldoboro, in common with other towns, was lax in this respect, but to avoid the fines imposed on towns by the General Court the stock was replenished from time to time. On May 7, 1804, it was voted that "the selectmen purchase the town's stock of powder at the expense of the town." By 1811 it was necessary for the state to remind the town of its laxness in respect to preparedness and this year \$200.00 was appropriated "to supply the deficiency in the town's military stock," and in addition \$50.00 "to pay for the indictment of the town for deficiency in military stock."

The War of 1812 was close at hand, and this fine, apart from the shock it undoubtedly imparted, considerably improved the town's readiness for war. Thereafter the question of the town's powder supply became more acute, and the stock accumulated as the result of the war created the problem of a storage place that would not endanger any part of the community. This question

was rightfully agitated and as a consequence an article was inserted in the warrant of December 5, 1817, "to see if the town will build a house for the safe keeping of the Town's Stock of Ammunition." In the following meeting Payne Elwell, Charles Kaler, and Gorham Parks were named "to draft a plan of a Powder House and to report at the next meeting." Not until September 20, 1819, was the committee report acted on. At this meeting the selectmen



were authorized "to contract for and get a conveyance of a suitable place whereon to set a Powder House, and that they cause to be built thereon a Brick Building in which to deposit the Town's stock of ammunition." On May 8, 1820, \$175.00 was appropriated for land, and a site was purchased from Peter Prock.

To this day the site due west of the old William Storer place is known as Prock's Ledge, and here the Arsenal was erected. This structure is described by those older people who saw it in childhood as a circular building about fifteen feet high and seven feet in diameter with a concave wooden roof. In later years, after its need had passed, it fell into disrepair and in 1885 the brick was removed and used to construct the chimney in the building until recently used by the town officers. Here again the town officers

were true to the old "Dutch" tradition that nothing deserves to survive except as it may serve present usefulness.

In the first and second decade of this century there were many happenings in the town which do not admit of extended elaboration, but which because of their human interest are here set forth in miscellaneous array mainly in language as recorded in the town records.

May 8, 1801. "Voted John Head as town's representative to the General Court."

Aug. 12, 1805. "Voted in future all persons who are upwards of 75 years of age in this town shall not pay a poll tax."

May 9, 1808. "Voted that Conrad Heyer be exempted from working on the town roads," an indication that this old patriarch was becoming a landmark and a legend, one of the very few to which Waldoboro people have ever shown any deference. On December 13, 1811, Mr. Heyer acquired the farm on the North Waldoboro road owned by Everett Teague in more recent years, and here passed the rest of his days.

February 15, 1809. "Voted to appoint a committee to wait on Mr. Cutting and request him to open the meeting with prayers," the first record of such a procedure at Town Meetings.

May 15, 1809. "Voted to allow the Town Treasurer a commission of one cent on all monies received and paid over."

May 12, 1810. Lists of delinquent taxpayers were made public for the first time at this meeting. These included some of the better known and wealthier citizens, among them Christopher Crammer, Jacob Winchenbach, Isaac G. Reed, Jacob Ludwig, Waterman Thomas, and John Head.

March 2, 1819. Thirty-six hog reeves were elected at this meeting, including Joshua Head, Doctor Brown, William R. Webb, and Alfred Hovey.

December 6, 1819. At this meeting the first firewardens in the town were chosen. They were all village men, Payne Elwell, Isaac G. Reed, and Avery Rawson. In 1812 this number was increased to five.

September 27, 1823. The town voted \$200.00 to relieve the distress of citizens in Wiscasset and Alna "arising from late fires."

The village site changed rapidly in the early century. In 1813, Ezekiel Barnard, failing in health, conveyed the power of attorney to his wife, Mary, who inaugurated a policy of selling off the Barnard portion of the Barnard-Sproul properties in small lots.⁵ After Mr. Barnard's death in 1816 this process was speeded up. Charles Miller and Henry Flagg added Abner Keen's blacksmith property north of their corner store site⁶ to their village holdings,

⁵Lincoln County Registry of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 90, p. 169ff.

⁶*Ibid.*, Bk. 90, p. 165. Site of Elsa Mank's store.

also certain mill lots purchased of Robert Chase, clothier, on the upper Medomak.⁷ In 1816 John and James Trowbridge acquired the Aunt Lydia Tavern site on the post road in East Waldoboro, and William Sproul sold to Charles Samson the southwestern site of the "four corners" now occupied by the Samson block.⁸

In these years many newcomers appeared in town. Among those to become prominent later were Joseph Farley, Payne Elwell, Jerome Marble, Benjamin Farrington, Alfred Hovey, Gorham Parks, a lawyer, Isaac Hibbard, the hatter, James Hovey, Dr. John Manning, Avery and Horace Rawson, Charles Bruce, who kept a general store, Henry Flagg, Robert Chase from Newcastle, who operated a mill at the second falls, John Brown, a saddler, and John Ayers.

The Hoveys were early settlers in Boxford, Massachusetts, where Joseph, the first Hovey in New England, died December 23, 1785. His grandson, Alfred, born December 12, 1788, married Eliza Samson of Waldoboro and was active as a merchant in Alna, Warren and Waldoboro, where he resided, built the old Hovey homestead on Main Street, and died September 14, 1868. It is from him that the Hoveys of present-day Waldoboro are descended.

Doctor John Manning was one of the early physicians in the town. He came to Waldoboro from Gloucester, Massachusetts, where he was born October 12, 1789. As a Harvard graduate he took up the profession of medicine. In 1810 his father equipped him with a horse, saddle, and saddlebags filled with an assortment of drugs and medicines. Following the paternal injunction to "shift for himself," and with a letter of introduction to Payne Elwell, he headed for Waldoboro, and was on the road ten days, each of which brought rain for some portion of the day. In Waldoboro he lived in the house occupied for many years by Elizabeth Genthner and more recently by Delia Hastings. This house was built by a Brown, the father of William Brown. Following Dr. Manning it was the home of Dr. Daggett, who resided there until after the great fire of 1854.

Payne Elwell was the first of this name in Waldoboro and was a leader in local affairs during the third and fourth decade of the century. He came from North Yarmouth to Waldoboro in 1803 to live with his uncle, Deacon Allen. He was descended from excellent stock. His father, Payne Elwell, Sr., "one of those old-time men of infinite resources and sagacity," came to North Yarmouth about 1782. There he served as a postmaster and was a leading shipbuilder. In his later years he wrote his autobiography,

⁷*Ibid.*, Bk. 91, p. 273.

⁸*Ibid.*, Bk. 106, p. 142.

published some years ago in *Gloucester by Land and by Sea*. The son entered trade in the new village and became one of the leading early merchants. He was active in town affairs, was a Deacon in the Congregational Church and a leader in early reform movements in the town, especially the antiliquor crusade. His home was on the site of the old John H. Kennedy brick house in the village and was destroyed in the fire of 1846. A daughter, Rebecca, married her pastor, the Reverend David R. Mitchell. Payne Elwell died August 21, 1840, and lies buried in the Central Cemetery.

The lots at the corner of Main Street and Washington Road bear to this day the name of Farrington's Corner, that of a family once prominent but now extinct in the town. The Farringtons in these parts were descendants of Abner, born in Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1752, who moved to North Warren. A son of Abner, Benjamin, married a Weaver, moved to Waldoboro early in the new century, founded the Farrington family in the town, and built the house now owned by the Reverend William Muir. The last of this family, Henry and Judge Everett, were prominent in the town in the latter half of the century.

The Gays in Waldoboro are descendants of John Gay who came to New England in 1630, on the *Mary and John*. They first settled in Watertown and then moved to Dedham, from whence came Jonah of the third generation who settled in Friendship in 1743. A grandson of Jonah, Thomas by name, came to Waldoboro in 1818 as a boy nineteen years of age. In 1827 he married Eliza Dana Davis of Warren. His first business venture was a tannery and a gristmill on the brook at the foot of Thomas' Hill. Later he built several small vessels and founded the grocery business in the village which still operates under the original family name. His first home in the town was the old Waterman Thomas mansion which stood on the right of the road approaching Thomas' Hill. After moving to the village the Gay homes were burned in the great fires of 1846 and 1854. The name will become extinct in the town with the passing of the present generation.

The Gleasons are another family once prominent in the town but now extinct. Colonel John H. Gleason was born July 22, 1746, in Framingham where he was one of the selectmen. He moved to Union in May 1805, where he died September 20, 1827. A son, John, came to Thomaston in the 1790's, where he served as the secretary of General Henry Knox. He married Mrs. Sarah Mitchell, a sister of Commodore Samuel Tucker, and was active in Waldoboro as a surveyor. It was he who surveyed and laid out the Central Cemetery in 1813. His son, George W., married Catherine Kuhn on December 20, 1827, and took up his residence in this town. Five children were born of this union, three daughters and two sons. The house now the residence of Marian Storer was one

of the Gleason homes and was probably built by George K. The house on Friendship Road, long the residence of Captain Willard Wade, was probably built by the brother, John K. Gleason, the second son of George W.

The Standish family is one of the best known in New England. Captain Miles of the *Mayflower* and 1620 had six children by his second wife. His grandson, James, came to Warren from Duxbury or Hanover, Massachusetts, and married Elizabeth McCarter of the Lower Town. Of their nine children, a son, James 2nd, married Sarah Ludwig of Waldoboro in 1813, and took up his residence in this town. He was drowned in the West Indies in 1826. Another son of James, John M., married as his third wife, a Mrs. Turner of Waldoboro and thereafter made his residence in this town. A descendant, Miles Standish, was a familiar figure in the town in my boyhood, and his descendants bearing the Standish name are still in residence in Waldoboro.

"Doctor" Wing was one of the eccentric characters of the town. The title of Doctor was a local sobriquet and not one derived from any formal medical education. By the very old people,⁹ who were able to recall him from childhood days, he was described as a tall angular figure with an admixture of Indian blood, who came from "up country" early in the century. He lived during his lifetime in a log cabin standing on the hill at the head of the cow-lane on the old Moses Burkett farm. This cabin was most probably built and occupied by Henry Burkett in the late eighteenth century. It stood on an acre of cleared land and was almost completely surrounded by a stonewall.

Dr. Wing was an herb doctor. He ranged the forests and swamps on the east side of the river collecting roots and herbs which he used to supplement those growing in his own herb garden. From these he mixed brews and made salves and ointments which he himself peddled out from a sack on his back as he trudged through the town and county. When at home and not busy at his herb cauldron, he wiled away his hours and entertained his neighbors by clever renditions of melodies on his flute. His wife was a Thomaston woman. Some of his five children settled in Cushing and became the ancestors of the Wings in that town. There are none of his descendants living in Waldoboro at the present time. Mrs. Henrietta Grey, the grandmother of Frank and Mabel Ewell, was the daughter of Doctor Wing's wife by an earlier marriage.

The cabin of the old herb vendor was standing in my boyhood and I used to rummage in awe and amazement among the hundreds of bottles which Doctor Wing had collected and stored

⁹Parker and Cassie Feyler, Dec. 1938.

in his loft as containers for his mixtures. The Wing cabin was burned nearly a half century ago by Moses Burkett, but the old apple trees and even the rhubarb in Doctor Wing's clearing have carried bravely on into the present day.

Among the marriages of better-known citizens in these years was that of George Heyer to Polly Hahn in 1801. In 1816 Avery Rawson was married to Harriet, daughter of Ezekiel and Mary Barnard. From land of the Barnard estate he built the square-roof house on the north crest of Cole's Hill. This was occupied in more recent times by the village blacksmith, Everett Simmons. Rawson later sold it to Deacon William Cole and then built for himself the house now occupied by Grace Yorke. In 1817 the Reverend David Mitchell was married to Rebecca, the daughter of Payne Elwell. He built and lived in the house on the west side of Jefferson Street on the corner of Mill Street, now the residence of Clarence Hilt. Horace Rawson, the brother of Avery, was married in 1821 to Mary, a second daughter of Ezekiel Barnard. He built and resided in the house on the corner of Main and School streets now the home of James Waltz.

In the years 1804 and 1805, the shipbuilding interest, then and future, sustained a heavy blow due primarily to the destruction of spruce and hemlock trees from the larva of a worm which preyed on the buds and spills for two or three years and then disappeared. These worms were less than an inch in length, and suspending themselves by threads from the branches would literally cover the bodies of men engaged in the felling of trees.¹⁰ In addition to this pest these decades endured their share of freaky weather. "On the 15th of April," wrote Captain Watson of Thomaston, "the Great Snow came on a Friday and lasted thirty-six hours," and again, "May 9th a snow storm, very cold, came on Sunday evening."¹¹ There was also an unusual display of northern lights on the evening of October 22, 1804,

which was first observed in the E. and N. E., and soon after extended to the N., N. W., W., and S. W., shooting up from near the horizon in vertical streaks to the zenith, where a luminous cloud was formed, curling and rolling like smoke, and soon thereafter dissipated in quick and repeated coruscations. The emanations continued with more or less brilliance from 7 o'clock till 10 and more faintly till midnight.

On June 16, 1806, occurred a remarkable eclipse of the sun which was total in Boston and points south. "As darkness overspread the landscape fowls took to their roosts, the birds caroled forth their evening songs, the cows returned to their lanes from the pastures, and the dew fell from a cloudless sky." The old Ger-

¹⁰From an old Fryeburg Diary, *Portland Press Herald*, April 1, 1940.

¹¹Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 327.

mans, in line with an ancient superstition of the Fatherland, covered their wells lest the waters be poisoned with the dew falling during the eclipse, and were said to have tied up their cattle until this poison dew had dried from the grass.

The climax of all evil in the line of eccentric weather came in the summerless year 1816, which was known as the coldest year ever experienced throughout the United States and Europe. January was so mild that people generally allowed their fires to go out and did not burn wood except for cooking. Mildness continued through February and March. April, too came in warm, but as the days lengthened the cold strengthened. On the 30th of April the wild pigeons forsook the district. Flocks of more than a mile in length succeeded each other for hours as they directed their flight westward. By the last of May there was a temperature like that of winter with snow and ice. The young buds were frozen dead, and half an inch of ice formed on the ponds and rivers. Everything was killed by the cold. Ice and frost were common throughout June which brought a ten-inch fall of snow in Vermont and seven inches in Maine. July came in with ice and snow and on the Fourth, ice as thick as a windowpane formed throughout New England. In some respects August was the worst of all. There was, however, an abundance of moisture which produced a fair hay crop, which was not harvested until October. The scanty crops of this year occasioned great distress, and once again the people in Waldoboro were compelled to revert to the practices of an earlier day and to depend on fish and game for a substantial part of their living.

In these years the use of tobacco had become a general vogue in the town. The women smoked their pipes of clay or corncob. *The Northern Border*, a Bangor paper, in its issue of May 10, 1813, records that "Mrs. Solomon Prock of Waldoboro was burned last week by the communication of fire to her clothing from her tobacco pipe." Barn raisings, wood choppings, quilting parties, and hog butcherings were from early days a part of the social life of this community. To these must be added in the new century the singing school. Especially for the young people this was a form of social life sanctioned by their elders, and to the younger generation an outlet for the expression of social interests other than music. In the papers of Colonel Isaac G. Reed is a form of contract governing the holding of such a school, drawn apparently in the correct and moral English of Colonel Reed. Since it offers considerable insight into the organization and *raison d'être* of such a school, as well as the cultural life of the community in this period, it follows here in full:

Being impressed with the idea that singing is an ornamental part of the forming of society, and a part generally performed in the publick

worship of God. We the young people of Waldoboro wishing for a singing school severally agree to the following rules, viz., That we choose a committee of three to regulate said school and select such tunes as are useful to be sung in publick worship, with the assistance of the Master; that we hire a Master to keep a school three months three evenings in a week; that each scholar find his own light; that we promise to pay unto Mr. Joseph Kidder our proportionable part for tuition and firewood not to exceed nine shillings; one half to be paid after the school has kept six weeks, the other half when the school expires.¹²

This document bears the signatures of the following young beaux and belles of the village: Saml. Morse, George Clouse, Basheba Clouse, T. Farley, Payn Elwell (for his son), Wm. H. Thompson, (a signature in illegible German script), Abigail Sprague, Nancy Sproul, Eunice Willett, Sally Sprague, Elizabeth Brock (Prock?), George Kaler, George Kuhn, Jr., John Lash, (an illegible name), Joseph Achorn, Joseph Ludwig, (a name in illegible German script), Christian Walter, Samuel D. Thomas, Matthias Seidensperger, Levi Soule, Phillip Feyler, Jacob Burkett, Stephen Simmons, John Storer, James Simmons, John Brown, and John Kinsell, Jr.

There is a similar document in the Reed papers drawn up for the town of Jefferson, and both bear the date of January 5, 1808. The equal mixture of German and Puritan names on this roster suggests the degree of social amalgamation existing at this time between the two races, at least within the confines of the village district.

In religious life the two races, especially so far as the older Germans were concerned, held themselves apart. The Lutherans had their own church under the complete spiritual leadership of the Reverends Ritz and Starman, and their adjoining cemetery was rather exclusively reserved to their own use. Here rests the older generation of the village Germans, lying all with their faces to the east in order that they in accordance with the old German belief, might be ready on the Resurrection Morn to rise up facing the rising sun.

The Puritans now had their own religious organization, the Congregational Society. Under the promptings of Isaac G. Reed, John Gleason on October 16, 1813, drew up the plan for the Central Cemetery sometimes known as "the Main Street Yard." This too, was a rather exclusive Puritan burying site, and few of the village Germans were privileged in these days to lay down here their earthly remains, notable exceptions being the religious turncoat, Jacob Ludwig, and old John Martin and his son, Charles Razor. Apart from these this yard conserves the mouldering remains of those who made Waldoboro great in her Great Days:

¹²Document now in the possession of Mrs. Warren Weston Creamer.

Dr. Benjamin Brown, Joseph Farley, the Barnards, the Sprouls, the Reeds, the Clarks, Deacon Morse, the Rawsons, the Hoveys, the Kennedys, the Heads, the Haskells, and many others whose names now graven in granite and marble recall the glory of an older day.

Taxes are ever a matter of perennial interest in a democratic society. The tax on a small farmhouse in present-day Waldoboro (in the year 1950) is between two and three times greater than that of the heaviest taxpayer in the town in 1816, and yet the taxes of this earlier day were as much an imagined burden as are the more strenuous levies in our time. From the contemporary point of view these earlier valuations must appear trifling and far more widely out of proportion to the salable value of land than is the case today. The valuation placed by assessors on property in 1813 shows, for instance, the one-hundred acre farm of Loring Sides, in recent years the homestead of Captain Albion F. Stahl, assessed at \$55.00 and the owner's personal property at \$12.00. This example is in all respects typical, barring the small discriminatory factor always present in the practice of assessing values. The heaviest valuations for the year 1813, including real estate and personal property, follow in order: John and Joshua Head, \$317.00; Charles Benner, \$233.00; Charles Miller, \$220.00; William Sproul, \$207.00; Charles Samson, \$196.00; Ezekiel Barnard, \$159.00; Charles Kaler, \$158.00; Joseph Farley, \$156.00; Isaac G. Reed, \$152.00; Henry Burkett, \$140.00; John Weaver, \$139.00; Jacob Schwartz, \$134.00.

The assessors of this day apparently had not brought their economic views up to date, and were still acting in the long established belief that land was the only thing of value. They were unmindful that they were now dealing with an established economy where it was not merely a question of land but of land plus its suitability for industry and other productive purposes. This is why Charles Benner with heavy but unproductive land holdings in the northeastern part of the town had a heavier valuation than William Sproul with his smaller but more productive mill sites in the village area. Thus it was that taxation fell most burdensomely on the poor who were the owners of most of the most unproductive lands. A matter of further interest to be noted here was the fact that under this valuation there were eighty-eight citizens in the town owning an interest in mills and vessels, and of this number only a small part represented an interest in mills.¹³

The east side of the river has ever been since earliest days the richer part of the town, a fact clearly revealed in all tax schedules. In the year 1816, for instance, the west side paid a total tax of \$641.28, while the east side paid nearly double this amount, or a total of \$1229.34. These figures, it should be added, include only the school and town tax, the state and county levies being covered

¹³Original schedules in my possession.

in other schedules. From the present-day viewpoint these taxes seem ridiculously small. For example, the heaviest taxpayer on Dutch Neck was Captain John Stahl, on whom was levied a tax of \$8.70. The six heaviest taxpayers in the town follow in the order of the amounts levied against them: Joseph Farley, \$36.12; the Head brothers, \$25.64; William Sproul, \$23.00; Charles Samson, \$18.68; Charles Benner, \$18.36; Charles Miller, \$16.08. On the Smouse farm and other interests, Isaac G. Reed paid a tax of \$8.46; the widow Barnard paid on her village holdings a tax of \$12.84, and Deacon Samuel Morse, on his village real estate and tannery, a tax of \$10.76.

The inequalities existing in the tax levies served to widen continuously the breach between village and back-country folk. In the one area men were becoming richer all the time, while in the other area they were becoming poorer. Hatred was deepening and the rumblings of discontent were constant and from time to time led to vigorous protest on the part of some individuals who were vocal and intelligent enough to express their views. The outcry of the villager, Payne Elwell, in 1816 follows here in full not only for the light it throws on the problem of taxation, but because of the index it affords to the viewpoint and modes of life in these years:

Waldoboro July 25th. 1816

To the Selectmen of Waldoboro

Gentlm^m.

My confinement prevents me Personally calling on you — Let that be my apology for writing. I mentioned to Elijah Davis, Esq., one of your Body, that I felt aggrieved in the Road Tax on my Real Estate, \$7.20 — it may Slip his memory — I therefore by this make application for abatement.

I have no doubt you must have made an Error in the figure —

It certainly need not argument to convince you that such must be the Case —

Look at Mrs. Barnard's estate about 90 acres of Land¹⁴ a part of which is Wharf and Landing, etc. (mine only about 2 acres)¹⁵ her Buildings — house much Larger than mine, Barn Larger, a Stable, the Store occupied by Mr. Ayres, half the shop occupied by Mr. Hale — She taxed \$9.00 — hers on the County Road — my house not.

I do not rest particularly on her Estate, — take my neighbour Kuhn,¹⁶ 100 or more acres of Land, a good house and Barn, Tax \$4.80, J. Feylor's the same, Martin Demuth the same. I ask, would any man in his senses say that Either of them would exchange real Estate with me. What the difference in the income.

Look at the Hon.¹ Benj^e Brown,¹⁷ \$5.76 — these estates severally produce ten times the income of mine.

My house rather makes a show than other ways — it is not finished — only one Room is finished.

¹⁴Village property north of Lower and Upper Main Street.

¹⁵The site of the John H. Kennedy house.

¹⁶House of the Gay sisters.

¹⁷Old Gov. Marble farm.

I trust Gentlemen that you will relieve from so unequal a Taxation — I with due consideration, Gentlemen, your very hum^l serv.

Payne Elwell

My chaise, which is old and Decriped,
you have taxed the same as others that
are worth Double the money.¹⁸

Payne Elwell was a villager. The back-country folk were vocal in a different way, which will be duly recorded in a later chapter.

During these decades the innate urge of the human animal to live only in the present and to waste and destroy its inheritance derived from nature made it necessary for the town to continue its legal protection of its already decreasing resources of fish. Consequently on May 15, 1807, the voters decreed "that each person that shall take any of the fish called salmon, shad or alewives above Medomak Falls shall pay a fine of \$1.00 for each fish so taken." Considering the financial status of those commonly given to a profligate use of nature's bounty, this was protection with a vengeance. As the supply of fish lessened, the town, mindful of its own experience in 1816 when this resource had proved a god-send, took more positive measures to conserve its fish supply.

A committee reporting from the March meeting to the meeting of April 5, 1819, gave as its findings that "fish ways may be built on Kinsell's Falls [Great Falls], from an eddy at the foot of the falls on the east side to Weaver and Freeman dams, a distance of 150 feet at an outlay of \$219.25 . . . the ways to be ten feet wide and three feet high on the inside." It was recommended that the way should "be built of pine planks and ranging lumber." This report was accepted and Francis Simmons, Benjamin Arnold, and John Freeman were appointed as a committee to do the work. It is interesting that at the meeting of May 8, 1820, when the town approved the expense account of this committee, it allowed \$1.34 for "one gallon of Rum at Boardman's," an ancient New England tradition that a laboring man rates his grog. On June 28th of this year the town gave further attention to its fish and named a committee "to survey the situation for permanent sluice ways on all dams along the river," thus ending the old practice of compelling the millmen to open their dams for a stated period each year in order to enable the fish to run.

The treatment of the poor by New England towns has always been an interesting phase of policy and especially does it reveal in this older day the severe frugality with which they were handled. In this matter Waldoboro was not unique in the fact that it protected itself most ably against bastardy and pauperism, never in the former case allowing the perpetrator to escape the

¹⁸Original document in my possession.

fiscal consequences of his act, and in the latter case handling the poor in such a manner as to make pauperism unpopular.

From earliest times in New England the Puritans had had no conscience respecting a child born without the sanction of the law and the church. The "Dutch" while not oversensitive in matters respecting sex relations, were, by reason of their traditional thrift, averse to paying taxes for the support of illegitimate children, and hence were always ready to join the Puritans in seeing to it that the father of such a child was compelled to underwrite the consequences of his own fun, fiscally at least. In these days a woman pregnant out of wedlock invariably sought to fend off the unbearable social stigma and to protect herself and child in their outcast state by revealing to her family or the authorities the name of the child's father. Then the town acted. A marriage followed, or reputable persons, most often the father's parents, deposited monies or filed a bond insuring the means necessary to support the child or *else*, the unwilling father went to prison. A few concrete samples of the manner of handling such a problem follow here as they have been excerpted from town records:

Meeting of May 9, 1812. "Voted that Isaac Reed be agent on behalf of the town to carry on prosecution against John Seidenberger, Jr., on complaint of Polly Gellard for bastardy . . . unless he give satisfactory security to the selectmen for the child."

Meeting of July 5, 1822. "Voted the selectmen secure the release of Charles Feyler, Jr., from gaol, provided the Mink girl release all claim on the town for cost against said Charles, and provided also his father pays all expenses for the support of said Charles in prison up to the time he is discharged."

In my possession is a bond, given by N— L— as principal and his father, J— L—, as surety to the town of Waldoboro for "the true and just sum of three hundred dollars."

The conditions of this obligation are such that whereas the above bounden N_____ L_____ has been charged by M_____ H_____ of said Waldoboro, single woman, on her voluntary examination on oath, with being the father of the child of which she has been delivered and which was born a bastard, and whereas said child may hereafter become chargeable to said Inhabitants of Waldoboro by law as a poor person.

This bond was given in order that the town might not at any time thereafter be chargeable for the support and maintenance of the child. Thus it was that the problem of illegitimacy was met by the local folk a hundred and more years ago.

The town was equally swift and zealous in handling the problem of pauperism, in fact, all towns were. If there was the slightest basis for shifting the expense of maintenance to some other town or to the state this was promptly done. The few surviving docu-

mentary remnants of the old files of selectmen contain correspondence with other towns charging them with the expense of a poor person and requesting his or her removal. In cases where one town incurred expense in such cases for another, there was full cooperation in holding such costs to a minimum. From an account rendered to the town of Waldoboro by the town of Scituate the following illustrative items are excerpted:

To boarding Hannah Martin from the 13th of March 1814 to the 14th of September 1814 inclusive she being sick the whole time at \$1.50 pr. week.	\$37.50
To Dr. David Bailey's bill in her last sickness	5.50
To a coffin for sd Hannah	2.50
To digging her grave	1.50
To extra expense of the funeral	1.50
To interest on the above sum	.83
	\$49.33

Scituate, May 9th. 1815¹⁹

In the early years care of the poor was vested in the over-worked selectmen who cared for the old, the sick, and the helpless as cheaply as possible. In the case of paupers, if they were able to do any work, they were struck off at auction to the lowest bidder, and in the kitchen or field a considerable amount of work was secured from them to the obvious profit of their hosts. Such poor were highly desirable and were welcome in the best homes. Even Isaac G. Reed, the foremost citizen of the town at this time, took a pauper to board under these conditions. The following items excerpted from the Clerk's records afford a rather clear picture of the handling of the problem of the poor in these days:

May 4, 1801. The selectmen report that Bertram Gross proposes to take proper care of Henry Lehr both in sickness and health and find him in sufficient and comfortable food and lodging for \$1.33 1.m. a week. Voted to accept the foregoing proposal.

Nov. 14, 1801. Voted to bind out Elizabeth Mink's child to Jacob Ried for 66 cents per week. In case said Elizabeth wants assistance Henry Demuth to take her for 42 cents per wk.

Oct. 10, 1803. Voted that Charles Boardman receive \$2.00 per wk. for supporting Mary Braddock and her two children, as long as he shall keep them.

May 12, 1810. Voted \$200.00 for the support of the poor.

May 9, 1812. Voted that Eliza Maddoc, now a town pauper, her child be sold at vendue to the lowest bidder and furnished with all necessaries except doctor bills. . . . Struck off to Isaac G. Reed at 75 cents per week for one year.

At the same time John Benner was bid off in a similar fashion to Philip Newbit for \$1.29 per week for one year. In 1815 John

¹⁹Original account in my possession.

Smouse boarded John Benner for \$1.16 a week, and "Jacob Winslow to keep Philip Handel for \$1.00 per wk."

At the meeting of May 14, 1821, the selectmen were relieved of their duty of looking after the town's needy, and Overseers of the Poor were elected. The first Board of Overseers was made up of Jacob Ludwig, Jr., Henry Flagg, and Charles Miller.

The ruthless and unintelligent manner in which the early settlers had dealt with their game resources had resulted in a greatly thinned out wildlife population. Only the wily wolf had survived in sufficient numbers to make the farmers dread the destructiveness of his onslaughts. Around 1808 they had become so troublesome, particularly in the wooded tract between Waldoboro and Warren and Cushing, that in this year concerted action was taken for their destruction by officers of the interested towns. A force of men was raised to sweep the whole tract. They assembled and marched within hailing distance of each other down to the coast to the extremity of Friendship, where some wolves were seen and fired on but none killed. This campaign was followed up with such vigilant hunting during the winter that the wolves abandoned their favorite haunt and did not return to it until 1815. They again became so destructive that a conference was held by the selectmen of Cushing, Friendship, Waldoboro, and Warren, at which they agreed to pay a bounty of \$40.00 to any inhabitant destroying a wolf in any of these towns.

From this time on a relentless war was waged against the wolves which culminated in a grand finale in 1820. This occurred in the boyhood of F. R. Sibley and there follows his account:

About the year 1820 late in the fall a general wolf hunt was announced through several towns in the vicinity. At the appointed time there was as large a gathering as at a military muster. With guns, dogs and ammunition, the men from several towns met at Trowbridge's Tavern [Aunt Lydia's] on the Waldoboro and Warren post road. Joseph Farley Esquire of Waldoboro was chosen headman. As his health was poor, instead of going on foot, he rode and gave directions, and he entered with great zeal upon the expedition. Nathaniel Robbins Esquire of Union took a position about half way between the St. Georges and Medomak rivers. The men stretched out on his right and left, each man in sight of his right and left hand man, till the cordon extended from river to river. Robbins had a surveyor with him. The orders to him were to run a south course till he struck the salt water. As it was afternoon it was agreed to camp on the road between the Narrows at Thomaston and Broad Bay on the Medomak. There along the whole route — a distance probably of eight miles, fires were built so near to each other that a wolf could not pass between them without being seen; and, what would frighten the wolves back, a tumultuous noise of firing and hooting was kept up all night. The next day the party went through to the salt water and even down to the clam beds. Not a wolf was seen by any of them.²⁰

²⁰F. R. Sibley was the author of a *History of Union*.

Mr. Sibley's narrative fails to mention the fact that the wolf has as good mental equipment as a dog; that he can hear and scent a man for a quarter of a mile; that he is on the whole a most canny animal. The Union historian also fails to tell us how much New England rum was consumed around the campfires on that cool night "late in the fall."

These opening decades of the century bore witness to many changes in fashions, ways of doing business, social organization, and modes of living. On the fringe of the village and in the back-districts there was still poverty. Life was still hard and its general character little changed from that of an older day. In the area around the head of tide, industry, shipbuilding, and trade were under way. Men had turned away from the life of the farm, and capital was accumulating in the hands of the more enterprising and powerful. Men of education and intelligence, graduates of Bowdoin, Harvard, and Yale engaging in business and the professions, were taking over the direction of the town's affairs. A culture was developing, and favored families were turning away from the harder modes of existing. The amenities of a more leisurely and gracious kind of life were coming into vogue. The most able and enterprising groups of men in the history of the town were gathering. The beginning of the Great Days was at hand. In the village the old German culture or folkways was melting and fusing with the Puritan way of life, losing its identity and thus seemingly disappearing.

The patterns and fashions brought in by the Puritan from the outside world became the way of life of the village German. The back-district folk remained largely what it had been while at the center German was becoming indistinguishable from Puritan. In the outward forms of life the change was especially marked. Double-vested coats with lapels were in vogue in the more select circles, where shoe buckles yielded to ribbons and silk strings. Long queues and the heavy club of hair gave way to short cuts. Horses' tails were docked and nicked, and the village aristocracy drove about in chaises, and in snowtime sleighs shod with iron were a part of the equipment of the fashionable families. The grand mansions for the grand families were beginning to give the village its architectural pattern. Fine old furniture and china were appearing in the homes of the select. Wooden clocks in these homes were telling time and in a few even "brass eight day clocks ticked off the minutes of the young century and regulated an easier and a statelier tempo of life." The social configuration of a new era was in its stride.

THE RISE OF PARTISANSHIP

The Federalists dreaded anything like a real democracy, and wished affairs at home to be quietly managed by "the wise and good," that is by a few well-to-do, cultivated, conservative gentlemen, whose lead the people should meekly and gladly follow.

LOUIS C. HATCH

FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS the people of Waldoborough had been conservative in character and outlook. From the Old World the German element had brought to the shores of the Medomak a feudal view of social organization and political control. Neither they nor their forebears had ever exercised any substantial influence in formulating the rules or determining the conditions under which they lived, and with something akin to the mute resignation of animals they accepted uncritically in the New World the forms of control which regulated their destiny. Even in their earliest petitions from Broad Bay to the Governor of Massachusetts they couched their desires and hopes in the servile, abject language of serfs addressing their masters. In short, their whole social outlook was one of uncritical acceptance of the divine right of rule by the few at the top. In reality they were born Federalists. The most they desired was a minimum of interference with their rights, represented in the ownership of land and livestock, and their freedom to worship in the manner that had long been theirs. In political control and social change they were from long tradition disinterested, and in the mass were slow to understand and to participate in the fluid state of democratic theory and control which was their new environment.

The theories of human rights and of representative government which formed the core of political agitation during the American Revolution was a matter of small interest to the Waldoborough Germans. Throughout this struggle a strong undercurrent of respect for monarchical forms had reflected itself in a neutral or mildly Tory attitude, based in some measure upon a strong

traditional faith in the divinely appointed right of kings and lords to govern. Hence it is understandable that in the very earliest days of the town's incorporation interest in local government was not strong. Town Meetings were sparsely attended — many of them so small that they were held in private homes, and power year after year was vested in the hands of the same few. Just as in plantation days when the local Germans accepted without question the leadership of John Ulmer, Captain Remilly, and Charles Leissner, so in the early years of the town power was vested over long periods in Squire Thomas, Jacob Ludwig, George Demuth, and a few of the Puritans who had been the first of their line to settle in the township. In these days it may be said that partisanship among the masses was nonexistent. So long as their purely individual interests were not in jeopardy, their participation in local government was limited indeed. It showed a marked increase, however, whenever the issue was one involving higher taxes, the expenditure of money, or a threat to their rights of ownership in land.

This condition of political indifference on the part of the "Dutch" was little affected by the considerable body of Puritans settling at Broad Bay just before the Revolution. Some of these at least were Tories seeking asylum from the radical patriots of Massachusetts Bay; some were sea captains seeking a snug harbor for their years of retirement, and others were men of some means who had sold their lands in the Boston area at a handsome profit and were settling on the cheaper lands of Maine. Many of them affected a studied indifference to the mad partisanship from which they had escaped, and merged their apathy with that of their "Dutch" neighbors. Thus they affected but slightly the indifferent attitude of the latter to the existing forms of political control. Their main contribution was to initiate their German fellow townsmen into the forms of local government which came into being when Broad Bay was organized as a town in 1773.

From the foregoing it has been made clear that the spirit of partisanship remained at low ebb in the town through the Revolution and on into the decades immediately following it. It was, in fact, so low that in 1780, when the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts drafted its first state constitution and submitted it to the towns for ratification, the citizens of Waldoborough at a Town Meeting held September 17, 1780, "voted to drop the matter of electing a Governor, a Lieutenant Governor and persons for counsellors and senators."¹ Again, four years later, on April 5, 1784 an article in the warrant "to see if the town will vote to chose a Governor," was "passed in the negative." At the same meeting the town also declined to vote for any other state officers.

¹Records of the Waldoborough Town Clerk.

The first vote for such officials came a year later on April 4, 1785, when a meeting was held in the present Lutheran Church located at that time on the shore of the present Merle Castner farm. The building was unheated and its chilly atmosphere led a mere handful of voters, twenty-two in number, to adjourn to the house of Captain Stephen Andrews,² where in the voting John Hancock received twenty-two votes, and all other state officers the same number of ballots. The numerical size of this first vote for state officers was significant in that it registered the general apathy of the voters. Its unanimity simply reflects the fact of no active party organizations existing in the Province at this time, and the officials elected were all men of conservative political outlook who in a few years were to furnish the hard core of the Federalist Party.

It was around 1785 that the question of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts first began to be agitated. The first newspaper in Maine, the *Falmouth Gazette*, appearing this year, had been founded to present the case for separation. Opponents of such a move were the men in office and the conservative leaders of both State and District. In 1785 and 1786 meetings and conventions were held at Falmouth by delegates of the three Maine counties. Waldoborough sent no representatives to these meetings and in January 1787, when the vote of the towns in the District was canvassed, it was found that twenty-four of them had voted for separation against eight opposed. Waldoborough, true to the conservative character and leadership of its citizens, had been one of the eight voting in the negative. A Town Meeting had been held on January 7th at which five votes were cast for separation and twenty-five against it. The size of this vote again revealed the traditional apathy of the town, and its one-sidedness again stressed the conservative character of the interested voters and revealed how far out of line the town was with the prevailing sentiment in the Province. Throughout the balance of this decade interest remained at a low ebb, reaching perhaps its high point in 1789, when the town cast sixty-three votes for John Hancock for Governor, but even this unusual vote represented only a pitiful fraction of the town's eligible voters.

During the 1780's Waldoborough was represented only intermittently in the General Court in Boston. Whenever the town was faced with a problem involving its interest, or whenever the Commonwealth enforced the law levying a fine for nonrepresentation, the town would choose a representative, otherwise it would sidestep the obligation of representative government. The citizens, however, did apparently send a delegate to the Massachusetts Convention called for the purpose of ratifying the Federal Constitution.

²The present Davis Dairy Farm.

It was in November 1787 that the General Court called upon the towns of the state to send delegates to the convention held in Boston in January 1788. In answer to the summons three hundred and sixty delegates convened, of whom forty-six were from Maine. The Waldoborough town records for December 10, 1787, contain this entry: "Voted to choose a delegate to represent the town in a convention ordered by the General Court." Who this delegate was or how he voted the record does not tell.

So far as Waldoborough had any partisan bias during its early years, it was overwhelmingly Federalist. Beginning in the 1790's the tiny flame of party hatreds began to blaze a little more brightly in the darkness of political apathy, and slowly increasing over the years, it became in time a conflagration lighting with a fierce partisan heat the bitterest period in American party history. The flame was first kindled in the town by the Puritan Junkers who came in the second migration, in the 80's and 90's, and in the first decade of the new century.

These men, who included such dominant natures as Joshua Head, Doctor Benjamin Brown, Deacon Samuel Morse, and Isaac G. Reed, were all of the Boston brood of Federalists, men who held with fanatical frenzy to the creed that "the good, the rich and the wise" possessed the divinely sanctioned right to govern. They were men of intelligence, ability, education, and property. In the new community they almost immediately assumed leadership, and the traditionally conservative "Dutch" were for them a field ripe for the harvest. Over the years they fashioned this stolid clay into a political mould that has retained its archaic form down to the present day, and made it at times a curiosity to the rest of the country. To gain a clear understanding of the stubborn fervor of these leaders who developed the political credo of the town and embalmed it in its enduring conservative medium, we must turn aside briefly to examine the underlying causes of the rise of the partisan spirit in New England, and to trace the rising of the storm which ultimately scattered Federalism to the four winds nearly everywhere except in Waldoborough.

As defined in public address by the political leaders of the Revolution the war had had as its primary objective the realization of the rights of man, the rights of *common* as well as privileged individuals. The end of the war, however, had brought its problems, for its costs had left the states deeply in debt, which involved a burden of taxation that the poor just could not carry. With the farmer class in the colonies the margin of income over basic need was always slight or nonexistent. In fact, the country people were usually in debt and as the creditor class, the professional and mercantile groups in the towns and villages, put on the pressure for the payment of debts, a clamor for cheap money was

raised. Since then, as now, inflation meant the ruin of the propertied class, the conservatives, seeing their wealth and position threatened, accepted the gauge of battle and pitted themselves against the have-nots. This struggle lasting over many long years gradually developed into one of unbelievable bitterness, and split New England into two groups, the propertied and those for whom existing conditions were an oppressive and intolerable burden. The latter becoming more and more class-conscious in time solidified into a party dedicated to its basic right to survival.

This state of embitterment was further intensified by the harsh laws in Massachusetts governing the treatment of debtors. James T. Adams has not overstated the case in pointing out that

when judgment was entered against a debtor, there was no property, save the clothes on his back, that could not be seized. Not only his farm but his livestock, his bed, and even the last bit of food in the house could be sold by the sheriff for a portion of their actual value. If the proceeds of these at forced sale were not sufficient to satisfy the judgment, the unfortunate debtor could be thrown into prison and thus deprived of all opportunity of working off the debt,³

and to this it should be added that while in prison the debtor was obligated to defray the costs of his own incarceration and maintenance while confined. Such a practice obtained in Broad Bay from the earliest times and was of frequent occurrence. Here a board of umpires made of local citizens was usually appointed to execute such a judgment. These men would convene, arbitrarily survey enough of the debtor's farm to satisfy the judgment, and the creditor would receive the title to the portion thus set off. In one case, that of Friedrich Hahn, the line was run through his house and a portion of the latter, upstairs and down, was assigned to his creditor.

In the face of such conditions the Legislature was repeatedly petitioned for redress of grievances, but it being under conservative control there was no redress from this source. In consequence more direct methods of relief were sought, and the spirit of partisanship broke into open revolt in western Massachusetts under the leadership of Daniel Shay, an officer in the armies of the Revolution. The details of this rebellion are not directly a part of Waldoborough history, but it was an outgrowth of conditions which were as keenly felt, but more patiently endured, in Waldoborough than in western Massachusetts. This battle of a class for relief occasioned a shock which opened a fissure in all New England society. In our own town it made the poor more class-conscious and created the beginnings of a split in the local community which was to widen and endure for upwards of a century.

³*New England in the Republic* (Boston, 1927), p. 144.

In the District of Maine rebellion came in the form of a separatist movement. A gathering of delegates from the three counties, meeting in Portland in the autumn of 1786, had declared that no redress of grievances could be secured until Maine became an independent state. This was a revealing declaration implying as it did that redress was impossible at the hands of the Massachusetts ruling class. The Federalist ruling class in Waldoborough was no more than a small coterie of like-minded men transplanted from Boston to Maine soil, and one in conviction and feeling with Sam Adams, the old Revolutionary firebrand, when he declared that all the trouble came "from wicked and unprincipled men" seeking their own exclusive advantage; and one in conviction with Henry Knox when he characterized Shay's rebels as "twelve or fifteen thousand desperate and unprincipled men"⁴ bent on seizing and dividing the property of the rich.

The dream of the Revolution had obviously not been realized. In 1776 these rebels had heard from Sam Adams and Henry Knox that all men were born free and equal and were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. A decade later the dream had faded and these warriors of freedom found themselves languishing in jails for a few shillings debt and labelled by the same erstwhile leaders as "wicked and unprincipled men." Even while the leaven was at work in Waldoborough "the Dutch" were still submissive; poverty was nothing new in their experience, but a few were shaking off their lethargy even while the great majority were safely tethered in the Federalist fold.

Through the 1790's party interest in the town grew slowly. The vote in county and state elections was heavier than in national contests. In April 1790 the popular John Hancock received sixty-three votes for Governor, while in the autumn election of that year the town voted for the first time for a representative to Congress. The Honorable George Thatcher, a Federalist and a Biddeford attorney, received a total of twenty-five votes with not a single dissenting ballot cast. This solid vote was probably cast by the Federalist village group, the dissenters obviously remaining away from the polls. More revealing of local party division was a second election in 1792 on the question of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts. This had become a strictly party issue, with the Federalists dead set against separation. The vote of twenty-one votes for and fifty-four against probably provides a good index of the active conservative and radical temper of the town at this time. By contrast the vote in the entire District of Maine was very close, 2084 votes having been cast for, and 2438 votes against separation. While the Waldoborough vote revealed a group in ac-

⁴F. S. Drake, *Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox* (Boston, 1873), p. 92.

tive opposition to Federalism, it showed also the extent of the Federalist grip on the convictions of the towns, and how much more conservative was Waldoborough than the rest of the District.

On November 2, 1792, the town probably participated in its first Presidential election. There is no evidence known of its having had part in the elections of 1788. In this, its first Presidential election, its showing was not an impressive one, fourteen votes being the largest number cast for any Federalist elector, but despite the apathy the town's vote by default or otherwise went to George Washington for his second term.

It was in the years after the arrivals of the Heads, Doctor Brown, and other Federalists that a disfranchisement of many voters in the town took place. In 1773 when the town was incorporated, which was in the period when the pre-Revolutionary doctrine of human rights was being stressed by the Massachusetts patriots, the theory at least was that "all the then Present Male Inhabitants arrived to twenty-one years of age shall be admitted to vote." On the face of it, this was the franchise unlimited which Waldoborough citizens exercised in the first days of the township. But when the state constitution of Massachusetts was drafted in March 1780, the conservatives were in the saddle and the new document provided that the property qualification for those voting for state officials should be doubled as compared with that under the old charter.

This limiting of the franchise brought about much opposition to ratification, but Tories everywhere have always proved themselves versatile in disposing of opposition, and when returns were canvassed at least two clauses not receiving the required two-thirds vote were by a process of juggling adopted along with the rest of the constitution.⁵ Thus it came about that a substantial percentage of Waldoborough voters were deprived of their voting rights. But the town folk in these days were not sticklers for constitutional details, and they proceeded as of yore, ignoring the new legal niceties. The new Puritan migrations of these years, however, included men of the real Federalist pattern from Boston proper, who understood thoroughly the subtleness of the new order, and due probably to their intervention Waldoborough folk were in due season brought to act in a constitutional fashion, especially at the polls on election days.

In the town warrant of April 15, 1793, the new property qualification for voters was laid down as follows: "inhabitants of twenty-one years of age, residing in the town one year, having a freehold or estate in said town with an annual income of three pounds or any other estate to the value of sixty pounds." This

⁵Samuel E. Morison, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings* (1917), p. 396.

qualification applied only to state elections and resulted in the double Town Meetings. At such meetings the voters assembled as usual at the town house. The propertied group would convene within, vote for the state candidate and then adjourn the meeting. Immediately thereafter all the voters would assemble in the town house for deliberation on town or county affairs. It is doubtful if this qualification was ever strictly enforced until the era of Colonel Isaac G. Reed, when the town was really organized in the interests of a conservative regime.

Throughout this period European developments were an extremely disturbing force in American political life both nationally and locally. In 1793 a coalition of monarchical states had been formed in Europe against the new revolutionary government in France. Its effect in New England was to define party lines even more sharply. The Democrats backed the new government of France and the Federalists of course supported the monarchies. Shipping, the pride of New England as well as her bread and meat, became directly involved. France from economic necessity opened her West Indian ports to neutral commerce, and England, as we have seen, in order to effect the conquest of these islands, issued orders to seize all neutral vessels, including American. In retaliation the French proceeded to seize all neutrals engaged in trade with the British Islands. Thus New England shipping became the prey of the navies of both powers. Such an impasse struck savagely at Waldoborough vessels as well as those of all New England, and Federalists and Democrats waxed wroth at one another over the issue thus raised. The former supported war against the French and the latter against the British. All this was laying the groundwork leading up to the War of 1812, and making for a state of mind in the town which was little short of treasonable when that war came.

This violent partisanship was essentially a matter of basic economic well-being, the Democrats sympathizing with the French because of the emphasis which their Revolution laid on the rights of the common man, and the Federalists reviling it for the same reason. Since there was no navy for the protection of American shipping, diplomacy became the only recourse and in 1794 John Jay was sent to England to see what could be effected through negotiations. The outcome was Jay's Treaty which contained a few minor concessions but brought no amelioration of the basic differences. This document was highly unpopular throughout New England, but by the Federalists it was hailed as conclusive evidence of the reasonableness of the British, and this was the party line of the local leaders in the town. Consequently at the call of the Federalist leaders the Waldoborough voters assembled at the West

Meetinghouse on May 9, 1796, and "voted unanimously that the earnest wish of this Meeting be that the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation lately concluded between the United States and Great Britain be carried into effect." This vote in the form of a memorial was sent to the Congress. This was a strange reaction on the part of a shipping center whose ships were as ruthlessly preyed on by the British as by the French, and the unanimity of the vote can only be interpreted as revealing the grip of the local Federalists on the electorate of the town in a matter representing a fundamental difference between the two parties.

The campaign of 1800 marked the beginning of the ebb in Federalist fortunes. Thomas Jefferson, the radical, was contesting the Presidency with the Federalist incumbent, John Adams, and the struggle was one of intense bitterness, for the conservatives of this day did not view the Democrats differently than they regard the communists in our own time. Hence Jefferson's election was a staggering blow, which roused a great fear in conservative hearts and resulted in an outpouring of low abuse which has never been exceeded in our political history. Everything that was high and holy seemed threatened. The established church of Massachusetts (Congregational) knowing Jefferson's views on a state religion saw its supremacy destroyed and felt that it was actually entering the reign of Anti-Christ. The good Doctor Dwight of Connecticut voiced the prevailing feelings and fears in a typical utterance:

We have reached the consummation of democratic blessedness. We have a country governed by blockheads and knaves; the ties of marriage with all its felicities are severed and destroyed; our wives and daughters are thrown into the stews; our children are cast into the world from the breast and forgotten. . . . Can the imagination paint anything more dreadful on this side of hell?

This was the way the Federalists in New England felt and it was the way the Federalist leaders in Waldoborough felt, although it is doubtful if such fears seeped down very deeply into the rank and file of the town's common folk.

Defeated in the nation the Federalists of Massachusetts believed that there was only one avenue left to safety, and that was to retain control of local government. Fisher Ames, the leading ideologist of the party, declared that "the Federalists must entrench themselves in the state governments and endeavor to make state justice and state power a shelter for the wise, the good and the rich, from the wild destroying rage of southern Jacobins."⁶ This is about what they proceeded to do, and organized New England through local committees reaching down into every town. Thus

⁶*Works*, I, 310.

entrenched in power they saw to it that the laws governing a restricted franchise were enforced in every community, and the users of banks were even told that if they expected their notes to be honored they must be Federalists.⁷

During all this turmoil the Federalist junto in Waldoborough was busy arousing the stolid "Dutch" to a political consciousness, and moulding their beliefs according to a strict party credo. In so far as "the Dutch" could be roused at all they proved themselves tractable material, in fact, so much so that while all the rest of New England was becoming more democratic, Waldoborough was becoming more conservative. But the abrupt shift in political events did affect the town internally. Joshua Head, the Federalist Collector of Customs, was turned out of office, and it is of interest to note that there was no local democrat of sufficient capacity to replace him. Consequently in 1802 Joseph Farley, Jr., of Newcastle was appointed Collector and came to Waldoboro to make his home. Farley became a leader in the town in its most brilliant era. He was educated, able, an aristocrat by nature and a democrat by profession. Actually he was able to supply a needed element of leadership in a situation where Federalist opposition was leaderless, and to initiate the beginnings of a real opposition party in the town.

By the turn of the century Federalist power in the nation was already crumbling. In 1804 Jefferson was elected for a second term, carrying all the New England states with the exception of Connecticut; but as conservatism waned in the nation, in Massachusetts, and in the District of Maine, it continued to wax in Waldoboro, for the local junto was capable, resourceful, and wealthy. It had the power and the social prestige to impress "the Dutch," and it satisfied their feudal need for overlords. In the election of 1804 in which Jefferson carried the District, Waldoboro went Federalist by a vote of more than three to one. This trend held in the town through the elections of 1805, 1806, 1807, and in the election of 1808 the Democrats elected the governor and a majority in both branches of the legislature, while Waldoboro cast one hundred and eighty-five votes for the Federalist candidates to seventy-five for their Democratic opponents. The increase in this decade of the whole number of votes cast mounted steadily. The town was awakening from its long years of political apathy only to be drugged into political insensibility by the philosophy of "the wise, the good and the rich."

With the year 1808 we shall pause briefly in the analysis of the town's political growth and turn to chronicle an event which was to have a profound effect on the life of the community for

⁷*Independent Chronicle*, April 9, 1804.

the next forty years. It was in this year that Isaac Gardner Reed came to Waldoboro and began his dominating role in the political, social, and religious life of the town. It was on his shoulders that the mantle of Squire Thomas fell, and it was he who was to perpetuate the seignorial tradition so precious to the hearts of the subservient Germans.

Colonel Reed was in all respects a man of quality and distinction. He was striking in appearance, mentally keen, deeply religious in the conventional fashion of the established church, aristocratic, a lover of the genteel tradition, and a typical New England Federalist of the post-revolutionary period. For four decades he maintained the position of the first citizen of the town, moulding its religious and political life to the pattern of his own convictions and faith, and imparting to Waldoboro social life the cultural tone of Boston and Harvard.

The Colonel was born in Littleton, Massachusetts, November 16, 1783, the son of Isaac Reed, a lawyer, and Mary Gardner, a daughter of Isaac Gardner, who fell in the battle of Lexington. Isaac, Jr., graduated from Harvard in the class of 1803 and immediately thereafter studied law in the office of the Honorable John Locke of Billerica. After passing the examinations of the Massachusetts bar in 1807, he came to Jefferson. This was clearly too limited a field for a man of his capacities and in March of the following year he moved to the rapidly expanding town to the south. It is possible that he may have been drawn hither by Jane Kinsell Smouse, the attractive wife of Captain George D. Smouse, a widow since 1806, for on coming to town he took up his residence in the home of the widow Smouse and lived there for a number of years.⁸

Isaac Reed set up a law office and immediately became closely associated with Squire Jacob Ludwig. This seems to have been something of a lion-jackal relationship, but it was profitable to both men. Squire Ludwig knew every Puritan and every German in the town and enjoyed to the fullest degree the confidence of the latter. As a justice of the peace he had for years transacted as much of their business as was permitted by law or by the limits of his knowledge. Consequently he was able to introduce the Colonel at once to a well-established law practice, yearly becoming more intricate and lucrative. As was fitting from his training, the Colonel took the lion's share, and the Squire, the jackal's portion, such as the writing of deeds, taking affidavits, and the drawing up of wills.⁹ Jacob Ludwig retained until his death an intense admiration for Colonel Reed, and the latter seems to have aided him where needed in the minor legal matters which he handled. Ludwig not

⁸Oral narrative of Mary Reed Elkins, granddaughter of Col. Reed, August, 1941.

⁹Jacob Ludwig's Notebook, and legal papers of Col. Reed in my possession.

only sponsored the Colonel's law practice, but through his association with the attorney established him immediately in the confidence of "the Dutch," so that almost from the moment of his arrival the Colonel had a law practice and a strong political backing. The wealth and prestige of the widow Smouse, who shortly became Mrs. Reed, was also a material factor in the Colonel's rapid rise in the town.

On April 14, 1808, Ezekiel Barnard had sold to John Ruggles Cutting, "clerk," the settled Congregational minister in the town, a lot of land on Jefferson Street (never so called in Colonel Reed's lifetime), overlooking the freshwater Medomak. Here the minister laid the foundations of the residence which came to be known in the town as "Cutting's Folly." Financially unable to carry his project very far and having fallen into disfavor with his congregation, he sold the property to Colonel Reed on May 21, 1811. The latter immediately increased the size of the lot and in 1814 began the erection of the lovely Georgian mansion, the finest piece of architecture in the town. While the plaster was still wet in the cellar and stairway, the Colonel, using a sharp-pointed instrument, inscribed in the soft masonry to himself and his heirs-to-be the following legend: "I. G. Reed built this house, 1814, 1815, 1816 — inhabited it April 1816. He wishes health, prosperity and contented minds to all his successors."

In the spring of 1816 the family moved in. There were Colonel Reed and his bride, Jane Kinsell (Smouse) Reed, with her first brood, Gorham, the drifter and victim of consumption, George D., the success of the Smouse family, and the daughter, Bertha, later the wife of Doctor John G. Brown, a medical rolling stone. Here grew up the Reed children, the Honorable Isaac, shipbuilder and congressman, d. 1882; Mary, the loveliest of the daughters, who died at twenty-one, the bride of John L. Whipple of Boston; Jane Ann, the spinster and homebody, 1811-1881; Edward A., 1815-1881, the most volatile and the best educated of the children; Charles and Gardner K., 1821-1874, the Boston representatives of the family interests, and William G., 1817-1905, the farmer and political black sheep of the family.

In his lifetime Colonel Reed held nearly every office in the town from hog reeve to first selectman. In fact, so closely integrated was his career with the history of the town that the details of its development in the following decades will furnish a rather ample outline of the Colonel's life.

Colonel Reed in his Harvard years had drawn his political milk straight from the very udders of Federalism, and was thoroughly indoctrinated in the political precept that it was the right of "the good, the wise and the rich to govern." In such a matter

Waldoboro suited him. "The Dutch" were docile and disciplined. Joshua Head, Benjamin Brown, and their associates had prepared the groundwork well; the set was all in the right direction when Isaac G. Reed took over the local reins and the whip.

In 1811 he took over control of local government as first selectman. Associated with him on the board were conservatives, William Sproul and Benjamin Brown. One of the early acts of this group was to prepare a list of voters. This was handling the matter in the legal way, for to vote in a state election there was a property qualification, and who could qualify for the vote and who could not would in some cases be difficult to determine unless such a list was available. Furthermore such a list would disfranchise many voters who would not be disposed to vote the way they should. Moreover, by coincidence perhaps, with the advent of Isaac G. Reed the march of representatives to the General Court became a regular and an annual affair. Furthermore, they all seem to have been men who held correct views: Benjamin Brown, the Ludwigs, Joshua Head, Henry Flagg and, with increasing frequency, Colonel Reed himself. The last representatives to the General Court in 1819 were Benjamin Brown and Jacob Ludwig. In the case of the latter this was an appropriate honor. Since he had been the first representative of the town in the Court there was a gratifying fitness in his being also the last.

The degree to which Waldoboro was out of line with the political sentiment in adjoining towns is clearly and typically revealed in the vote of 1811, which is presented in the following tabulation:¹⁰

	Gerry (Democrat)	Gore (Federalist)
Bristol	120	5
Warren	62	18
Jefferson	76	20
Nobleboro	103	13
Union	81	51
Newcastle	72	39
Waldoboro	73	171

Throughout the second decade of the century when the tide of Democratic control was rising in the nation, it was reaching its lowest ebb in Waldoboro. Especially was the tightening grip of the conservative faction on the town's vote graphically illustrated in the Presidential election of 1812. In November of that year the Federalists made a desperate effort to throw the whole weight of the state behind their national candidate. Waldoboro responded beautifully and cast two hundred and thirty-two votes

¹⁰*The Sun*, Pittsfield, Mass., April 20, 1811.

for the Federalist electors and not a single vote for the Democratic candidate. In other words, the vote of the town was unanimous for the conservative, De Witt Clinton, but this did not prevent the election of his Democratic opponent James Madison, nor did it alter the resolution or the political philosophy of the local Federalist leaders. Like Napoleon's Old Guard, they might die but they never surrendered, and the docile "Dutch" continued to serve in the local élite guard with unbroken faith.

Right down to 1820 Waldoboro presented a solid phalanx of conservative voters. In 1816 the Federalist Party put forward its last Presidential candidate, Rufus King, a native of Maine, and the brother of the state's first Governor, William King. He was hopelessly defeated by James Monroe. Herewith the party crumbled and disappeared in the nation, but in the state and especially in the town under the determined and resourceful dominance of the local junto it continued to grow in strength. In the last state election in the District, the conservative candidate, Governor Brooks, swept the town by a vote of two hundred six to twenty-nine, a very safe margin of about seven to one.

Joseph Farley as Collector of Customs had apparently been able to do little in the way of infusing life into the tiny corpse of the Democratic Party in the town. For this or for some other unknown reason a new collector was appointed in 1816. This was Denny McCobb of Bath, member of an old and distinguished family in that town, which had achieved wealth, social standing, and the prestige that goes with public service. Samuel McCobb, possibly the father of Denny, had been a member of the Provincial Congress, one of Arnold's captains in the Quebec expedition and later a brigadier general in the Revolution. Denny himself had fought with distinction in the War of 1812, and was a man of culture and education as well as a proven leader.

He held the collectorship through the long period of Democratic ascendancy in the nation, in all for nearly a quarter of a century.

His home in Waldoboro was a house that stood on the site of the residence now occupied by Marian Storer. Of his children a daughter, Hulda Marie, married General John T. Castner; a son, Denny, married Sarah A. Groton and died August 9, 1834, at the age of twenty-seven. He lies buried in the old Groton Cemetery. A second son, Parker, resided on the site of the present Roscoe Benner home on Main Street, and in 1845 filled the office of Collector of Customs for one year. Denny McCobb, hated by Colonel Reed, seems to have been the man around whom the anti-conservative sentiment in the town was to form, which was to provide the growing opposition to Colonel Reed and his well-

disciplined following until such time as this faction shed its outer garb of Federalism.

The attempt of the District of Maine to separate itself from Massachusetts and to secure the status of statehood, a movement which began as early as 1784, was from the beginning a major issue between the two parties. Separation was favored by the common people and opposed by the Tories with their typical vehemence. On successive occasions when the issue had been submitted to popular vote, Waldoboro under the leadership of her Tory junto had overwhelmingly opposed it, and the town vote had consistently reflected a sentiment out of line with the rest of the District.

The local Tories disapproved the movement on several grounds. In the first place it was not consonant with the wishes of the ruling class in Boston. Since all the thought-patterns of the local conservatives came from this source, their cue on this issue was a clear one, and they played their parts with characteristic strenuousness. In the second place, Waldoboro was a shipping town and the effect of separation on the coasting trade was feared. In this trade vessels passing between the ports of adjacent states were not obligated to enter and clear at customhouses, but in trade with noncontiguous states this formality was a legal requirement. In the event of separation it was argued that the many Maine vessels engaged in trade with Boston would have to submit to this procedure. In the third place, leading the opposition to separation were the state officeholders who feared for reappointment under the new status of statehood.

The set of the tide toward statehood was not to be stayed. By the second decade of the century the number of separationists had so increased in the District that the conservatives opposing the movement found themselves engaged in a last-ditch struggle. For a number of years now Maine had been consistently supporting the Democratic candidates for governor, and her representatives in the General Court, preponderantly democratic, kept the question to the fore in the discussions.

In August 1816 the date was again set for a referendum on the issue. The campaign was one of exceeding bitterness. When the vote was counted it was found that the separationists had polled 11,969 votes to 10,347 for their opponents. In Waldoboro the vote gave a very different picture. Way out of line with the rest of the District as usual, the separationists cast only eleven votes to three hundred and six polled by the Reed faction, a majority of thirty to one. On the basis of this District vote a convention was called to meet in Brunswick in late September to deliberate on further steps. Thither Waldoboro sent a solid Tory delegation, the Honorable Benjamin Brown, the Honorable Joshua

Head, and Colonel Isaac G. Reed. The convention was separationist in sentiment, and this triumvirate, all powerful locally, was impotent in the larger arena. On its return home, however, it continued the battle in the town and as a consequence on November 4th a strongly worded remonstrance was offered in Town Meeting against a committee appointed by the convention to make application for separation. This resolution was overwhelmingly endorsed and it was voted that "the same be presented to the Legislature by the Representatives of this town at the next session thereof."

It was in 1819 that the issue of separation came to its last showdown. On April 19th a committee of Maine members of the Legislature issued an address to the people of the District urging that in their selection of representatives they choose none but supporters of separation. Waldoboro's answer to this address was to send Benjamin Brown and Jacob Ludwig, two of its strongest Tories, to the General Court. In addition, at a Town Meeting held on May 10th, "the Address of the Committee of the Hon. William King" drew from the town a sharp resolution stating that the measure was viewed as "a scheme of a few restless and ambitious men," and that the opinion of the town was that the move "is unwise, impolitick, and inexpedient," and that its representatives be instructed to oppose the measure "with all their influence." This influence was not enough; the Waldoboro Tories were licked.

On July 26, 1819, the last referendum on this issue was held. The vote of the District was 17,091 for separation and 7,132 opposed to it. Waldoboro, true to the pattern of its Tory leaders, turned in a vote of twenty-four for, and two hundred and eighty opposed to separation, a vote greater than eleven to one against the verdict of the District. Governor Brooks duly proclaimed the result, and a convention was called to meet in Portland on the 17th of October to frame a constitution for the new state.

The Waldoboro Tories had received a sound beating and were now forced to face a situation that was in no sense to their liking. Under such circumstances they could have but one objective, and that was to participate in the making of a new state, and to use their full influence to construct a constitution according to conservative principles, making it an instrument whereunder "the good, the wise and the rich" would retain as much as possible of their divine right to govern. To this end they sent a solid Tory delegation to the convention in Portland, made up of Joshua Head, Isaac G. Reed, and Jacob Ludwig, Jr. But the Democrats were in control of the convention and the Federalists were balked at every turn in their efforts to incorporate into the new charter some of

the ultra-conservative features enjoyed under the Massachusetts constitution. All restrictions based upon property qualifications were rejected, and the right of suffrage was given to all male citizens of the United States twenty-one years of age and resident in the state for three months. This provision weakened substantially the conservative machine in Waldoboro, for it opened the polls at all elections without any restrictions on the poor.

Another issue that was warmly debated in the convention was that of religious worship. In Massachusetts the Congregational Church was the established church, and its ministry, supported by public taxation, had always openly sided with the Federalists whose policy it was to maintain the privileged status of this sect as the state church. In Waldoboro, as elsewhere, the Federalists were Congregationalists and thus the church was Federalist and a focal point of reaction to the same degree as the party. On this issue, too, the conservatives lost their battle in the convention and the new state charter guaranteed full liberty of conscience in matters of worship and forbade the granting of a legal preference to any sect or denomination. The Federalists also lost out in their attempt to preserve compulsory church attendance, and the provision in the Massachusetts charter compelling everyone to contribute to the support of some religious society was likewise rejected.

As a whole, the new constitution was a democratic document, and by its extension of the franchise it may be said to have marked the beginning of a new political order in the state. Ratification of the charter by the District came on December 6, 1819, by a vote of 9,837 to 796. In Waldoboro the Tory faction expressed its disgust and disapproval by not going to the polls, and the town vote in consequence registered the very low figure of thirty-three favoring ratification and two opposed to it. The majority vote was a fair measure of the total of Democratic polls in the town. On the other hand, it may be said that in this election the community had truly revealed the degree of its Tory regimentation, as it has in many subsequent elections.

If through her conservative delegates Waldoboro offered no contribution to the basic structure of the new state, she at least had the distinction of providing it with its seal. Colonel Isaac G. Reed was a member of the politically harmless committee appointed to prepare a design for the seal and arms of the young state. The actual pattern of the seal is allegedly the work of Miss Bertha Smouse, stepdaughter of Colonel Reed. In the committee report the recommendation was described in the language of heraldry as follows:

A shield argent, charged with a Pine Tree, a Moose Deer at the foot of it recumbent.

Supporters — on dexter side an Husbandman, resting on a scythe; on sinister side a Seaman resting on an anchor.

In the foreground, representing land and sea, and under the Shield, the name of the State, in large Roman Capitals, to wit: M A I N E.

The whole surmounted by a Crest — the North Star.

Motto — In a label interposed between the Shield and Crest, in small Roman Capitals, viz: DIRIGO.

The contemporary *Portland Argus* remarked: "We understand this report is from the pen of Colonel I. G. Reed. It has been well received, and it is not only creditable to him but to the State also." It may be said that while Waldoboro had failed to transfuse any of its own peculiar political blood into the lifestream of the new state, it had nevertheless set its seal on every official act of the commonwealth in the past, the present, and perhaps in perpetuity.

Amid the political turmoil of these years a new figure appeared on the local scene, a man whose abilities could clearly match those of Colonel Reed. This was Mr. Gorham Parks, who came to town and opened a law office in the second decade of the century. There is unfortunately little detail available on the life and background of this citizen who achieved such prominence, but it is known that Mr. Parks was educated and was schooled in the genteel tradition of Federalist Boston. He was born in the post-revolutionary period and studied law for three years at Springfield, as alleged by his enemies, in the office of a member of the Hartford Convention. He seems to have taken up the practice of law in Waldoboro around 1814. His political views are somewhat obscure, although he seems in his first years in the town to have aligned himself with the Federalists, supporting Governor Brooks in successive elections.¹¹ In the course of time, Waldoboro proved too small to allow room for two little Caesars to strut their roles and Mr. Parks removed to Bangor where he played a part larger than that ever essayed by Colonel Reed.

The first Maine State election was held April 3, 1820. By this time the Federalist Party had passed into the limbo of outworn creeds and with the state firmly Democratic, there was a falling off of political interest in Waldoboro. This year there was but one candidate in the field for governor, the Democrat, William King. With the franchise now free to all who might care to exercise it, King received in the town only one hundred and ninety-eight votes. The small number of ballots cast reveals many old Federalists refusing to vote for a Democrat, for in contrast the county vote for senator, involving some of the old party die-hards drew out a ballot triple in size. The town's vote for representative

¹¹*Kennebec Journal*, Aug. 16, 1837.

to the first Legislature was a real battle. Four ballots were taken without result. On the last Isaac G. Reed won by a slim margin over Gorham Parks, with a few scattering jest votes cast for William Deal and Philip Nubit (Newbert). Colonel Reed and lawyer Parks did not represent political views essentially different from one another. The latter had a limited following among the Tories and to their support was added the full Democratic vote in the way of settlement of old scores against Colonel Reed.

The Tory machine apparently had been thrown sadly out of gear by developments connected with Maine's admission as a state. In consequence the congressional election of 1820 interested Waldoboro not at all. Only seventy-three votes were cast locally and all were for Democrats. In the Presidential election of the same year Monroe, a Democrat, was the only candidate in the field. The degree of the town's interest is reflected in the fact that the total vote for electors was only forty-eight, a poll reminiscent in size of the earliest votes in the town's history. In 1821 the picture changed. One of the local dons was running for Congress. The old machine was greased and tinkered up, and the old Federalist war horse, Joshua Head, received three hundred and twenty-seven votes for representative to Congress, to fifty-one cast for his Democratic opponent, Mark L. Hill.

This vote seems to have been the last sigh breathed by Waldoboro Federalism. The nation was now entering the "Era of Good Feeling." There was but one party in the country and partisanship was subsiding. The first citizens of the town found themselves literally men without a party. Those who had political ambitions and had looked hopefully ahead to larger roles in the state or nation were compelled either to rot on the ways, or to soft-pedal their outdated views, and like the chameleon to assume something of the hue of the tree which was providing the dominant shade.

The third decade of the century was a quiet one in the annals of our political history. In the town during this period the local Democratic Party was able to develop a little muscle on its bones and to assume a semblance of life. The only break in the political serenity of the community in this decade was the squabble over the local postmastership which reveals clearly that the Democrats were acquiring some gumption and punch. Charles Samson, a Democrat, had received the appointment as postmaster from President Monroe on December 4, 1820. At this time he was living on his ample acres on the old family homestead on Thomas Hill Ridge, and apparently devoting a good deal of his time to the practice of husbandry when the storm broke. It is difficult to know what started it. Possibly there may have been a long smouldering politi-

cal feud between him and Colonel Reed, a carry-back from the heyday of Federalism. Be this as it may, his appointment clearly was not acceptable to the village squires, and in the same month that he received his commission the following was inserted as the third article in the warrant of a January Town Meeting: "To see if the town will request the Postmaster General of the United States to remove Charles Samson from the office of Postmaster in this town and appoint Payn Elwell in his stead, and to take such other measures respecting the same as may be judged proper."¹²

On the surface this was not made a party issue, although the plan seems to have been hatched by the old Federalist village junto. Since none of these gentlemen could have hoped to be the beneficiary of such a removal with the appointive power in the hands of a Democratic President, they cunningly threw their support to a villager of the Democratic Party, who was, however, one of their own number in the sense of belonging to the same social caste. In this way they were able to secure the support of some Democrats. The Town Meeting was held January 8, 1821, but the issue had probably been decided sometime previously, and on this date, in midwinter with the villagers present in force, and as usual in winter meetings with the back-district folk sparingly represented, it was voted: "That the town petition the Postmaster General of the United States to remove Charles Samson from the office of postmaster in this town."

The remonstrance to the Postmaster General seems to have been prepared well in advance and to have been ready for instant approval, for it is incorporated with the clerk's minutes of the meeting. It is a long, felicitously phrased document, dignified and vigorous in wording and bearing the stylistic earmarks of one of the better-known leaders of the Federalist old guard. The document emphasized the following points:

1. "Within a few years a village has grown up on the eastern side of the Muscongus river . . . in which all the business of the neighborhood is transacted."

2. A central postmaster was desired and petitions had been circulated for Payn Elwell, which had received the approval of the local Democratic patronage dispenser, Denny McCobb, Collector of Customs. "Mr. Elwell lives in the center of the village and for a number of years served as deputy postmaster under his father in North Yarmouth." Moreover Mr. Elwell was a Republican.¹³

3. Mr. Charles Samson to everyone's surprise¹⁴ received the appointment. He resides three miles from any part of the post road, "and in a part of the town which he with others are now petitioning the Legislature of this State that it may be annexed to the neighboring town of Friendship."¹⁵

¹²Town Clerk's Record, Dec. 1820.

¹³A name applied quite generally at this time to the Jeffersonians.

¹⁴Possibly Mr. McCobb excepted.

¹⁵Movement fostered by Samuel Sweetland, Clerk's Records, Nov. 23, 1822.

4. The emoluments of the office are too small to secure his constant attendance, and although he may be present at the opening of every mail, "yet a great part of this business must be transacted by a deputy or left undone."

5. Mr. Samson has a large farm to attend to, "which he manages very considerably by his own labour. . . . He cannot possibly attend to a post office three miles distant where eight mails arrive each week."

6. The village squires were frank enough to admit that their "principal objection to the appointment of Mr. Samson is that he is extremely obnoxious and displeasing to the great mass of our citizens. . . . It matters not whether this arises from blind prejudice on our part or to the unpleasant manner, the morose temper and unaccommodating disposition of Mr. Samson."

7. The manner of his appointment is a matter of much criticism, "since Mr. Elwell was the popular choice."

8. His removal is petitioned.

9. Copies of the remonstrance were forwarded to the three Maine representatives in Congress.

I cannot vouch for the validity of some of these objections, nor for the even or uneven temperament of Charles Samson, but there is some ground for believing that this was a movement on the part of the old village dons against an outsider who was not one of them either politically or socially. It is hard to believe that Charles Samson was "extremely obnoxious and displeasing to the great mass of the citizens" when in the same decade they sent him as their representative to the Legislature and elected him for three successive terms as the first selectman of the town.

It is significant that Charles Samson was not removed, but held his appointment until the election of Jackson in 1828, when he was replaced by Colonel Reed. This latter fact too may have its significance and may be indicative of a long political feud reaching over into the religious strife of the next decade, when Colonel Reed and his intemperate Congregationalists battled Charles Samson and the liberal Universalists even under the very shadow of the altar of the New Meetinghouse. Throughout this struggle to remove Mr. Samson it is difficult to say just where the quiet Mr. McCobb stood. It is alleged in the remonstrance that he was a supporter of Mr. Elwell. If this were true, then Charles Samson could have received and held his appointment only through the silent intervention of someone higher up.

Mr. Samson was not content with victory alone; he was also one who could enjoy the sweet savor of revenge. As an Irishman he could administer as well as take blows, and in this situation he seems to have struck back fast at the village Tories. It came about in this way. In the earlier days of the settlement all bills which individuals held against the town for service were presented in Town Meetings and were allowed or disallowed by vote of the citizens. Beginning with the second migration of the Puritans, town

affairs were placed on a more business-like basis, and around 1811 a "Committee on Accounts" was set up, which was rather frequently made up of the old village dons. This committee reviewed all expenditures through bills received, and allowed, amended, or disallowed all such accounts.

This was undoubtedly a sound practice, but it did carry with it more than the faint possibility of political patronage, and it is conceivable that the accounts of the faithful might be less rigidly scrutinized than those of the faithless. If such were the case, this would provide an inducement to hold to the line and thus would add materially to the strength of party ties. In the light of such an hypothesis Charles Samson's act at the next Town Meeting may have had a vengeful significance. This meeting was convened not in the winter season when the back-district folk would be constrained to remain at home because of either snow or cold, but on April 2nd when the poorer back-district folk would have done hibernating and would be abroad in force attending to their affairs. At this meeting it was moved by "Capt. Charles Samson that the Committee on Accounts report at the next meeting, and the finances of the town be read in Town-meeting and the town allow such bills as they see fit." Whether or not this was a surprise move, the motion was carried and at one stroke the local village machine of Colonel Reed was shorn of much of its power over finances, which may have meant a considerable loss of party influence and prestige.

In the decade following statehood the old machine creaked on for a while. There was but one party now, and when in a state election a liberal Democrat was pitted against a conservative Democrat who perhaps at one time had been a Federalist, the old Tory organization would flash its power, but not in its former impressive fashion. In the election of 1821, for example, Ezekiel Whitman and Joshua Wingate polled one hundred and sixty-four votes in the town to twenty-one cast for Albion K. Parris, the elected candidate, and in 1822 the same two ex-Federalists polled a total of eighty-six votes to twenty-seven cast for Governor Parris. But it was not the same as in the old days. The Era of Good Feeling in Monroe's second administration (1820-1824) had weakened party interest, and the administration of John Quincy Adams (1824-1828) split the Democratic Party into a conservative and radical wing, the National Republicans made up of Adams supporters, and the Democrats constituting the followers of Andrew Jackson. In Waldoboro, as everywhere throughout the nation, a political mix-up followed. Party ties loosened as men drew to one branch of the party or the other, and inter-party strife followed. This led to a realignment of political forces in the town, and as the Adams

supporters turned to Henry Clay for leadership in the nation, a new party, the Whig movement, came into being. This all led to a new period of violent partisanship in the community.

From the beginning of Waldoboro as a town up to the fourth decade of the nineteenth century the story has been told how this community became one of the ultraconservative towns of New England. It is doubtful if a similar history could be duplicated in any of the six states. As a basis for this conservatism there was the passive feudal attitudes of the "Dutch." Then in its formative political years there came to the town the group of strong, educated, and well-to-do Boston conservatives, men of quality, education, and social prestige who assumed the leadership in local affairs. Toward these men, greatly their superiors, the attitude of the Germans was one of uncritical veneration and high respect. To this simple people still feudal in its feelings, these local leaders filled the vacuum created in their ancient social tradition by their new way of life. To these overlords they unconsciously pledged their fealty, and felt themselves honored in rendering a strict loyalty to them. Thus it was that they were moulded in the democratic new world into the most conservative of New England's political faiths.

This regimenting of local political life produced a beautifully ordered and harmonious society. It also had its drawbacks, for because of the fact that Waldoboro remained so far out of the line of political developments in the rest of the District, her distinguished leaders were barred from playing any formative or influential role in the life of the new state. This was regrettable for there were few towns in Maine at this time that numbered among its citizens so many able men. In the single decade Doctor Benjamin Brown had represented the district in Congress (1816) and the Honorable Joshua Head had repeatedly been a near congressman, while Colonel Reed was a state figure qualified for high leadership which we believe he would have attained except for the fact that the sun had set on the day when "the wise, the good and the rich" had been marked by destiny to govern. Whether or not one believes in the admirably rational political philosophy of Colonel Reed and his associates, the fact remains that these men were the glory of the town at the dawn of its Great Days.

THE SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN

As to our beloved New England, I blush to think of the part she has performed, for her shame is still the disgrace of the nation, — faction for patriotism, a whining hypocrisy for political morals, dismemberment for unity, and prostitution to the enemy for state sovereignty.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN in 1812 found America a dis-united people. In no section of the country was this condition so boldly and traitorously manifest as in New England, where the Federalists advocated and practiced openly a policy of nonparticipation, obstruction, and nullification of the war program of the Washington government. The fires of partisanship had blazed so fiercely in the two decades preceding the war, that it had become a settled conviction of the Tory mentality that a union that was not willing to accept meekly and gratefully the rule of “the wise, the good and the rich” was worse than no union at all. So hypnotized were these gentlemen by their own infallible wisdom and rightness that with the Connecticut and Massachusetts Federalists at least, party came before country, and whatever was thought, said, or done by the party leaders in Boston was the soundest of doctrine. This was uncritically accepted by the old dons in Waldoboro, who were no better, no worse, and no different in their traitorous opposition to the war than the majority of Federalists elsewhere in New England.

From the very beginning of the rise of the Democratic Party it had clashed with the Federalists on the issue of foreign policy. This difference in its real essence was a social one, which had its inception back in the period of the French Revolution. The latter movement was basically a matter of the mass freeing itself from the oppression of a class. As the Democrats in America were engaged in a similar though less bloody struggle, their sympathies quite naturally were with the French masses in their battle for basic human rights; while the Federalists looked upon such a movement with horror as subverting the foundations of class rights

which were the very cornerstone of their political philosophy. Consequently in 1793, the year in which the ruling classes of Europe coalesced against the popular uprising in France, the Democrats in America vigorously supported a foreign policy favorable to the French, while the Federalists with greater vehemence backed a policy favoring the class coalition headed by Great Britain.

During these years of struggle American commerce had a life of fitful uncertainty, subject to changes in Franco-British relations, changes in their policies and in the tolerance of their respective fleets. This, of course, created an issue where purely American well-being was at stake. This fact, however, made little difference to the battling parties in the young republic, and both continued to interpret the violation of American rights in the light of their own class bias. To the Federalists it was the government of revolutionary France that was responsible for the damage done to American interests; while to the Democrats the coalition of the ruling classes headed by England was the source of the wrongs perpetrated against American shipping.

When this struggle merged into the Napoleonic wars, and England entered on a battle for her very existence, conditions worsened steadily so far as America's rights as a neutral were concerned. As England became more and more absorbed in the war, and more of her marine equipment had to be diverted to purely naval use, her merchants were prone to look with a jealous eye on the absorption of her carrying trade by American bottoms, while her government was concerned by the number of British seamen escaping impressment in the naval service by shipping in American vessels. In the face of these conditions the British government became arbitrary and ruled that goods could be carried by American vessels from belligerent colonies to their own ports, and only after domestic requirements for admission had been complied with could they be re-exported to foreign ports. Promulgation of this principle followed by seizure of American ships not complying with it caused widespread indignation in the States, which was exacerbated by the impressment of American seamen.

Negotiations on this point were largely fruitless, since England, fighting for her life, would not surrender one iota of her naval strength and stood firm on her ancient policy of seizing British seamen wherever found. The number of Americans either intentionally or mistakenly seized is difficult to determine. Claims contradict one another, but impressed Americans there were, and some of them from Waldoboro vessels. In 1811 a sailor named Benjamin Rogers was impressed from the brig *Charles Miller*, Captain David Otis, master,¹ and there were without question other

¹*Eastern Argus*, Portland, May 1811.

seamen removed from Waldoboro ships. The New England Federalists owning one half the shipping of the country at this time never raised any question of this violation of neutral rights and always maintained that the number of such impressments was small.

As the struggle in Europe became intensified both British and French policy became more ruthless toward neutrals. England issued her Orders in Council which prohibited any direct trade between the United States and any European country from which the British were excluded, and even more arbitrarily ordered that all American goods exported to any European country except Sweden be landed in English ports, where a duty had to be paid before they were cleared for re-exportation. Napoleon retaliated with his Milan decrees whereunder any neutral vessel which complied with the British order by touching at an English port was a lawful prize. Mr. Jefferson, bent on avoiding war, saw no other solution than to prohibit all trade with foreign countries and on December 22, 1807, he placed an embargo on all American shipping to foreign ports.

This was a bitter blow to New England, to Waldoboro, and all those coastal towns where shipbuilding and commerce was the keystone to the arch of well-being. In Lincoln County at this time 14,538 tons of shipping were owned in Wiscasset and 18,214 tons in Waldoboro.² Since the tonnage of such vessels was small it would mean that around seventy ships were owned in Waldoboro, many of which would be affected by the embargo.

The economic effect of this drastic prohibition was immediate. In Massachusetts, which at this time included Maine, total exports fell from \$20,100,000 in 1807 to \$5,100,000 in 1808, while tonnage constructed in 1808 was one third that of 1807. Artisans felt the loss of work in shipyards and farmers the loss of foreign markets. Prices slumped. Beans fell forty-one per cent in value, potatoes twenty-three per cent, corn fifty-five per cent, and pork forty-three per cent. The price of imported luxuries and necessities jumped, while cordwood, always a major product in the Waldoboro economy, was almost unsalable because people in the towns did not have the money to buy it. As distress became more and more acute, enforcement of the act became more difficult. Illicit trade and smuggling became the order of things and a clamor rose for the repeal of the act. This movement was initiated by the Boston Federalists. Their letter was read in the Waldoboro Town Meeting of August 29, 1808, and the response of the well-disciplined local citizenry was immediate. It was voted then and there "that the inhabitants of this town respectfully petition the

²Portland Gazette, July 18, 1808.

President of the United States to remove the Embargo wholly or partly by the power invested in him by Act of Congress, or to call Congress together for that purpose." There were only three people in the town who went on record as opposing this resolution.³ The drafting committee included the men who formed the spearhead of Waldoboro Federalism, Isaac Reed, Joshua Head, Samuel Morse, Christopher Crammer, as a representative of the German element, and strangely enough Mr. Jefferson's local Democratic appointee, Joseph Farley.

These were trying times for Mr. Farley, and it may be truthfully said that in Waldoboro he occupied the hot spot. His social contacts were with the town's most exclusive Federalist circles; he had become a considerable property holder, and the prosperity of the community gave stability and value to his investments as well as to the volume of business in the Collector's Office, and yet being a political appointee it was he who was forced to implement and support in the town the completely unpopular policies of President Jefferson's administration. He doubtless, in view of these facts, desired the repeal of the embargo as strongly as the most zealous of the Federalists, although there is no evidence to show that he sympathized in any way with their flaming tactics or their traitorous talk or practices.

The severe economic distress throughout New England that came as a consequence of the embargo gave the Federalists a chance to rehabilitate themselves politically. With an eye for the main chance they at once assumed the leadership against a generally unpopular policy, and with vigorous opposition they entrenched themselves more solidly in state and local offices. A sorry leadership it proved to be, for as economic well-being deteriorated, political partisanship mounted, and the Federalists went to extremes which, in the difficult years ahead, really merited the firing squad or the hangman's noose. Their many-sided activity, reflected on a smaller scale in our local life, cannot be detailed here, but in passing a typical case may be mentioned in the person of Timothy Pickering, the senator from Massachusetts, who entered into traitorous negotiations with the British minister in Washington for the benefit of the party in Massachusetts, and to insure power to his class. His actions were characterized by Governor Sullivan as attempts "leading to rebellion and sedition," but the Federalist attitude was a popular one in this section and despite their un-American activities their political power in the following elections increased.

When smuggling and illegal trade under the embargo led to the passage of the Enforcement Act of 1809, giving absolute power

³Portland *Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1808.

of enforcement into the hands of the local customhouse officials, resentment and anger in the local area knew no bounds. The town of Bath led off by proposing Committees of Safety as in 1776, pointing the way to rebellion. Many other communities followed, including Augusta, Yarmouth, and Wiscasset. Oxford counselled return to the "original right of self-defense." Mr. Farley seems to have done his stout duty of enforcing this act in the face of rebellious opposition. The boat *Income*, Captain Dan Weston of Bremen, was fitted out as a revenue cutter to enforce the embargo by cruising along the coast, checking cargoes and seizing all violators. There was one such cruise of forty days in this district, for which Mr. Farley, as Collector of the District of Waldoboro, paid the bill for services of \$207.39 on March 31, 1809.⁴ In March of this year the embargo was repealed, but it was followed in May 1810 by the Non-Intercourse Bill against England, and under its provisions Mr. Farley continued his unpopular task of enforcement in his district against all outward attempt at nullification of the authority of the Federal Government. The United States Marshal's notices of the period afford an insight into conditions existing in the district. Two of these notices are here cited:

July 25, 1811, Marshal's notice filed in the District Court of the United States against Sloop Ranger, ten puncheons of rum seized by Joseph A. Farley, Esq., Collector of Waldoboro, for breaches of the laws of the United States.

August 3, 1811, a Marshal's notice filed by William B. Sevey of Wiscasset, filed in the District Court of the United States, libel against the brig Charles Miller of Waldoboro, 175 tons, David Otis, Master, with a cargo of 122 puncheons of rum.

These notices were but arrows in the gale indicating the extent of the flouting of Federal power by the shipping interests of Maine. In this respect the cue was clearly given by the New England Federalist leaders. The repeal of the embargo had not brought an end to their plottings. For a number of years they had been threatening secession and urging the nullification of every act they disapproved, so that when war came they were too deeply committed to their pro-British policy to yield ground on it.

War did come by act of Congress on June 18, 1812, and the news reached Waldoboro that week. It was by an express (messenger on horseback), who arrived at Brunswick on the 25th, "halted but a few moments and proceeded to Bath and points eastward."⁵ In the year preceding the outbreak of hostilities, partisanship and bitter, unreasoned opposition to the central government had been carried so far by the Federalists, and their propaganda

⁴Bill in possession of C. T. Cooney, Jr., of Waldoboro.

⁵*American Advocate*, Hallowell, Me., June 25, 1812.

among the common people had gone to such extremes, that the advent of war found New England hopelessly and irrevocably divided. Through the overt acts of Federalist leadership the schism continued to widen. Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts and thirty-odd other Congressmen of his stripe conceded in an address to their constituents that wrongs had been committed against us by England, yet there was nothing which made the resort to war either necessary or expedient.

This manifesto was followed on June 20th by a proclamation of Federalist Governor Strong declaring a public fast on account of the war which the Washington Democrats had declared against a nation "which for many generations has been the bulwark of the religion we profess." The lower house of the Legislature asked that public disapproval be expressed "loud and deep," and that there be no volunteers for service except for defense.⁶ Cases of Federalist obstruction and opposition to the war could be multiplied, and the climax of the non-cooperative policy was not even reached when the governor of Massachusetts, called upon to place the state militia in the service of the Federal Government, declined. Secessionist talk was in the open and secessionist intrigue in the swing behind the scenes, all of which culminated in the Hartford Convention of 1814.

The policy and attitude of the New England Federalists before and during the War of 1812 has been set forth here in barest outline. The justification for introducing this seemingly extraneous matter is that it faithfully mirrors the viewpoint and feelings of the Waldoboro Federalists, for the town of Waldoboro beyond all question was overwhelmingly Federalist, and the attitudes of the major party leaders in Boston furnished in complete detail the pattern for the local leaders, who in the town adhered strictly to the program of nonparticipation. Throughout the war the community remained under the Federalist leadership. The successive boards of selectmen were made up of strong party exponents. They were the following: 1811, I. G. Reed, William Sproul, Benjamin Brown; 1812, Joseph Ludwig, William Sproul, I. G. Reed; 1813, Benjamin Brown, Charles Miller, Jacob Ludwig, Jr.; 1814, Benjamin Brown, Charles Miller, Jacob Ludwig, Jr.; 1815, Benjamin Brown, Charles Miller, Samuel Morse. This was also the group of men who in the main represented the town in the General Court during the war years, and we may assume had a hand in its unpatriotic policies.

It is further significant that the records of the Town Clerk do not contain a single reference to any move by the town to participate in the struggle until the British had brought the war

⁶John Quincy Adams, *History of the U. S.*, VI, 401.

to its very doorstep in the summer of 1814. The only act remotely suggesting war was an appropriation of \$50.00 in May 1813 to add to the town's stock of gunpowder. This could have been a routine move, for towns were required by law to keep an adequate stock of ammunition on hand, and Waldoboro in previous years had been fined for dereliction in this respect. In a word, we are compelled to believe that in the early phase of the war the town leaders took a party attitude to the struggle rather than an American attitude, and outwardly at least followed a policy of neutrality.

So far as New England was concerned neutrality was the British policy, too, at least for the first year of the war. When the blockade of the American coast was declared, New England was excepted, and Waldoboro vessels along with others continued even their West Indian trade without serious interference. In the coasting trade, however, the older and least valuable vessels were used. During the first year of the war these were little molested. They were merely boarded, examined, and usually allowed to proceed to points within the New England area.

The outbreak of hostilities, however, did bring about a cessation of shipbuilding and it did render trade with Europe impossible, which resulted in many of the poorer folk being thrown out of work. Some of these men, driven by economic necessity, enlisted in the national service, and some others did likewise for unquestionably patriotic motives, for while the town was preponderantly Federalist there was a minority party in it and from its ranks such Waldoboro soldiery as was in the service of the Federal Government was drawn. One of those thus enlisting "to serve his country again," as stated in one affidavit, or "in order simply to get a paying job," as is hinted in another, was the Revolutionary soldier, George Michael Achorn. In 1775 he had enrolled in Captain Smith's company in Colonel Bond's regiment, "and at the close of the year 1776 was honorably discharged from said Company and at the time of his said enlistment he was about eighteen years of age." Relative to his enlistment in the War of 1812 in his pension affidavit he substituted the following statement:

Said Achorn further, on his oath declares, that on the twenty-fifth day of March A. D. 1813, he was enlisted by Lieut. Downing, into the twenty-first regiment of United States Infantry for five years or during the late war with Great Britain; that at the time of said last enlistment he told his real age⁷ to said Lieutenant, who informed him he could enlist none, whose age should exceed forty-four years and that from his, this declarant's appearance he would pass for a person not exceeding that age; that he served in said Regiment until sometime in May 1815, when he was honorably discharged; that in the month of September 1814, at

⁷About 58 years of age.



COLONEL ISAAC GARDNER REED

a place called Bridgewater in Upper Canada he received a wound, in consequence of which he was disabled. . . .⁸

This case is cited as being typical of the attitude of the poorer class; and is confirmed by a contemporary note in a local newspaper, to wit: "The patriotic spirit of the yeomanry in the District of Maine is not we presume exceeded in any part of the country. Volunteer organizations are already numerous, waiting the order of the government. Even the veterans of '75' are impatient to be in active service against the enemy."⁹ The newspaper, however, omits any reference to the attitude of the *gentry*, who in Waldoboro and elsewhere were adhering to their comfortable Federalist doctrine and in reality waiting for the war to come thundering to their threshold.

After the war had been under way for nearly a year, in the spring of 1813, the respect of the British Navy for the New England Federalists seems to have waned, and British naval vessels began to hover on the Maine coast, seizing prizes and disrupting commerce. On April 12, 1813, the *Independent Chronicle* of Boston reported that

letters from Wiscasset, Portland and other shipping centers state the recent capture of many coasters on the eastern seaboard by British cruisers, several of which are off there and which according to reports have orders to capture all vessels — even canoes. Capt. Storer's vessel and five other coasters were captured off Seguin the 30th or 31st, ult. Mr. Philbrook of Vinalhaven reported that his vessel and twelve other coasters were captured the 1st, inst., between Damariscove and Monhegan.

Then and thus it was that the war came to Waldoboro waters, and the destruction of its shipping continued in the face of a sporadic and inadequate defense. A Salem newspaper of April 5, 1813, reported the arrival of a schooner April 2nd which "reported that the schooner *Charles and John*, Capt. Gay of Waldoboro, was captured by H. M. S. *Rattler* off Cape Elizabeth." These raids on local commerce were more than one old Federalist at least could look on with righteous complacency. This was old Commodore Samuel Tucker of Bremen, sixty-seven years of age. On May 6, 1813, the *Independent Chronicle* of Boston carried this report of his doings: "The English Privateer *Crown* of one large gun and twenty men was captured on Thursday last off Waldoborough by a sloop fitted out at that place and commanded by Capt. Tucker, an old naval officer of the Revolution."

The Commodore's bold stroke in defense of shipping in Muscongus Bay received a good deal of newspaper comment varying

⁸Pension Records of George Michael Achorn, Bureau of Pensions, Wash., D. C.
⁹*American Advocate*, Hallowell, Oct. 1, 1812.

somewhat in its detail. Tucker it seems, once his mind was made up to do something, came to Waldoboro and received a commission from Joseph Farley. Then with a local crew of twenty volunteers, and after a brief fight, he captured the tender of the British Frigate, *Rattler*, which had been a thorn in the flesh of the local coasters for some time. They made a prize of the tender together with several excellent gun-carriage guns and twenty-five men. "Not a man was killed or wounded on either side. The wood-coasters showed what they might have done, however, by boring the Captain's hat through several times and by firing 370 bullets through his mainsail."¹⁰

The *Commercial Advertiser* of New York on May 12, 1813, reported that in the attack on the *Crown*, "Capt. Tucker went out on a coasting ship for the purpose of decoying and attacking the *Bream* which had for sometime been off the mouth of this river [Medomak] and had taken a number of coasters." The capture of the *Bream* of eight guns had been suggested at a gathering of men in a store at Muscongus. Commodore Tucker, having been consulted, agreed to make the attempt and secured the necessary papers from Mr. Farley in Waldoboro.

With a volunteer crew of fifty men he put to sea on the sloop *Increase* and cruised to the eastward and westward for two days without sighting the enemy. While returning from Boothbay and inside Pemaquid Point, the *Crown*, a privateer schooner of six guns from Halifax, was sighted. The British privateer immediately changed her course to intercept them and when within range opened fire on the sails of the *Increase*. The old Commodore kept to the windward and when close enough gave the order to open fire and amid a hail of lead the *Crown's* crew were compelled to take refuge below. On the *Increase* was a volunteer of swarthy complexion and gigantic stature. The Commodore ordered him to take up the kedge anchor and stand ready to throw it as a grappling iron over the rail of the enemy. This was too much for the English captain and he surrendered, remarking afterward: "When I beheld a giant standing at the bow with a huge anchor on his back ready to throw on board of us through a space of twenty feet, and heard his awful cry: 'Commodore, shall I heave,' I thought the devil was coming after my vessel." The prize thus captured was taken into Muscongus Harbor and the crew of twenty-five men sent to the Wiscasset jail. The armament of the *Increase* in this action had been muskets and an old swivel.

Despite an occasional blow struck at the marauders on the coast they continued to prey on local commerce. The New York *Commercial Advertiser* of June 19, 1813, carried the following

¹⁰*New England Magazine* (1832), pp. 138-145.

item with reference to another Waldoboro vessel: "Sloop, Patty, Farnsworth of Waldoboro, on Saturday night at ten o'clock off Seguin Light was boarded by the Sir John Sherbrooke which took away his papers. Capt. Farnsworth was detained aboard all night, but in the morning was allowed to proceed. They informed him that they had taken eighteen prizes."

On another occasion the boldness and ingenuity of a local skipper turned the tables on the British. This incident was related by Nathaniel Simmons,¹¹ who was a lad of ten years at the outbreak of the war:

One, Peter Light, a fisherman was captured by a British privateer and carried to Halifax. The crew having gone ashore for a holiday, left Light and his negro cook aboard the vessel. During the absence of the crew Light and the negro cut the cable, made sail and steered for the New England coast. As they sailed up the Waldoboro river they fired several guns which alarmed the people in the vicinity. Nathaniel's father, James, living in Nobleboro, saddled his horse and taking the boy on behind him started for Waldoboro. There was great rejoicing among the people on account of this bold and successful venture. They took the barrels of liquor out of the vessel, knocked in the heads and passed it around.¹²

In May of this year a Captain Tucker, possibly the Commodore,

a passenger on the sloop, Penobscot Packet, Eliot of Waldoboro, bound for Boston arrived on a Thursday and reported that the vessel sailed from Portland on Tuesday in company with the schooner, — Baker for Marblehead, the schooner, Jane M., Yates of Bristol for Boston, and the sloop, — Geyer of Friendship.

That off Cape Ann the fleet fell in with an English brig, Captains Eliot and Geyer put about and got into Portsmouth. Captain Tucker saw one of the two schooners and two sloops taken.¹³

In July of this year the English brig *Boxer* began its destructive operations on the coast. The Boston *Patriot* of August 5, 1813, reported the fact, as well as her capture of the *Industry* of Marblehead at the mouth of the Sheepscot River "on Wednesday last," and the sighting of the frigate *Nymph* and the brigs *Curlew* and *Boxer*, off Monhegan "with three schooners in tow." The *Boxer* carried eighteen guns and a crew of one hundred and four men and remained on the coast to bring the American brig *Enterprise* of sixteen guns and one hundred and two men into an engagement. The two ships sighted one another on the morning of September 5th, apparently a clear day with a northwest wind so that there was no haze to obscure the view of the people gathered on the top

¹¹Born in Waldoboro, Oct. 4, 1802, died at Belfast, 1889.

¹²Sprague's *Journal*, VIII, 140.

¹³New York *Commercial Advertiser*, May 29, 1813.

of Stahl's Hill in Warren¹⁴ and Isaiah Cole's Hill in Waldoboro. The action was begun at 3:15 P.M., with the two ships within pistol shot of one another. For thirty-five minutes the action was animated and incessant until the *Boxer* struck her colors, having lost forty-six men, killed and wounded. Two Americans lost their lives and twelve were wounded in this action in which both captains fell. The next day the *Enterprise* reached Portland with her prize.

This action caused great jubilation. Even the Federalists seem to have been gratified, for the depredations of these British cruisers had for some time been touching scruples more deep even than their party principles. The war had been coming home to them and in April 1814, when the British Admiral, Cochran, declared a blockade of the whole Atlantic coast from Eastport to the Mississippi, they seemed in Waldoboro to have thought for the first time in terms of defense, although they remained unrelenting so far as the government in Washington was concerned.

When President Madison made a requisition on the states for militia for defense purposes, Governor Strong of Massachusetts disregarded the call, and when the President ordered eleven British officers to be sent to the county jail in Worcester in retaliation for similar action taken by the Governor of Lower Canada against American officers, the General Court refused to allow the United States the use of the jail for such a purpose. Such incidents, to be sure, did not happen in Waldoboro, but they did happen under the governmental jurisdiction of which this town was a part and were initiated by those executives from whom the local leaders consistently derived their "party line."

The village squires, however, if not moved by Mr. Madison had been moved by the British, for enemy ships were close and were seizing property in coastal waters. Their crews might land at any time and conduct destructive raids on the coastal towns, and so, not to defend their nation with its evil government, but to protect their property, it was perhaps time to move. Accordingly, two years after the war had been under way, a Committee of Safety was formed, and it seems to have had representatives at a convention of similar committees from adjoining towns which convened on April 11th at Aunt Lydia's Tavern to confer and to adopt measures for general safety. An agreement resulted to station guards at strategic points and to adopt methods for spreading the alarm in case of invasion.¹⁵ Not until June, however, is there evidence of these local reluctant die-hards having taken any measures for defense. On the 23rd of this month, apparently on instructions by the town, a Committee of Defense made up of Isaac Reed,

¹⁴Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 314.

¹⁵Eaton, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

Charles Miller, Jacob Ludwig, Jr., and Payn Elwell submitted the following report:

Report of Committee appointed to consider some suitable system of defense for the towns and of conveying information on the approach of danger . . . report that a Committee be appointed to consult with similar committees in the towns of Bristol and Friendship and with the officers of the militia and agree with them on some uniform mode of communicating alarm upon the approach of danger, and that this Committee be authorized to carry such system into effect at the expense of the town; that the Selectmen be requested immediately to cause fifty pounds of powder to be made into cartridges with a ball in each cartridge, deposit them in portable boxes with two flints to every twenty-four cartridges and lodge them in three places on the eastern side of the river, and in two places on the western side, where the Selectmen shall judge convenient and safe and that information of such places of deposit be made known to the commissioned officers of the militia in this town, and to no others. . . .

Isaac Reed

At the same meeting to which this report was submitted, it was voted that a Committee of Safety be appointed "to carry said report into effect and to adopt such other measures for the safety of the town as they shall think fit." This committee, which apparently assumed charge of the town's defense for the balance of the war, was made up of Doctor Benjamin Brown, Henry Flagg, Joshua Head, John Stahl, and Payn Elwell. Of this committee of five the first three members were certainly minds of the Federalist pattern, Payn Elwell was a Democrat, and while we may not speak of John Stahl's views with certainty, the early tradition of this family was certainly Democratic. With the Federalists exercising majority control in this committee the responsibility was theirs, not only for the town's abstention from any cooperative effort in the first years of the struggle, but also for the limited measures it was compelled to assume for its own defense in the closing years of the war.

The British, to be sure, were not as yet present on the coast in force, but there was now the ever-present possibility of landing forces from their cruisers striking a quick, destructive blow at any undefended point on the coast. It was to meet such an emergency that all the town cooperated and their militia was mobilized for rapid action. From the Orderly Book of Captain Richard Hiscock, we catch a quick glimpse of the militia in action on the local scene. We read: "You are here by ordered to assemble with all officers and soldiers under your command at your alarm post with the least possible delay and there wait for further orders to repel the enemy force now in New Harbor."¹⁶ This was apparently a mere harrying attack, since the enemy did not remain long at this point.

¹⁶Libr., Me. Hist. Soc., Portland, Me.

Lieutenant Levi Soule's guard from Colonel Thatcher's regiment was stationed at Waldoboro from June 30th to July 16th. Among the local citizens in this detail were Corporals Charles Heavener, John Stahl III, Charles Wallace, and Isaac Winchenbach.¹⁷ This same detachment saw service at Friendship from October 5th to October 11th, while Lieutenant John Hunt's detail held the Waldoboro post from July 6th to August 15th.

During these months of 1814 the British continued to raid commerce on the coast. The sloop *Betsey* of Waldoboro was captured by the *Wolverine* and the schooner *Ranger* of Friendship by the *Lunenburg*.¹⁸ Sometimes the tables were turned, as when Captain Geyer of the sloop *Polly* of Waldoboro, on a Sunday evening in November off Cape Ann, with the wind blowing fresh, captured the sloop *Jefferson*, bound for Halifax with a British prize crew aboard, and took her unto Boston.¹⁹ The most notable of such captures in the course of 1814 was on June 6th, when the sloop *Mary*, sailing from Waldoboro, was captured by a barge manned by twenty men from the British frigate *Junon*. The sloop was burned and the crew taken to Halifax and placed in Melville Island prison. The *Mary's* crew was made up of Captain Jacob Kaler, Charles W. Kaler, Henry Kaler, and James Benner. They were held at Melville Island for six weeks and were then shipped to Plymouth, England, and here placed in Dartmoor, the prison of black memory. Here they found two Waldoboro friends, young Benjamin Brown and Benjamin Kinsell.

Kinsell had been impressed into the English service, and refusing to fight against his own people, was confined as a prisoner of war. Brown had been captured on an American privateer. James Benner during his confinement took a severe cold while bathing and to all appearances died of pneumonia. Preparations were made for his burial, but after twenty-four hours of suspended animation he recovered consciousness, and after remaining delirious for three days began to recover, and ultimately died in Waldoboro, September 3, 1873, at the age of eighty-one. All these men were in the infamous "Dartmoor Prison Massacre," when, in order to suppress a supposed mutiny, a company of English soldiers fired on and killed seven American prisoners and wounded sixty others, thirty of them dangerously. On the conclusion of peace these Waldoboro men were transported to New York. From there they proceeded to Boston and took passage from that port for Waldoboro with Captain Charles Samson.²⁰

¹⁷Lincoln Co. War of 1812 payrolls.

¹⁸Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., *Memo of Prizes Taken, War of 1812*, Vols. 11-13.

¹⁹N. Y. *Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 10, 1814.

²⁰Oral tradition of Capt. Charles Kaler, cited by S. L. Miller, *History of Waldoboro* (Wiscasset, 1910), pp. 113-114.

In the summer of 1814 the war situation became more serious for New England. By July, Sir Thomas Hardy had moved in with a sizable land and naval force from Halifax and seized a considerable section of the Maine coast. Governor Strong, acting in the purely parochial way of New England for the defense of New England, ordered out five thousand militia men. The Waldoboro militia was included in this mobilization. Previous to 1810, there had been two companies enrolled in the town, ununiformed with the exception of the officers. The first of these was Captain Philip Keizer's company, Lieutenant Colonel S. Thatcher's regiment. The local unit was headed by Philip Keizer, captain; John Hunt, lieutenant; Friedrich Castner, ensign; sergeants: George Fuller, Gardiner Davis, Zebedee Simmons, and Joseph Vinal; second sergeants: George Kaler and George Keizer; corporals: Joseph Overlock and Nathaniel Pitcher; musicians: Bradley Maxey and Caleb Howard. The second company, also a part of Thatcher's regiment, was made up of the following: George Clouse, captain; Levi Soule, lieutenant; John Wagner, ensign; sergeants: Godfrey Ludwig, William Clouse, George Kuhn, and Charles Belnap; corporals: Eleazer Nash, Jacob Roler III, and Joseph Ludwig.

In 1810 the Waldoboro Light Infantry was organized, equipped and uniformed, a sort of élite guard of the local Federalists. It too was attached to Thatcher's regiment and was captained by Charles Miller, brother-in-law of Major Isaac G. Reed. Jacob Ludwig, Jr., was the lieutenant, Thomas Simmons the ensign, John Brown, Samuel Morse, Samuel A. Thomas, and Daniel Samson the sergeants; Daniel Blake, Martin Demuth, John Freeman, and Jacob Barker the corporals; while Christian Walter and James Simmons served as musicians. The three companies constituted a battalion under the command of Major Isaac G. Reed.

On Saturday afternoon, December 3rd, 1814, a courier reached Major Reed with the news that a British fleet had appeared off Camden, and that he was to have his battalion under arms at sunrise the next morning, with three days' rations and ready to march to the defense of Camden. This was short notice, and messengers were scurrying around the town all through the night rounding up men and having them effect the necessary preparations. On Sunday morning the troops were mustered in front of the town house and a roll call showed only eight absentees, some of whom joined the companies before they reached Camden.

After an inspection of the one hundred and seventy-five men a prayer was offered by one of the local clergymen, and the battalion with the Light Infantry on the right took up its march, followed a long distance by weeping mothers, wives, and sweethearts. The battalion remained at Warren Sunday night and not

being provided with tents, the men were sheltered in barns and other buildings. On Monday morning the command was ordered to what is now Rockland, where shelter for the night was provided by Jacob Ulmer. Alfred Hovey, quartermaster, was ordered to report to Major Reed, as acting adjutant. On Tuesday the force moved to Camden, where it was joined by the other battalion of Thatcher's regiment, under Major Hawes of Union. Colonel E. Foote's regiment of militia was already at the scene, and the display of this rather formidable force perhaps deterred the enemy from attempting a landing. After the departure of the British the two regiments were reviewed by Major General King of Bath and were then ordered home after a campaign of one week in which not one shot had been fired. The battalion arrived in Waldoboro on Saturday and was quartered in Major Reed's house and barn²¹ until Monday, when another review took place in Smouse's Field,²² after which the men were dismissed.

In November trouble was brewing again in the Rockland-Camden district. On the 2nd of this month the British brig *Furieuse* made a demand on Camden for a \$40,000 prize cargo which had been seized by a barge from Lincolnville. When a request came to Waldoboro for immediate aid, the available men were organized into a battalion under Isaac G. Reed, and this was rushed to the danger point. At Clam Cove several British ships were sighted fairly close in, and the Major made as great a show of strength as possible by deploying his scant force. This action was thought to have persuaded the ships to withdraw.²³

The initial economic dislocation felt in New England in the early months of the war was followed by a period of considerable prosperity. By 1813 the farms were producing larger crops of wheat, corn, and rye, and food conditions improved. With the coastal blockade cutting off contact by sea, farmers transported goods from this area by ox-team to Portland and Boston, and labor was sought on the farms to replace these overland teamsters. The price of wood, lumber, cattle, and all farm produce rose markedly; money became more abundant and a minor boom started. Markets were expanded, for some of the farmers of indifferent patriotism smuggled their produce to Canada or supplied British vessels off the coast. By an Act of Congress in December 1813 this very considerable smuggling trade was illegalized by a new embargo, which brought a halt to certain practices in New England's traitorous prosperity. As a consequence the whole section seethed. From Washington Josiah Quincy wrote: "The time has arrived when ordinary opposition will prove futile,"²⁴ while the citizens of

²¹Demolished in 1951-52.

²²The farm now owned by Millard W. Winchenbach, west of Medomak Terrace.

²³Accounts based upon Samuel L. Miller's *History of Waldoboro*, pp. 115-116.

²⁴*Boston Gazette*, April 4, 1814.

Newburyport in Town Meeting declared themselves ready to resist unto blood.

This policy of treasonable opposition was followed by the New England Federalists to the very end of the war, and in Waldoboro the village squires and their henchmen stood to the finish with their party rather than their country. Their convictions and feelings are boldly and clearly set forth in some resolutions passed unanimously by a convention held in Waldoboro on September 30, 1814, made up of delegates from those towns comprising the Third Congressional District convening for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Congress. The show was run by the Waldoboro dons. Benjamin Brown acted as its chairman, and Isaac G. Reed was its secretary. The resolutions which were reported and unanimously adopted are the clearest and most direct expression of local Federalism which we have. For this reason they are offered here verbatim, together with interpretative comments revealing their true meaning:

I. Resolved as the sense of this Convention: That the American people are now called upon by every feeling of honour and interest to rescue the country from the disgraceful situation to which it has been reduced by the administration which has sacrificed to party feelings, foreign partialities, the dearest interests of the nation.

This "disgraceful situation" was a war with a foreign power imposed upon the United States by a long series of indignities and acts which could not have been avoided except through the surrender of sovereign rights, and the "dearest interests" were those of a particular class in American society, namely the Federalist aristocrats, who identified as ruin all forms of social control exercised by others than themselves.

II. Resolved that we see no rational prospects effecting this great object except by reasserting and maintaining at every hazard those principles which in the darkest times guided our fathers and which went before them as a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night.

All that was being reasserted in this clause was the prevalent political credo of the Federalist Party, and most certainly its counterpart could have been found in the "darkest times" only in the attitudes of the Tories of the Revolutionary period.

III. Resolved that while we deprecate the odious measures of a party which has driven the friends of Washington from the councils of the nation, we entertain a Republican jealousy of that vile spirit which would sacrifice our dearest rights to the insidious cry of Union raised by men who would use it as a shield against public indignation, and that we entertain no hope of a speedy and honorable peace except from a radical change of men and measures in our National Government.

Here the "friends of Washington" who had been driven "from the councils of the nation" were the Federalists themselves, naïve enough through their later party history to pin the sanction of his name to their treasonable acts and utterances. The cry of union branded here as "insidious," had been raised because of the Federalist plots and threats for the dissolution of the union. Even in the year in which these words were penned, New England controlled the major part of the specie of the country and one third of its banking capital, and the Federalist newspapers were openly advocating cutting the Federal Government off from any financial support, and thus, by stopping supplies, securing the speedy and honorable peace advocated by the Waldoboro Convention in Resolution III, a peace involving the defeat of their own country by withholding from it the means of continuing the war.

IV. Resolved that we have the utmost confidence in the wisdom, prudence and patriotism of His Excellency, Governor Strong, and that we will exert ourselves to the utmost to aid his prompt, energetic measures for the defense of our native soil.

This Governor Strong who so inspired the confidence of the Waldoboro Convention was the selfsame one who had proclaimed a day of fasting and mourning when war was declared and had refused to allow the Massachusetts militia to enter Federal service; while "the defense of our native soil" went no further than the defense of Massachusetts soil. This and nothing more had been counselled by the party leaders in Boston from the outbreak of the war, and it is here the selfsame policy reaffirmed by the local Federalists in the closing days of the war. Throughout the struggle they had clung consistently to this fundamental policy.

V. Resolved that venerating the spirit which made this country independent, great, prosperous, we will use every effort to restore the government to the friends of Washington and with this view we will support Joshua Head, Esq., as candidate to represent this district in the next Congress.²⁵

Benjamin Brown, Chairman
Issac G. Reed, Secretary

This resolution by the local Federalists states little more than the one aim to restore control of the national government to themselves. This was hardly the spirit which made America independent in 1782. In fact, as before stated, we believe that their "spirit" finds its only duplication in American history in the attitudes of the militant Tories of 1775 and the Copperheads of 1861. It is interesting to note that in the above document there are no "deprecating" references to the British capture and burnings in Washington a bare two months before. This was hardly a concern of

²⁵*Columbian Sentinel*, Boston, Oct. 8, 1814.

the Federalist mentality which thought of itself as a sectional group whose wise and saving leadership had been rejected by the rest of the nation. If other sections would not have salvation, then New England would reserve salvation for itself, and the Federalist journals had become very outspoken on the question of the dissolution of the Union, and were whipping up a public sentiment which led straight to the Hartford Convention with its devious agenda and secret discussions pointing toward secession from the Federal Union.

In my judgment little of harsh condemnation should be meted out by history to these local leaders. The basic motivation of their beliefs was neither sordid nor low. Their faith in their political rightness was as fervent and as fixed as their religious beliefs. Theirs was no individual view but rather a party view based upon a political philosophy which was as rational and noble as the principles laid down by Plato in his *Republic* for the guidance of the ideal statesmen.

The end to intrigue and treason, if it be so construed, came with startling suddenness. First, there was the news of the complete defeat of the British in the Battle of New Orleans, and shortly thereafter the Treaty of Peace, two events which possibly averted a disruption of the Union. It was a face-saving ending and an honorable peace, to which the Federalists in Waldoboro had contributed nothing. In fact, throughout the struggle their main contribution had been one of indirect aid to the British through obstructing their own government's prosecution of the war.

It was on February 14, 1814, that the western mail stage brought to Waldoboro the news that a treaty of peace had been signed the 24th day of the preceding December. Pandemonium broke loose in the town, trumpets sounded, people gathered in crowds and cheered, bands played, houses were illuminated, and bonfires kindled. Patriots rejoiced that there had come a peace with honor; Federalists rejoiced that the end had come to the war which they had utterly detested and opposed.

The whole attitude of many of the leading men in the town throughout the struggle certainly provides little cause for pride or satisfaction. There were, to be sure, those who had enlisted in the Federal service for the duration of the war, and had fought and shed their blood on the battlefields of the States and Lower Canada, but for the town leaders and the large majority following their lead, the war had been little more than a matter of consistent denunciation of the Federal Government and noncooperation with its war program; a brief mobilization and a march to Camden; watchful waiting at the key points on the Medomak and the adjacent coast, a bloodless, silent war with a review at Camden and a mustering out on Smouse's field.

THE VILLAGE SQUIRES

Trust not in oppression, and become not vain in robbery; if riches increase, set not your heart upon them.

PSALM 62

THE PEOPLE IN THE TOWN on the Medomak were slow in stratifying into class-conscious groups. In the early years of hardship nearly everybody had been reduced to one dead level by the common factor of suffering. Hunger, cold, disease, danger, and death in the first years fell equally to the lot of all, and compelled the group to organize a society on a basis of mutual aid in which all class distinctions were obliterated. Indeed, in these years there was no ground for such distinctions, for in the main these early German colonists were peasants drawn from one Old World social class. For two decades they faced together one common problem, that of survival, and they faced it as a unified social group.

With the coming of a more permanent peace in the early 1760's following the last of the Indian wars the struggle for survival assumed another form. The fit began to emerge from the dead level of the communal decades, some with more land, some with better land, some with land located at the key points of economic development, and some with a keener understanding of future economic trends and possessed of the initiative and enterprise to use such insight for individual profit. Such is the basis of most of the social distinctions in a free society. Capital and wealth accumulate in the hands of a few, while the mass is still struggling for its bread.

Among the first Germans to emerge from the common level were Jacob Ludwig, a tireless jack-of-many trades, John Ulmer, and Charles Leissner. The two latter men had the initial advantage of education. Ulmer was a teacher and a scribe, and Leissner had a law education received at the University of Jena. These qualifications carried social weight in the eyes of their fellow settlers, but there never arose much thought of class difference. They were a part of the one life, different only in that they were the leaders of it.

Nor did the first wave of the Puritan migration do much to disturb the calm classlessness of Waldoboro society. In this incursion there were sea captains seeking a snug harbor for their later years, Tories from the Boston area seeking nothing more than social obscurity, farmers who took up and worked land like the Germans, and only in a few cases really superior men such as Squire Thomas, who had the backing of both class and money, Colonel William Farnsworth who began with little, but soon acquired well-being through real-estate dealings, and Thomas Simmons, who brought considerable means with him from Massachusetts. While these men occupied a place in the community consonant with their means and abilities, they were hardly numerous enough to form a class, and integrated themselves pretty much with life as they found it.

In the decades following the Revolution, however, the scene changed. New men kept filtering in from the Boston district, able men, resourceful men, educated men, and men of means. They all settled in the village and soon had assumed charge of the growing economic life of the town, building up for themselves profitable practices in the fields of law and medicine, engaging in trade and real-estate speculation, and initiating shipbuilding and the supporting industries which were its necessary complement. These men were differentiated from the main mass of the population by initiative, intelligence, enterprise, and education. They were different, superior, familiar with the growing world outside of Waldoboro, accustomed to and enjoying a more lavish way of life. As opposed to the yeomen and artisans they constituted a new class, aristocratic in background and outlook, and numerous enough to form a society by itself, exclusive in its associations and viewpoints, and having contact with the masses only in business, political, and professional matters.

Numbered in this group were Colonel Isaac G. Reed, Joseph Farley, John Bulfinch, Jacob Ludwig, Captain Charles Miller, Deacon Samuel Morse, Doctor Benjamin Brown, Denny McCobb, William Sproul, Deacon George Allen, Horace and Avery Rawson, Joseph Clark, Doctor John G. Brown, James Hovey, General Henry Kennedy, Bela B. Haskell, and John H. Kennedy. The social standing and prestige of these families and this class persisted for over three-quarters of a century and was still recognized in my youth. Later figures of prominence in this group were the Hon. Isaac Reed, A. R. Reed, George Sproul, and Governor Sebastian Marble. These were the great figures of the Great Days, and their influence lasted until the economic decline of the town set in with the passing of sail and the advent of steam, or family lines became extinct, family fortunes were lost or squandered, or descendants

of lesser clay only were left as poor reminders of great enterprises and great names. In one way or another, their prestige diminished until the last reminders of this fine tradition ended with the passing of Sam Jackson and Redington Reed.

Among the many services of this class was that of bringing to the town a new standard of dignified living, a more polished and finished way of life. They all erected for themselves fine homes, surrounded for the most part by ample acres, and with business or profession they combined all the appurtenances of the traditional landed gentry. These houses were situated in the village or in its immediate outskirts. On Friendship Road almost one-half mile below the business section was the estate of Doctor Benjamin Brown, fronting the highway from the north line of the old Charles H. Lilly farm to the present lot of Richard Castner. The house, later owned and occupied by Governor Marble, was a long story-and-a-half structure much like two or three Cape Cod cottages joined into one, with large barns adjacent, and with the lawn and roadside shaded by stately elms and sturdy oaks. Here lived the Doctor and Congressman with his family and two slaves, and here in 1802 was entertained the Doctor's old friend, President John Adams. The farm was well stocked. The one hundred and thirty acres supported two horses, two yoke of oxen, six cows, one two-year-old, two hogs and one carriage, without mention of the farm produce from its fertile acres.¹

Next on Friendship Road just south of the business section was the home of Joseph Farley, fronting the highway on the east and embracing the present Storer and Meservey lots. Here on the site of the present Meservey home, Joseph Farley erected his house, a large, square, flat-roofed structure with an ell on the rear, and on the front a long lawn sloping down to the street. South of the lawn and opposite the old Brick Schoolhouse was an orchard enclosed by a white picket fence. In the rear of the mansion and flanking it on the north and south were two large barns. Just back of these and between the two was the chaise house, and back of that the sheep barn.² As President Jefferson's Collector of Customs of the District of Waldoboro, Mr. Farley covered it and all the ports eastward to the Penobscot. Furthermore, he was a real-estate speculator, a miller, a shipowner, and a gentleman farmer. The farm was worked by two horses and two yoke of oxen and carried five cows, three heifers, two hogs, and of course, a chaise.³ Mr. Farley, though bearing the hated label of a Democrat, was one in class and education with the other village squires. This elaborate set of buildings was destroyed by fire in 1845.

¹Valuation, Town of Waldoboro, 1822. Books in my possession.

²Grand Plan in possession of Alfred Storer.

³Valuation, Town of Waldoboro, *op. cit.*

In the heart of the present-day village on the northwest corner of the lot now occupied by the Sproul Block was the mansion of William Sproul with its large barn on the lot west of the Senator Payne residence. As in the case of the other squires Sproul's table was supported by his own livestock and farm produce, but in a more limited way, for his activity was largely absorbed in his saw and gristmills at the First Falls and in his real-estate interests, which with those of the late Ezekiel Barnard embraced the whole village area back well beyond Willett's Hill.⁴ In 1822 his property included one hundred and thirty acres of land, one horse, a yoke of oxen, five cows, one heifer, two hogs, a considerable ownership in vessels, one chaise, a clothing mill, a carding mill, a gristmill and a sawmill. The Sproul home was destroyed in the fire of 1845.

In this immediate neighborhood were located a number of the village notables. John H. Kennedy acquiring the lot of the heirs of Payn Elwell, built and resided in the brick house nearly opposite the Storer Lumberyard. Denny McCobb's home was on the site of the residence of Marian Storer. Doctor John G. Brown, who married Bertha Smouse, stepdaughter of Isaac G. Reed, built the present Stahl's Tavern on the corner of Main and School streets, occupied it for a number of years, and on leaving town sold it to James Hovey. Directly across from it on Main Street was the brick house of Bela B. Haskell, now the home of Senator Payne. This house enjoys the distinction of having been the residence of two Maine Governors.

South of the Payne residence on old Dog Lane, Joseph Clark after the great fires built himself a pretentious mansion, the house now occupied by Floyd O. Benner. Clark was probably the town's ablest and most successful businessman, hard-boiled, resolute, venturesome, and competent. Born in Jefferson, where he received a common school education, he amassed a little capital by teaching school and came to Waldoboro in 1823 with his worldly possessions stored in a pack on his back. In August 1824 he married Mary Ann King of Whitefield, a kinswoman of Maine's first governor. He first entered a partnership with his cousin, General Henry Kennedy, and after three years started shipbuilding on the river. Thereafter his rise was rapid and whatever he touched seemed to turn into gold. At the time of his death he was the wealthiest man in the county, leaving an estate of around three quarters of a million dollars.

In these times in Maine this was a large fortune and the fact that it was all made locally affords an index and an insight into the scope of the town's economic activity in the early and mid-century. Mr. Clark's hobby was his farm. He acquired large por-

⁴Sometimes known as Cole's Hill.

tions of the meadow areas in the low, flat country east of Willett's Hill and herein he found his relaxation. He had a sizable herd of fine cattle, and in season a portion of the herd was driven each morning up Main Street and over the hill to the Clark meadows and pasture lands beyond, then back to his town barn at night.⁵ Clark was strictly a businessman. He never essayed politics or sought a public office, nor was his fortune made in any part through the exploitation of the necessities of the poor.

Just north of the business section on Jefferson Street still stands the beautiful Georgian residence of Isaac G. Reed, the most successful piece of architecture in the town, and in these days the very heart of the genteel tradition in the growing community. There was little land immediately connected with the Colonel's mansion, but he erected a huge barn⁶ just north of his house, and through his wife's inheritance, administered the Smouse real estate, the finest piece of meadowland within the village precincts. Colonel Reed's close neighbor was Deacon Samuel Morse, who built the mansion now occupied by the Bear Hill Market. The Deacon owned a tract of land east of the road, and in the rear of his house the lot reached to the river on whose bank was located his tannery. This farm of thirty acres supported two horses, two cows, and a hog.

Nearly opposite the Reed mansion on the west side of Jefferson Street, south of the present home of Doctor Franklin Randolph, Captain Charles Miller built for himself a fine brick house, destroyed by fire in the 1890's. Charles Miller was a businessman, builder of a fleet of twenty-five vessels, legislator, and the husband of Elizabeth Kinsell, sister to the wife of Isaac G. Reed, which identified him with the Colonel's political and social entourage. Like the other village squires Miller was a landowner and his sixty acres, with a yoke of oxen, a cow, a heifer and a hog, supplied the needs of his own table.

Farther up Jefferson Street, out at the end of Lovell Road, John Bulfinch built his beautiful home, carriage house, and barn on his level and ample acres on the upper Medomak. This house has recently been extensively renovated and is now the home of John H. Miller. Squire Bulfinch, of the Boston Bulfinch family, was born in that city on September 29, 1791, and graduated from Harvard in 1812. After leaving college he sold the property in Malden which he had inherited from his grandfather, John Bulfinch, and came to "eastern parts." While a teacher in Belfast Academy he read law in the office of B. P. Field, Esq., of that city. He was admitted to the bar in 1819 and started the practice of

⁵Oral account of Justin Welt, who drove Mr. Clark's cows in his boyhood.

⁶Torn down in 1951-52.

law in Union. In November 1823 he moved to Waldoboro and opened a law office. Two years later he married Sophronia Pike of Camden. Apart from his extensive practice in Maine Courts the Squire had interests in land surveying, shipbuilding, mortgages, and loans. He was a man of small stature but of ample abilities, with a keen interest in education and well-developed taste in the field of belles-lettres. It is more than a tradition that in his declining years he found the main solace of his leisure in the great documents of antiquity which he read for pleasure in the original Latin and Greek.

Mention should be made of one more home on the east side of the river, that of General Henry Kennedy. This house now owned by Willis Crowell is perhaps the most impressive on Main Street, but its first occupant was different from the run of village squires, different in politics, in business practices, and religion. He was neither Federalist, Congregationalist, nor mortgagee and loan specialist, and while a man of great energy, wealth, and widely respected, he never quite fitted the pattern of the local genteel tradition.

On the west side of the river on the northwest segment of Kaler's Corner, stood the large imposing residence of the Honorable Joshua Head, gentleman farmer, trader, capitalist, real-estate speculator, ardent Federalist and Congregationalist, representative and senator in the General Court, and several times candidate for the Federal House of Representatives but always on the wrong side of the political fence. His ample acres extended on the north side of the Kaler Corner Road from the river westward to the Kaler Pond. This farm of one hundred and thirty acres "more or less" was stocked with one horse, a yoke of oxen, three cows, sheep, and a chaise, as well as extensive farm tools and equipment.

These men, along with a few other lesser figures, constituted the financial, social, and political hierarchy of the town. They were clearly outstanding, enterprising, and capable personalities, in fact, the most distinguished group of citizens that ever resided in the town. They provided the creative force of the Great Days. In their number was included a governor, senators, representatives, Federal congressmen, great shipbuilders, leaders at the bar, and men influential in party, state, and national affairs. It was they who formed the pattern of the new era in the life of the town.

The great influence which these men exercised was too multifarious and too pervasive to describe. It could only be felt and experienced. In fact, it constituted a revolution. Under their drive the town grew from a simple, staid agricultural community to one of the busiest centers of economic activity in the state. From them it received political prestige, Congregationalism, the genteel tra-

dition, and a class-conscious society, divided into an aristocracy, a middle class, and the poor. Some of these squires were large-souled, Christian benefactors of the less privileged in their midst; while others were scheming, close-fisted, penny-pinching, usurious exploiters of the poor, who added to their own fortunes by getting a clutch on the poor man's holdings in his hour of need.

Of the many-faceted influence of these village squires there is one that merits some elaboration, and that was the development of the genteel tradition of American culture which these gentlemen brought to the town. This pattern was not original with all of them, by any means, for such as William Sproul, Joseph Clark, Henry Kennedy, and Charles Miller began life with little in the way of education or wealth. But these were superior men and once on their way to affluence they were quick to take their cue from their more educated and more polished colleagues of equal wealth and influence, such as Squire Farley, Isaac G. Reed, Denny McCobb, Deacon Morse, Doctor Brown, and Squire Bulfinch, for these were the purveyors of the genteel tradition in Waldoboro life. In most cases they had brought family prestige and good breeding to the growing town. Doctor Brown in his time had hobnobbed with the high and the great and had moved in the halls of Congress; Denny McCobb was from an old and always prominent family in the Province of Maine; others were from Boston, entirely familiar with the stately pattern of life in its higher social circles, while Squires Bulfinch and Reed were Harvard men and bore the indelible stamp of its cultured, social tradition. To the old Germans whose memories reached back to counts, princes and a courtly feudal life, and to their children who had inherited such memories, these new figures with their fine homes, urbane manners, and aristocratic way of life were a fresh and welcome version of the *Obrigkeit* which they still almost instinctively venerated.

Up until late in the eighteenth century social life in Waldoboro had been on one *niveau*. The log cabin and the wilderness were mighty social levellers. Lack of communication in their isolated settlement had cut the community off from those elements of cultured living in the colonies which came into being as the frontier receded, and evolved into one of the stateliest and most charming patterns of living in American history. This genteel tradition had been a matter of slow but steady development. Originally, differences in native ability facilitated the acquisition of wealth and land. With wealth came leisure, education, learning, breeding, and the accumulation of power and influence which in time marked the yeomen off as a class distinct from the gentry.

As the frontier moved from the coastal area inland, a new aristocracy came into being in the seaport cities of the North and

the plantation areas of the South, a development which was fostered by the strong sense of social stratification, a heritage which the settlers had brought with them from the Old World. This was the era of the lovely, great houses in the New England coastal towns, in many cases furnished by the cabinetmakers of London from whose shops a stream of beautiful pieces flowed into them. Pewter gave way to fine china, and in dress London fashions were said to reach the colonies even before they did the outlying counties in England. Manners were dignified and courtly. Great emphasis was attached to precedence. In public places seating followed social rank. In church the front seats were reserved for the deacons and the gentry; at the rear and sides were those of lesser degree, and in the galleries the children. When the seats in the old Congregational Church in Waldoboro were originally assigned this principle was observed and the Number One citizen of the town was given the first choice of pews.

As the colonies grew in age this pattern of life expanded to the small towns and in some of them assumed an even more extravagant form than in the larger centers. "Snobbishness," observes James Truslow Adams, "has perhaps never been more rampant anywhere than it was in the small Puritan villages of New England"⁷ . . . This trend to elegance and fine living reached its climax in the period just before the Revolution, but as a vogue it was slow in dying and receded from the local scene only before the advance of industrialism in the nineteenth century.

This art of life was an unknown pattern in Waldoboro before the two last decades of the century. Only with the coming of those whose mode of life it was, and only with the rise of shipbuilding and foreign trade which created the wealth for fine and leisurely living, did the German and the Puritan yeomen of the town experience, vicariously even though it were, a new view and standard of life. The aristocratic tradition arose in the town, but more especially in the village where wealth was being amassed. Colonel Reed was a lover of the genteel life, and when he graduated from the lowly Smouse house into his beautiful and stately Georgian mansion he was in a position to set the social pattern in the town for the next three-quarters of a century.

The building of his home was followed by that of the Farley, the Head, the Morse, and the Bulfinch homes; and slowly the town was rebuilt. The shipbuilding industry produced so many carpenters; the wages from shipbuilding increased so many family incomes; the wages of so many sailors, mates, and captains brought such an increase of wealth, that architecturally the village was changed and began to emerge in a form recognizable in our own

⁷*Provincial Society* (New York, 1934), p. 85.

day. As Waldoboro shipmasters cruised the seven seas touching at the major ports of the world, the beauty and the wealth of the craftsmanship of these distant places began to accumulate in the homes of the shipowners and the ship captains. Paintings from Italy, furniture from England and France, and antiques from the Orient found their way into these roomy mansions, and beautiful chinaware from the best patterns of Europe richly graced the shelves and cupboards of many a local matron.

The elegance of Colonel Reed's ménage, which may be taken as typifying this new standard of living in the town, may be generally inferred from the sketchy account of an eyewitness written many years ago before the furnishings of the mansion were scattered:

Colonel Reed, the owner, died in 1847, and the apartment has remained unchanged since that time. Some of the furniture was brought over from Germany by the ancestors of the family.⁸ There is a massive sideboard and writing desk combined, and several tables all of mahogany, and also mirrors, a rare banjo clock and a candelabrum known to be more than 150 years old, and many other interesting relics. The dishes are a choice assortment, including Staffordshire, Canton, Liverpool, and much sought silver lustreware. Many of the famous patterns are represented, Wood, Stubbs, Rogers and Ridgeway, and several pieces yet unclassified also in good condition. The subjects are largely historic, Harvard College, Fairmont, and Hoboken, the latter being especially desirable.

During the lifetime of Asa R. Reed, grandson of the Colonel, the house and its furnishings were kept intact. This description unquestionably dates from this period. The account of the writer continues:

Miss Alice Reed recently gave a Colonial tea party to the Moonlight Club. She was dressed in the costume of the olden time, and served tea that had been sealed up more than sixty years. Mr. Reed has in his library a secretary which he inherited from his great-great-grandfather, Isaac Gardner, who was killed in the battle of Lexington. He has also a beautiful silver coffee urn and several pieces of pewter. . . . If this collection was purchasable it would be a veritable bonanza to people who are making a business of buying up antiques.⁹

The character of the entertaining in these old homes was rich and dignified. Especial honor was always paid to distinguished guests, and such were not uncommon. Commodore Tucker was a frequent visitor at the home of Doctor Benjamin Brown on Friendship Road, and it is said that the happiest moment in the Doctor's life was when he welcomed President John Adams to this same home. The Reeds also were great visitors and hosts, and the Colonel's mansion received and sheltered many of the notables of

⁸Certainly not in the original migration.

⁹Account printed in the *Boston Transcript*, taken from the *Rockland Star*. Date unknown.

the day. The famous bow-room (so called on account of its shape) is a monument to one such distinguished visitor. It was in 1820 when the partition of the District of Maine from Massachusetts took place, that the bow-room was added to give additional space for the reception of Governor John Brooks of Massachusetts who was the Colonel's guest at this time.

The homes of other village squires likewise were places of hospitality, of gracious living, and of dignity and beauty in the externals of architecture and in the internals of finish and furnishings. They were also scenes of much fun and local gayety during the "social season." A glimpse into Waldoboro social life in the winter of 1848 is given us in a letter of Jane Ann Reed to her brother Charles in Boston. She writes: "Waldoboro is pretty lively this winter, dancing school, singing school, society meetings, hot suppers, whist parties, etc., etc., but our family cares for none of these things." This detached judgment of Jane Ann reveals the religious austerity of the first generation of Reeds, a tradition that was in no sense a carryover into later generations of the family. Here too her judgment may have been colored by the fact that the family was in mourning for its head who had died less than a year before.

Waldoboro in these years was still a town connected with the outer world only by sail and stagecoach. The coaches carried only mail and passengers, consequently the wares in the shops all came from Boston by water and consisted largely of the basic staples consumed by the commonalty. Such shops were hardly places where the wealthy and discriminating squires and their wives could purchase wares befitting their place and station. Hence there was much shopping done in Boston either directly or by proxy. Individuals making this trip and the captains of the packets were errand boys for their friends in the town. There was scarcely a letter that did not contain a commission for purchases. The following excerpt from a letter is typical. The sender is Jane Ann Reed in Waldoboro and the addressee is Bertha Smouse in Boston. The date is October 2, 1830. Jane Ann reports:

Captain Kaler¹⁰ arrived here last evening. Miss Newbit¹¹ came up here to our house and staid all night. . . . She brought the things with her you sent. I carried Mrs. Morse's silk and Elisa's¹² shawl down this morning. They were very much pleased with them. Elisa says she is perfectly satisfied with the price of the shawl, says if there is no money remaining . . . she will send the dollar due you.

The latest fashion in Boston was a constant theme of correspondence and much of the feminine journeyings to and from were designed to keep the community up to date. In the case of

¹⁰Captain of a Waldoboro-Boston packet.

¹¹A local passenger from Boston on Capt. Kaler's packet.

¹²Daughter of Mrs. Morse and Deacon Samuel Morse.

the Reed family it had its own agent in Boston, the Colonel's son, Charles, and the family correspondence is filled with commissions to buy those things not available in Waldoboro which were requisite in a gentleman's household, choice brands of wine, grapes, apples, a shawl, a silk dress, a commission for a painter to come to Waldoboro and paint family portraits, gloves, hats, coats, a horse, a carriage, tombstones, and delicacies in the food line. Boston, of course, vended through its shops commodities from all parts of the world, and from this source the first families of the town supplemented the quality of their living.

The standard set by these first families in conspicuous spending and living was emulated in a more modest way by a considerable middle class of more moderate means. But there was another and a darker side of this picture, the poor. These were the flotsam left on the shore by the great tide of economic change, now moving in its full force. In the early days in the town, land had been wealth, limited wealth to be sure, but it did produce most of what its owners needed to consume under frontier conditions. After the French and Indian War the expanding population of the town had moved away from the river farms in a great rush, and had filled up the back-districts, settling on poor land far below the level of the river farms in productivity. Here they continued the old way of life.

Meanwhile along the river a great industry sprang into being with its many smaller and supplementary industries such as brass and iron foundries and sail lofts. The village capitalist went into shipbuilding and grew rich; the river farmers became ship carpenters and increased the income from their farms with wages as skilled workmen. Only the poor in the back-districts failed to gain from the current economic shifts. Poor land and hard labor was their lot, with scarcely a market for their little surplus, for in the maritime ports of New England as an ever deeper and deeper hinterland opened up to agriculture, and as roads were improved, this environing farm region took care of the consumer needs in the areas adjacent to them. The poor in the Waldoboro back-districts did not even have a market for their surplus in their own village area, since the middle class along the river had their own farms and cultivated these along with their work in the shipbuilding industries. Their life, too, was hard, but they were for the most part able to set aside capital reserves. Even the village squires did not provide a market for the back-district people, for almost without exception they were gentlemen farmers producing an abundance for themselves and a surplus besides. Squire Bulfinch may be taken as typical of this class. His taxable property for the year 1847 shows his farm stocked with a yoke of oxen, seven cows, two hogs, and ten sheep.

These with his grain and cornfields and his truck patch were enough to secure a high level of economic self-sufficiency.

The back-district people, lacking the foresight to sense economic change, were caught in a new order of life to which they were unable for decades to effect a livable adjustment. The little lumber left on their lots which they could turn over to the shipyards and sawmills, and small pasture growth for barrel making was about all that was left them, and this barely sufficed for purchasing the meager necessities which they themselves could not produce. It was by far the larger percentage of the town's citizens that was affected adversely by existing economic conditions. It is difficult in our own time to realize just how poor these poor people were, but there is some contemporary evidence to provide an insight into their status. An example is the last will and testament of one widow woman, Phoebe Andrews, which furnishes us with a full inventory of her worldly goods, and pathetically reveals just how low the standard of living in this poor class was. The document follows in part:

In the name of GOD amen. I, Phebe Andru of Waldoborough in the County of Lincoln, widow, considering the uncertainty of life and desirous that Betty Davis, whom I have brought up, should be the heir to all that I may possess at the time of my death, do make and publish this, my last will and Testament. I do hereby give and bequeath all the property of every name and nature which I shall die possessed of to the said Betty Davis, to be by her owned and possessed immediately upon my decease.

The said property consists principally of the following articles, viz., one cow, one feather bed, bedding and bedstead, my wearing apparell, two pine Tables, two iron pots, three tin milk dishes, one tin and one wooden milk pail, nine earthen plates with blue or green edges, some knives, forks and spoons, a great wheel and a little wheel, one washtub, one churn, one spider, one flat iron, two or three tin dippers, one black teapot, some cups and saucers, red, green, yellow and white, one Heler [or Keler(?)] tub, three chairs, two wooden chests, one tea kettle, and many small articles besides. It is my wish that whatever I shall leave at the time of my death shall be the property of the said Betty Davis. And I do publish this as my last will and testament made this twenty-fourth day of March in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight-hundred and seven.¹³

If one really senses the full import of this document, revealing as it does a way and a level of life common to Phebe and to many others in the town in her day, disclosing an uncomplaining poverty, a naïve outlook, a heart that treasures nothing as though it were much, then the pathos, the tears and the tragedy of a long epoch in our history relives again in our present perceptions. In this inventory of goods there is scarcely an article that one would

¹³Original document in my possession.

mention in a contemporary will, unless for sentimental reasons. The value which the testator attaches to this careful enumeration of property reveals the standard and the simplicity of the life secured with these few primitive utensils. The "tax lists" of the period tell a similar story of equally simple conditions prevailing in the majority of homes and reveal how very little large numbers of people possessed.

The pension records in Washington shed light also on the dire poverty of many of the old soldiers in the town. Following the Revolution needy soldiers were pensioned by the State of Massachusetts. This arrangement was in force until 1818, when on March 18th of that year, these pensioners relinquished their state pension for that of the Federal Government. For common soldiers the allowance was eight dollars per month, which in these times was judged sufficient to provide a family with the necessities of life. It was, in fact, a princely allowance when compared with the Massachusetts State pension of four dollars per month for soldiers of the Revolution, and two dollars and fifty cents per month for those of the War of 1812. To secure the Federal allowance an applicant had to file a printed form, a combination of pauper's oath with an inventory of the property owned and an oath of military service. As an example, Michael Achorn, a veteran of both wars with England, gives himself as a laborer by occupation, "which I am unable to pursue by reason of age and infirmity." He lists the age of his wife at sixty-two and his property as "¼ acre of land which I purchased with my pension money, worth \$50.00; old furniture \$5.00; I have nothing due me and owe about ten dollars." If this man's oath may be trusted this was the extent of his worldly goods.¹⁴

Conrad Heyer was only a little more affluent than Michael Achorn. He lists himself by occupation as a farmer, "which I am unable to pursue by reason of my old age and infirmity." Living with him was his wife, aged sixty-three, a cripple, and a daughter of twenty-six, nurse to his wife.

Schedule of the real and personal estate (necessary clothing and bedding excepted) belonging to me, the subscriber, viz:

No real estate.

1 Ox \$20.00. 2 cows, \$30.00. Old furniture, \$5.00.

I owe Dr. Brown \$100.00.

I owe Isaac Winchenbach \$25.00.

I owe John Storer \$5.00.¹⁵

George Ulmer lived under about the same conditions as Conrad Heyer, though he varied somewhat from the old patriarch in

¹⁴File of George Michael Achorn, Bureau of Pensions, Wash., D. C.

¹⁵File of Conrad Heyer, ctf. of Pension No. 13293, Bureau of Pensions, Wash., D. C.

his limited earthly possessions. He gives himself by occupation as a laborer, "which I am unable to pursue by reason of my age and trouble with the rheumatism and cramp so that I have not been able to do any hard work for several years." Living with him was his wife, Mary, aged sixty-three, "very feeble and lost the use of her right hand." Under his schedule of real and personal property he lists the following:

- 1 Hog.
- 1 Grindstone, \$2.50; 1 dining table, 4 chairs.
- I hold a note against Isaac Ulmer, \$25.00.
- 1 Pot, 1 teakettle. A demand against Martin Ulmer, \$15.00.
- Other articles for cooking, etc., \$6.00.
- I am indebted to Capt. Wm. Norward & others upwards of \$200.00.¹⁶

If it be granted that these affidavits emphasize for obvious reasons the scarce aspect of the existence of these old soldiers, nevertheless they still reflect the indigent side of the life lived by these old farmers and laborers in the rural sections, indeed a level of life little known, and perhaps not even surmised by the squires in the village.

It was this low standard of life in New England, this poverty, that had brought on Shay's Rebellion and the cleavage between classes which was the root of the Jeffersonian uprising against the Federalists. In Waldoboro such class differences were slow in developing among the disciplined and docile "Dutch," and would perhaps have been accepted by them uncritically as an inevitable part of the social order in a new world, save for one factor, the village squires, whose oppression and deliberate exploitation of the poor laid the groundwork for a class hatred in the town that altered the whole character and trend of our history for upwards of a hundred years.

This exploitation came about largely through the cupidity of certain squires. As a whole these gentlemen were money-makers, entirely hard-boiled in their business dealings, and in some cases inhuman in dealing with the poor in bargains of necessity. Their philosophy of business and their business techniques had such fateful and lasting consequences in the life of the town that we shall pause briefly to ponder this dollars and cents outlook and permit its expositors to speak for themselves, which they have done with the boldest realism in some of the personal correspondence of the period. For example, an elderly squire writing to his son in Boston under date of March 1, 1842, admonished him in the following words on a matter of collecting a note . . . "should he pay the residue you will require interest from the date, *without abating one cent.*"

¹⁶File of George Ulmer, Bureau of Pensions, Wash., D. C.

Along with this tight-fisted fiscal technique there was frequently a curious intermingling of religious admonition, perhaps with the unconscious thought of always rendering a close transaction a safe one. Thus one of the old dons writes to his son on the latter having reached his majority: "Be diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." An older and successful local businessman under date of June 28, 1847, writes to his younger brother in Boston a bit of the squire philosophy on money matters: "No man ever (very extraordinary circumstances excepted) became wealthy or even independent who did not apply himself to his business, and *take care of the cents, yes, the cents.*" At another time, this same brother sent the following counsel: "I would advise you to marry the first woman that you can find who has about fifty thousand dollars. If old and ugly the money will pay for that. If young and pretty, so much the better, but get the money at any rate. That is the summum bonum of this world — a man without it [money] is nothing. Mind the cents. That is the great secret of getting wealth."¹⁷

This philosophy of money as the "summum bonum" of this world is admirably and humorously illustrated in a deal of one of the local squires who came to town in 1821 owning nothing save what he carried on his back and in his hands. This episode is an example of the sharp dealing of the period where little more than the legal requirements involved were observed. The young man in question married into one of the older and wealthier families, which in an earlier day had sold house lots in the center of the village to some of the leading men in the town. Years later this enterprising young gentleman discovered that one of the heirs to the real estate sold had not signed the acts of transfer, whereupon he compelled several of his neighbors to buy their lots over again. With homes already erected on them the owners were helpless. Even the wealthiest and perhaps the strongest citizen in the town, despite his oath to the contrary, was forced to submit to this legal extortion and repurchase four house lots on which stood his own home and the houses he had erected for three of his children.¹⁸

It was this zeal for "minding the cents" as a certain road to riches that led some of the village squires to exploit the poor in the outlying districts after the manner of leeches. These poor were so poor and their margin of safety over need was so close that a meager crop, a family sickness, or a funeral would drop them into debt. In some such cases they had the choice of going to jail or of resorting to the moneylending squires in the village. The latter were always ready to lend their money, in fact, this was quite an

¹⁷These excerpts from correspondence are cited anonymously at the request of those loaning the material. [Italics mine.]

¹⁸Oral narrative of Miss Edna Young.

item of business with some of them. The interest rates on such loans were high, ten to twelve per cent, and the security was always the poor man's real estate, which indeed was all he had. Hence mortgages were the only means of securing loans, and the records in Wiscasset reveal all too clearly the extent of this business. To pay the rate of fifty or sixty dollars a year on a five-hundred-dollar mortgage was quite generally more than a poor family could do, and the moneylender through foreclosure secured the property for a fraction of its value. On the other hand, if the interest payments were met regularly it was a handsome return for the lender.

The results of such practices were in the main twofold. The poor man became a pauper, and a powerful class hatred was built up between the village and the back-district folk which served to cripple the development of the town in many ways for upwards of a century. The vote was the only weapon left to the back-district folk, and it was used relentlessly to thwart the progress and the civic aspirations of the village community.

This whole low practice is briefly and pointedly outlined by the Hon. Isaac Reed in a letter to his brother, Charles, in Boston under date of May 1, 1845:

If I had the funds and the disposition I could soon make myself rich by taking liens on real estate and exacting a strict compliance with the conditions which I might fix. But I shall not go into such business: by doing it a man loses his character and that I consider of more value than dollars and cents.¹⁹

In justice it should be said that the reaction of Isaac Reed to such practices was also that of other village gentry as well as the better-to-do among the middle class. This reaction may be illustrated by three concrete cases, one that of a group and the other two of individuals. The group reaction is furnished by an article in the town warrant of March 5, 1812: "Article V. To determine whether the town will assist John Benner, a town's poor in recovering his land again, at the request of a number of the inhabitants of the town."²⁰ A similar case was that of Charles Mink whose land was redeemed for him by the town in 1845 on payment of fifty dollars. This case was in the warrant again in 1856 in Article IV: "To see if the town will reconvey to Charles Mink the real estate conveyed to J— B—, and by him to the town of Waldoboro, he paying the amount paid by the town" to redeem the property.²¹ Both of these cases were apparently those of poor families who through the loss of real estate had become town charges, and of whom it was believed that the restoration of their land would enable them to become self-supporting.

¹⁹Letter in possession of Dr. Benjamin Kinsell, Med. Arts Bldg., Dallas, Texas.

²⁰Town Clerk's Record, April 20, 1845.

²¹*Ibid.*, April 14, 1856.

The motive to aid the usurer's victims was not always prompted by self-interest, nor by Squire Reed's feeling that in such business a man lost his character, but sometimes by real human interest and Christian fellow feeling. Such a case was that of Deacon Jacob Shuman coming to the aid of a young neighbor, Frank Weaver. Jacob Shuman was the first deacon in the local Baptist Church, and lived in the house now occupied by Mrs. Edith E. Cuthbertson on the east side of the river north of Winslow's Mills, while Frank Weaver was a young man barely turned twenty. It was his ambition to possess a farm of his own and he had borrowed the money and purchased himself land in "Weavertown." While tramping home one evening by Deacon Shuman's, he met the old gentleman who was out before his house and who accosted him in the following language:

"Young man, I her yer've bought yerself a farm." Mr. Weaver: "Yes, Deacon Shuman." Deacon Shuman: "Wher' d'yer git the money?" Mr. Weaver: "I borrowed it." Deacon Shuman: "Who'd yer borrer it from?" Mr. Weaver: "Of Mr. J— in the village." Deacon Shuman: "What's old S— chargin yer fer it?" Mr. Weaver: "Twelve per cent." Deacon Shuman: "Young man, I'm goin to ther village ter morrer morning. You come along and ride down with me. We'll take up that mortgage, and I'll let yer hev the money fer six per cent."²²

This simple human incident reveals the attitude of some of the Waldoboro folk to the current usurious practices of the period, and the means sometimes used to circumvent the objective of the village moneylenders.

The feeling of hatred toward the village folk grew in intensity in consequence of these Shylock practices, and like the rain from heaven, it fell equally on the just and the unjust. At times and in spots it flared into a shooting war. A case in question may be found in certain incidents that took place in Blacktown. This district lay in the northeastern section of the township. On the Belscop Road a turn to the right at Patrick Black's led across to Minktown. Out here in the brush on a sizable peninsula formed by the windings of the Judas Meadow Brook²³ was Blacktown. Here among other Blacks lived in the first half of the century Jacob Schwarz and son, later known as Christian Black. Land in this section was heavily mortgaged at interest rates ranging from eight to twelve per cent. This particular district happened to be in the loan bailiwick of Squire B—, and thither he was wont to make his periodic trips by horse and chaise to collect his interest when due.

²²Oral narrative of Vellis Weaver.

²³Now known as the Levensaler Brook.

Whenever word was passed along that the Squire was on his way the women would close their shutters and bolt their doors, while the men would take to the woods with their guns, so intense was the feeling against the Squire. On one occasion when he found the door of Jacob Schwarz's house locked against him, he was moved to peep through the keyhole. Mrs. Schwarz apparently knowing the Squire's habits was prepared for such an emergency and promptly dashed some hot water through the hole into the Squire's face.

On another visit of the Squire to this district it is said that his life was saved by the roughness of the road. Some Black with a strong grudge long smouldering in his heart was lying in ambush with a rifle. When the Squire had passed and was some distance ahead of the lurking foe, the rifle barked. At this moment the Squire's wheel hit a high stone in the road, the chaise lurched, and he slid over on the seat just as the bullet pierced the back of it where his body had been a second before.²⁴

This latter incident was extreme, but it does reveal the depth of the bitterness existing between the village and the back-country folk. In fact, this hatred was so strong that more than a century was to pass before it was completely expunged. It was a feeling that lingered on into my own lifetime and still survives in one very vivid memory dating from my early boyhood. It was a bright Sunday morning as I was entering the Baptist Church to the tolling of the "last bell." The Paul Revere bell in the Congregational steeple was also tolling, and down Main Street were coming in silks and furs a group of ladies wending their way in stately dignity to the church of the social elect. The awe in which I gazed at this scene, still vivid in my memory, I now recognize as an atavistic reaction which arose from the lingering respect once generally rendered to this village social caste.

The record of the old dons as outlined in this chapter presents its lights and shadows. Despite their pride of purse, their possessiveness, their penny-pinching ways of getting wealth, and their extreme social exclusiveness, it must be admitted that they gave to the staid "Dutch" community a culture, a taste for fine living, and a tradition of the best achieved in American life during the Colonial and Federal periods. Their sins, while not many, may be forgiven, because their mission was lofty, and their contribution to the glory of a great New England community must be justly recognized as great.

²⁴Oral narrative by Ernest Black and Orrin Folsom.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GREAT DAYS

New Englanders for most of their history have looked eastward rather than westward, and their interest has been maritime rather than continental.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

THE BEGINNING OF WALDOBORO'S GREAT PERIOD started in reality in the first decade of the new century with the advent of the second major migration of Puritans. These men brought to the young community a new spirit of energy, enterprise, and education. In vision, intelligence, and vital power they were not surpassed by the leading men in any town in the state. Under their bold initiative shipyard after shipyard sprang up along both banks of the Medomak, and the ring of the hammer on the anvil and the duller thuds of the caulker's mallets from sunrise to sunset rose in a steady crescendo from 1800 to 1860.

The growth and prosperity of the town in its great days was founded on shipbuilding and its related industries. In this respect as well as in wealth, in its social life, in size and growth, it was one of the half dozen most rapidly developing and prospering towns in the state. These were the days when the great industrial revolution of the nineteenth century was just getting under way and those localities where big industry ultimately centered had not begun their drain on the population of the rural communities. Brains, energy, and initiative were not yet centralized; they were scattered and to be found in every new community. What Waldoboro possessed in this respect was superlative, and the town was conspicuous as one of the main business centers of the state. Its enterprise and the stories of its ships were news in every paper from New York to Machias. An insight into its comparative wealth is provided by the valuation of its property for tax purposes in the year 1829. This valuation was \$193,491.50. In Lincoln County this figure was exceeded by Bath alone, and the county at this time extended from the New Meadows River to the Penobscot. This same year the town expended for roads and bridges

the sum of \$5,093.17, which was surpassed in the county only by Bath with a similar appropriation of \$6,000.00.¹

The population figures tell an amazingly similar story, Waldoboro ranking with the largest towns in the state. The following table will furnish an index to population growth in four of the leading towns in the state over a period of four decades:²

AUGUSTA		BATH		PORTLAND		WALDOBORO	
Date	Pop.	Date	Pop.	Date	Pop.	Date	Pop.
1790	Not incorp.	1790	949	1790	2240	1790	1206
1800	1211	1800	1225	1800	3704	1800	1516
1810	1805	1810	2491	1810	7169	1810	2160
1820	2457	1820	3026	1820	8581	1820	2449
1830	3980	1830	3773	1830	12,601	1830	3113

During this half century of its early history the town ranged along in size with Augusta and Bath and in 1830 was a quarter as large as Portland.

This was a period when Waldoboro was not only building ships but was furnishing them with crews and captains as well. There were literally several score of skippers in the town in these decades, masters of vessels sailing all the seas of the Atlantic world. This was a material factor in the increase of the town's wealth, which was still further augmented by an ever increasing number of citizens buying shares in vessels. In 1806, 18,214 tons of shipping were owned in the Waldoboro Customs District, which bears comparison with 14,538 tons owned in the Wiscasset District. In 1815, directly after the close of the war, this figure had risen to 19,882 tons, and by 1820 the tonnage owned reached a total of 21,754. The extent of the town's shipping interest in these years is strikingly clarified by a comparison of the tonnage owned in 1820 in the different Customs Districts from the Piscataqua River to the St. Croix. The figures follow:³

District	Tonnage	District	Tonnage	District	Tonnage
Passamaquoddy	5508	Belfast	8128	Portland	33,619
Machias	3797	Waldoboro	21,754	Saco	3364
Frenchman's Bay	8005	Wiscasset	10,636	Kennebunk	8571
Penobscot	14,048	Bath	21,612	York	1326

Nearly everyone who had a little surplus capital bought shares in vessels. In fact, this field of investment seems to have played the same role in the local economy of the period as the Savings Banks in later days. The Ministerial Tax List for 1816⁴ reveals a small

¹Abstract of Returns by the Selectmen reported to the Legislature, Portland, 1829.

²Census Schedules, The New York Public Library.

³Annual Reports of Treas. Dept. on Commerce and Navigation. Figures compiled by Wm. H. Rowe.

⁴Original in possession of Mrs. Warren Weston Creamer.

host of the town's citizens as owning shares in vessels, the many owning only a few, and the few more heavily interested. This roster of owners shows the surprising total of eighty-four owning shares, an ownership not limited to the village alone but extending to every part of the town.

This number of local shipowners quite naturally continued to grow with the expansion of the industry, but even in these early years it was sufficiently large to make clear the feverish partisanship with which the town followed the effects of the contemporary European wars on its maritime fortunes, and the degree of opposition which it put up against the efforts of Jefferson's and Madison's administrations to avoid war by keeping American ships tied up at their home docks. The effect of world developments is as much a part of local as of national history, for their impact is felt as inevitably by little people in little communities as by the great folk in great communities. This was tragically true in the Waldoboro of these days. The decisions reached in the chancelleries of Europe were the determining factors in the economic life on the Medomak, and they were definitely not favorable. Every shipbuilder, if he built at all, was compelled to face the possibility of loss from the moment any given ship entered dangerous waters; likewise the smaller owner of one or two sixteenths faced the loss of his property, and the skippers and crews faced definite hazards to life. Such was the state of affairs in the period from 1800 to 1815. In particular the years 1808 to 1812 were hectic and hazardous in the shipping business. Loss from the seizure of ships on the high seas was heavy; those tied up in port became idle and obsolescing capital, and there was apparently little point to building more. As we have seen, an export trade totalling \$20,100,000 in Massachusetts in 1807 dwindled to \$5,100,000 in 1808, and the tonnage constructed this latter year was but a third of that of 1807.

Following these years of paralysis in the industry and in trade came the war years of 1812 to 1815, during which for a brief season the traitorous policy of the New England Federalists led to the immunity of their shipping against British seizure. This honeymoon period, however, was of brief duration, and in the latter years of the war Maine coastal waters were one of the tight spots of the British blockade. Despite such unfavorable conditions shipbuilding never completely stopped in Waldoboro. The vital urge of the town's most enterprising men seemed only to slacken somewhat and to wait. There never was a year when there was not one or two vessels at least under construction in the yards on the Medomak. These builders knew the war would end some day, and they wanted bottoms ready for the great rush of trade that would inevitably follow the long years of smuggling, blockade running, and trade stoppage.



CAPTAIN JOSEPH MILLER



THE MAIL COACH ARRIVES AT MEDONAK HOUSE
(Dr. Paekard's Gig at Hitching Post)

The peace following the War of 1812 came with dramatic unexpectedness. From 1815 and subsequent years party passion subsided; the old Federalist opposition crumbled and the country entered the "Era of Good Feeling." Long, peaceful years lay ahead. There was a great uprush of trade which carried a challenging call to the shipbuilders. For the country as a whole, exports rose from less than \$7,000,000 in 1814 to \$82,000,000 in 1816, and imports from less than \$13,000,000 to over \$147,000,000. A substantial part of this carrying trade was in Massachusetts ships. There was great activity in the coastal towns and the minds of enterprising men were haunted by bright and pleasant dreams.

In Waldoboro the industry that had moved cautiously ahead from 1800 to 1815, now extended itself rapidly. No site on the river offering a location for the construction of a vessel was overlooked. Wherever from a steep or sloping hillside the rains of autumn, or the melting snows of winter or of spring ran down in little brooks to the river, and wore out a guzzle through the mud beds to the channel, there was a likely site. In fact, it is still said among the old folks that "wherever there was a guzzle there was a shipyard."

Data are scarce on ships and shipbuilding in the period before 1830. This is due largely to the destruction of the early Customhouse Records in the fires of the mid-century, and naturally the early builders and the location of their yards is now beyond the back-reach of hearsay or tradition. But yards there were and the scattered evidence makes the location of some of them a reasonable certainty. On the east side of the river the first shipyard was directly north of the lumberyard of Alfred Storer and from it vessels were launched in a northwesterly direction up the river. Here Joseph Clark, one of the greatest of the Waldoboro builders, began his operations early in the 1830's. Whether this site was used for a yard earlier in the century is not a matter of present knowledge. It is said that Mr. Clark built his first vessel, a topsail schooner, in 1829 in the cove next south of the Storer lumberyard.⁵ This was certainly the site of one of the early yards and it was located on the guzzle back of the present Benner livery stable. The property was a part of the original farm of the Razor family, and this section of it was sold in 1795 by Charles Razor to John Matthews.⁶ Who preceded Mr. Clark in this yard is not a matter of certainty, probably a number of builders, for the yards were not only used by the owners, but were leased for short periods, such as for the construction of a single vessel.

The next yard down the river was in a runway directly behind the present Button Factory, a site that in later years has

⁵Samuel L. Miller, *History of Waldoboro*, p. 254.

⁶Lincoln County Register of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 50, p. 9.

been filled in and now forms a considerable embankment. Here also was a guzzle to the channel worn out by the brooklet that still runs to the river in wet seasons across the property of Mrs. Jane Matthews Brummit.⁷ This land in the early century was the property of John Matthews, but it is not known to whom he may have leased or sold it. Next southward was the Kennedy yard, still familiar to old-timers by reason of the rotting hulk of the old *Henry A.*, which came to rest there from her final voyage around 1900. Built in 1851 she had kept to the seas for a full half century. I clearly recall the day when she stood up the river, light, on an autumn afternoon, her dingy hull standing high out of the water, and the dirty grey of her old sails silhouetted against the green and golden verdure of the western river bank, a reproachful ghost bearing youthful memories of the Great Days, returning now to her sleepy home port and her final berth by the same wharf where she was fitted out for her first voyage.⁸ "The old *Henry A.*" was the only Waldoboro ship that ever came home to die.

The Kennedy yard was located on the original farm of George Kuhn. It is impossible to say whether General Kennedy was the first to use this site for shipbuilding purposes, but it was here that he began his career as one of the town's great shipbuilders in the same year that his cousin and erstwhile partner Joseph Clark began construction farther up the river. The names of the early Kennedy ships are not now known. The first of which evidence is shown in any of the Customs Records was the schooner *Columbia*, built in 1837. For forty-eight years, through the Great Days and on into the Decline, Henry Kennedy continued to build ships, up to the day of his death. It was in the year 1875 that he and Joseph Clark weighed anchor and stood out on their last voyage.

The fifth yard on the east bank was the cove west of the house built and owned by Solomon David, where a little guzzle makes out to the channel, worn by seasonal freshets from the adjacent hillside. This farm was owned in the early century by John Kinsell, possibly John Friedrich, the Frederick Kinsell who was collaborating in the enterprises of Captain George Smouse around 1800. He had cooperated with John Paine in shipbuilding at Broad Cove in Bremen and may have built vessels himself in this yard. The next yard on the shore was on still another guzzle which wormed its way out to the channel on the present lots of Edward Genthner and Earl Spear.

From this location there is no record of further yards on the east bank, until the site of the old Light's Ferry. This was at the junction of the farm and the lot next north now owned by Merle Castner. The more northerly lot in these early days was owned

⁷Oral narrative of Mr. John Gleason.

⁸Observed from the west window of the old Grammar School room.

by Ludwig Castner, and the farm next south, now the Castner Homestead, had been acquired in 1812 by Ludwig's son Anthony. Here on the site of the old ferry, where the channel makes in close to the shore, shipbuilding was started in the early century by Anthony Castner and his son Gorham. Among the vessels built in this yard were the *Bertha*, named after Anthony's only daughter, the *New World* and the *Globe*, the latter a schooner of one hundred and three tons built in 1815. The other two vessels were constructed between this year and 1812. There are still a few evidences of the old site consisting largely of eyebolts rusting in the rocks.

In those days a boardinghouse was a common appendage to a shipyard. It was run by the builder for his workmen and near by this yard on "the sand ground" in Merle Castner's field was such a house. With the suspension of building on this site the structure was taken down and the timber used in the construction of the residence of the late Earle Day.⁹

Considerably less is known of the ownership and operation of the yards on the west side of the river. In later years such sites extended from the yard of William Fish, located between Smouse's wharf and the bridge, all the way down the river, side by side, to below Storer's Point, with a scattering of yards farther down the river to the yard of John Stahl (1778-1857), located on the shore of the present Herbert Stahl farm on Dutch Neck.¹⁰ How many of these later yards on the west bank were the sites of shipbuilding before 1830 would be a matter of speculation. There were unquestionably a goodly number of such, and none is more certain than the yard used later in the century by Reed and Welt. Up to 1806 this site was the property of Captain George Smouse and after 1808 came under the control of Colonel Isaac G. Reed, who married Smouse's widow, Jane Kinsell. Since the Reeds were not among the earliest builders it is probable that this site was leased to Colonel Reed's brother-in-law, Captain Charles Miller, and consequently may have been the site on which his fleet of vessels was built.

He was certainly the most active of the earlier shipbuilders, for the *Morosco*, a one hundred and ninety-six ton brig built by him in 1836 was his twenty-fourth vessel. This being the case, the major part of his fleet must have been built before 1830. It is also a strong probability that in these years vessels were built at Storer's Point and in the old yard of Captain Cornelius Turner immediately north of the old wharf where Thomas Creamer built small boats in the late century. In a word, it may be said that shipbuilding was being carried on in Waldoboro prior to 1830 in at least a dozen yards.

⁹Oral narrative related to Mrs. Anthony Castner by Gorham Castner.

¹⁰Narrative of Linda Stahl Lord, daughter of John Stahl.

The architecture and rig of these Waldoboro vessels followed the conventional types of the period. Of the known vessels constructed locally between 1800 and 1830 there were eleven brigs, one brigantine, thirty-four schooners, five sloops, one ship and eight of unknown rig. The brig was the favored rig for deep-sea vessels, for they were more easily handled than full-rigged ships, and were less costly to fit out. In the main the vessels constructed in these years were small by comparison with later ships. Of the sixty and more known names of vessels there are tonnage records for twenty-nine. Of this number five were under one hundred tons; twenty-one under one hundred and fifty tons and only three approached the two-hundred-ton measurements. These were the brigantine *Two Brothers*, built in 1801, of one hundred and seventy-six tons, the brig *Francis Miller*, built in 1819, of one hundred and seventy-four tons, and the brig *Calliope*, built in 1822, of one hundred and ninety-one tons. Perhaps larger than any of these was the ship *Adeline*, built before 1824 and the only ship of which there is any record of being built at Waldoboro before 1830.

The building of a vessel in these days was a matter involving considerable time. If the structure was sizable the better part of a year was required. The lumber, spruce, pine, and oak, came from the forests of the township or from the back-country districts where trees of the proper shape and size were selected by the builder, cut in the late fall, hauled by oxen for many miles over the snows of winter, and piled up in the yards to dry and season. All these materials were fabricated by hand with the broadaxe, the whipsaw, the adze, and the pod auger. The timbers were framed much larger than those used in a vessel of similar size later in the century and were carried to their place on the shoulders of the workmen. The planking, instead of being sawed in the mill yard was all done with the whipsaw in the old-time saw pit. Iron being scarce, no more was used than required by bare necessity, and the treenail (trunnel) was the main device holding ships together. These treenails were made with the broadaxe from white-oak blocks, such work being done usually under cover on stormy days. The unescapable minimum of bolts and spikes used in shipbuilding were forged by hand in the yard blacksmith shops. Likewise the threading of all screw bolts was done by hand in the yard shops.¹¹

In general it may be said of these early vessels that their frames were not laid down in accordance with drawings or blueprints. The master workman laid out each piece to fit its proper place in the frame. After the keel was laid, the stem and stern and sternposts were set up first and the framing was begun amidships. The carpenters worked from sun to sun. In Waldoboro they came

¹¹Geo. F. Dow, *The Sailing Ships of New England*, Series B (Salem, Mass., 1928).

from the village area and a few from the deep back-districts, going into the yards before breakfast on the long summer days and knocking off at sunset for a late supper. Each workman received his grog, or a portion of rum, at eleven in the morning and again at four in the afternoon. Some of these carpenters were boarded by their employers¹² and in periods of great activity a dollar a day was the standard wage. In slack times men would work at repair and odd jobs for half this amount.

The launching of a vessel was a community event. The entire countryside would turn out for the spectacle, or perhaps for the rum which was commonly served by the builders. The christening was crude and unique. A man would set astride the tip of the bowsprit and as the vessel moved along the ways he would call out the ship's name and usually take a deep draught from a bottle of rum before dashing it on the bowsprit.

The names of these early Waldoboro shipbuilders are clouded in a good deal of obscurity. Probably the leading figure among them was Captain Charles Miller, the son of the immigrants, Frank and Anna Miller. He was born in Waldoboro on November 5, 1772, and died in the same town on November 26, 1846. Reared on the home farm he moved to the village and in 1806 bought a part interest in the northeast of "the four corners," where he engaged in business with Henry Flagg in a general store. Achieving success and accumulating capital he began shipbuilding, probably in the old Reed and Welt yard. Here by the early 1830's he had built a fleet of twenty-five vessels and retained sole ownership in a large part of them. Among the vessels known to have been built by him were the *Francis Miller*, the *Susan Miller*, the *Fannie Miller* (named after his second wife), the *Charles Miller*, and the *Morosco*.

Among other early shipbuilders were Frederick Castner, William Sproul, John Kaler, Jr., Samuel Nash, Reuben Miller, William and James Groton, B. and J. Eugley, and William Matthews. These were some of the men who did the spadework in the yards along the river, and who proved by experimenting with ever larger and larger vessels that mighty ships could find their way down the contemptible little guzzles to the channel of the Medomak and thence on to the far-flung oceans of the globe.

These were the days when American sailing ships were moving on to supremacy on the seas, and the pioneer spirit was still rife in cabin and fore-castle. Life on these vessels was crude and hard. Hardtack, corned beef, scurvy, iron discipline, "the cat," reefing and furling aloft in utter darkness in the worst of weather, were all a part of the life and trade of "the gang before the mast," and they went from Waldoboro by the scores and hundreds.

¹²At least in the Castner, Clark, and Stahl yards.

Waldoboro skippers captained Waldoboro ships and Waldoboro seamen manned them. Such labors called for the courage of the earlier frontier days, and Waldoboro men still possessed it. The thrills, the daring, the danger, the wrecks, the deaths at sea, the courage of widows and children carrying on somehow at home when the long-awaited family breadwinner failed to return, are now a part of old forgotten sagas. Only here and there in the columns of ancient newspapers is there the briefest reference to these tales of suffering and loss. A few such notices follow:

Arrived. Captain Burns of the schooner Longammon of Waldoboro fell overboard last night about 10:30. He was about 45 and owned the vessel.¹³

The brig, Flora — Farnsworth, from Truxello for New York went ashore near Great Egg Harbor Inlet, the morning of the 24th, of October, and would be lost. The crew was taken off by a passing schooner and landed at harbor same evening. It was thought the cargo would be saved. The Flora has since bilged and been stripped.¹⁴

Port of Thomaston — schooner Waldoboro from this port bound to Mobile with lime, put into Darien the 4 inst., having been on fire nine days, put in to repair damages.¹⁵

On Sunday last Captain Beth picked up the longboat with master and crew of schooner, Garland. Capt. Winchenbach of and for Waldoboro. He was upset in a squall at 8:00 P.M. the preceding evening, Seguin about 18 miles distant. They saved themselves by taking to the boat. The next day at 4:00 P.M. they spoke the schooner Fair Trader, of Waldoboro bound for Boston, the Captain of which was requested to go in pursuit of the Garland. On Sunday P.M. they overtook the Garland, cleared her and towed her into port, — rigging and sails saved. The Garland was a new vessel launched about four weeks since and cost about \$4,000.00 — no insurance. Captain J. Winchenbach and crew returned thanks to Captain Beth and crew of the schooner Carpenter of Bath, for their humane generous and gentlemanly conduct to them while on board said schooner, and for saving them while in their distressed and perilous situation.¹⁶

Prior to 1830, Waldoboro vessels in the main were not sailing the seven seas, but they were most active in the coastal trade and were frequenting every port of the North Atlantic, West Indian, and European waters. The long trips around the Horn and to the Orient were first essayed by the larger ships of the following decades. Here again in these earlier years we catch glimpses of the restless comings and goings of the little Waldoboro vessels from the columns of the early newspapers. These furnish suggestions of ships battling through the heavy surges of the North Atlantic, or white sails on the lazy and more quiet waters of southern seas. A few excerpts follow:

¹³*The Northern Border*, Bangor, Maine, May 10, 1813 (Capt. Alfred Burns).

¹⁴*Christian Intelligencer*, Wiscasset, Me., Nov. 6, 1829.

¹⁵*The Recorder*, Thomaston, Me., Oct. 25, 1838.

¹⁶*Maine Inquirer*, Bath, Aug. 12, 1825.

At New York. Brig Charles Miller — Davis of Waldoboro. Forty days from Bordeaux.¹⁷

Cleared Gibraltar — 20th Sept. Brig Charles Miller, Davis of Waldoboro for New Orleans.¹⁸

At New Orleans — Pandora, Elwell of Waldoboro for New York.¹⁹

Arrived at Cowes Sept. 29th. Brig Montano, Creamer of Waldoboro for Santo Domingo.²⁰

At Pensacola. Brig Charles Miller — Gay of Waldoboro sailed for New Orleans.²¹

Arrived at Boston, July 22, Ship Charles Kaler, McIntire of Waldoboro from New London.²²

Coasting craft arrived at Boston, Fair Lady, Waldoboro, Resolution, Waldoboro, Nancy, Waldoboro, Ex Bashaw, Waldoboro.²³

This latter report from the year 1808 provides us with a glimpse of the Waldoboro-Boston trade, the products of the town and back-country being poured into the metropolis to be exchanged for goods for the growing town itself, and for it as the trading center of the back-country, a trade which grew steadily in volume so long as the back-country had an exportable surplus, and thereafter a trade which fed the great and growing industry on the Medomak. Of the lucrativeness of this early trade an insight is furnished by two trips of the sloop *Independence*, William Farnsworth, master. Two trips were made to Boston, November 1st and December 4, 1815. The sloop carried 151½ cords good wood, 48⅝ cords of cordwood and bark, which netted the owners \$403.56. At such a rate of profit the sloop would easily have paid for herself several times in a single year. This case, however, may not be taken as entirely typical, since these trips occurred at the end of the War of 1812, when export stocks would have accumulated in considerable mass by reason of the long blockade.

The most famous of the Waldoboro vessels of these early days was the hermaphrodite brig *Roxanna*, and the most famous Waldoboro captain was perhaps her skipper, Joseph Miller. He was an indefatigable seaman, a shrewd businessman, and his ventures from the sea such as to secure him financial independence while still a comparatively young man. He was born at Waldoboro in 1786 or 1787 and was of the second generation from the line of the immigrant, Peter Mueller. He came up the hard way and as a lad of sixteen took to the sea. The papers of the schooner *Bartholamy*, one of Captain George D. Smouse's vessels, contain this entry: "Joseph Miller enter'd on Bord schooner the 30th day

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Maine Gazette*, Bath, June 10, 1825.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1825.

²⁰*Christian Intelligencer*, Wiscasset, June 1830.

²¹*Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1829, and July 1829.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Boston Gazette*, Aug. 18, 1808.

of November 1802 at seven dollars per month."²⁴ From these years on until 1820 he followed the sea as apprentice seaman, seaman, and up into the mate's grades.

He accumulated some capital and purchased a farm in the northeast district of the town with a portion of his savings. The remainder apparently he decided to invest in a vessel of his own, the *Roxanna*. Family tradition records that he was her builder as well as her captain, but whether he built or had her built is not a matter of certainty. It seems reasonable to believe that she was built with his money, which he raised in part by borrowing and by mortgaging his farm. Thus it was that the *Roxanna* started her career on the high seas with a debt to pay, and the speed with which she was able to do it for some reason fell below the expectation of her skipper, for on February 11, 1825, the *Maine Gazette* of Bath advertised the following sale:

Sheriff's sale on March 12, at the store of Col. Avery Rawson, Waldoboro. All the right and equity which Joseph Miller has in real estate in Waldoboro, bounded etc., etc. . . . 144 acres. Mortgaged to John Storer, 1820, \$354.00.

Jacob Ludwig, Dep. Sheriff.

The *Roxanna's* life was a long one and she shortly wiped out the debt of her skipper with her ceaseless ploughing of the sea. From contemporary records glimpses are afforded of the vessel at her steady task of trade in the ports of the old and new world. A few of these references follow:

Nov. 1828. At Havana, Brig Roxanna, Miller of Waldoboro.

March 30, 1829. At Havana, loading, Brig Roxanna, Miller of Waldoboro.

Feb. 19, 1830. At New Orleans, 16 ult., Brig Roxanna, Miller of Waldoboro loading of Marseille.

March 1830, Spoken Lat. 28° Long. 71. Brig Roxanna, 10 days from New Orleans for Boston.

Sept. 1830. Cleared New Orleans, Brig Roxanna, Miller of Waldoboro for Liverpool.

Sept. 1831. At St. Thomas, 16 ult., Brig Roxanna, Miller of Waldoboro, repairing.²⁵

The ultimate fate of this good vessel is not known. By the late 1830's she had placed her owner and master in easy circumstances, and he retired from the sea after a career of nearly forty years. Back in his native town Captain Miller re-acquired his farm in the very northeastern section of the town under the shadow of Clary Hill close to the Union line. Here he built himself a house²⁶

²⁴Papers of Geo. D. Smouse, in possession of C. T. Cooney, Jr., of Waldoboro.

²⁵*Christian Intelligencer*, Wiscasset, under dates reported.

²⁶Now owned and occupied by Thomas Winston.

and farmed his fertile acres as a gentleman. He was a familiar and favorite figure in the village to which he frequently drove in his tall captain's hat behind his span of fine horses. Here he was active in social life, in masonry, and in shipbuilding. Whether he was the J. Miller of the firm J. and R. Miller is not a matter of entire certainty. If such be the case, then he started in this line of business around 1836. This company built the schooner *Surplus*, 116 tons, in 1837, the bark *Ten Brothers*, 304 tons, in 1839, and continued its activity certainly up to 1846. Be this as it may, it is clear that Joseph Miller built the bark *E M* in 1840. While the name was being painted on the stern, Mr. Miller appeared and inquired as to the cost of adding *ily*. On being told by the builder, Mr. Wildes, he summarily shortened the name to *E M*.

Captain Miller remained the country squire to the end of his days. He died in 1865 in his eightieth year and was laid to rest among his ancestors and old associates in the German Protestant Cemetery. His career has been reviewed here in some detail, for to a degree his life, activity, and success may be taken as typical of other builders and masters in these early shipbuilding years.

The extant material covering this period from 1800 to 1830 is all too scanty. It is a pity that the veil is drawn so darkly across the maritime record of these years, and that so much of the chance, the courage, and the adventure of these resolute days are now lost forever from our history, but the facts from the fragmentary record which has been preserved warrant the certainty that these years of stir, bustle, and growth reached far beyond the meager data preserved. In all ways they seem to have been a fitting prelude to the Great Days when fleets of Waldoboro-built ships swarmed on the seven seas or rode at anchor in all the great ports of the world.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH

The clergyman preaches politics, the civilian preaches of orthodoxy, and if any man refuses to join the coalition, they endeavor to hunt him down to the tune of "the church is in danger."

ABRAHAM BISHOP

WITH THE DECLINE OF PURITANISM in New England the Congregational Church became the residuary legatee of its moral code. Though the rise of the sects in the more populous centers weakened the stranglehold of Congregationalism, this church with its Puritan standards of thought and conduct retained its old-time grip on the religious life of the smaller communities, and perpetuated the somber concepts and theology of Puritanism down to the middle of the nineteenth century.

In its heyday the Congregational Church was the established church of Massachusetts and of the Province of Maine. Its interests and privileges were carefully nurtured by a friendly legislature, and its position secured, so far as this was possible, by legal means. This fact must be taken literally. The new constitution adopted in Massachusetts toward the close of the Revolution in 1780 practically made Congregationalism the state religion, and the third article of the Bill of Rights entrenched this denomination as a state church beyond the reach of ordinary legislation. All men were taxed to support it, including members of dissenting sects, but if they could prove membership in other sects, they were privileged to pay the tax to ministers of their own church. On the other hand, those who had no church in their own town and who were not fortunate enough to find congregations of their own faith in neighboring towns were obliged to contribute to the support of the established church. The Congregational clergy was thus accorded a privileged position, and, legally entrenched behind the power to tax, became the natural ally of the rich and influential powers in the dominant Federalist Party. For decades the church used its full power to maintain the supremacy of its political and economic masters, and its own supremacy as well, for the rise of the sects

after 1780 met all sorts of opposition from the established church, and expensive lawsuits on their part were necessary to secure recognition as sects within the meaning of the constitution.

In Waldoboro, Congregationalism followed the same pattern of thought and action as in other small Massachusetts towns. It was the church of the wealthy and the influential, severe and Puritanic in its theology and its bigotry, positive, outspoken, and energetic in its political bias, and intolerant in its practices and creed. Locally it was the Federalist Party, for the same men who supported and controlled the church supported and controlled the party. Religious intolerance ran just as high as political intolerance. The clergy locally, as elsewhere, were the open and active allies of their Federalist parishioners; they profited from the supremacy of the party in its heyday, and they fought a last-ditch action for it in its decline. Such a course naturally projected the church into the clash of parties, and inevitably made the separation of church and state one of the talking points of the rising Democratic movement.

However wealthy and impressive the established church was in Waldoboro in the days of its might, its beginnings in the town were humble and obscure. Unlike the case in other Massachusetts towns, Congregationalism locally rose in the shadow of an established church, the Lutheran. In fact, its advent seemed a happy solution of the language problem, stilling in a measure the cry for a minister who would preach in both languages. In 1780 the town levied the first ministerial tax for the support of the gospel, and five years later awarded a portion of this tax to the support of gospel preaching in the English language. Such preaching was continuous during the summer months, and in other seasons depended on the ability of the Reverend Thurston Whiting of Warren to get to his charge on the Sabbath.

Such seasonal preaching continued to meet the spiritual needs of the first Puritans in the community in the period prior to the Revolution, as well as the slow increase of the English in subsequent years. As their number was enlarged the decision was reached to organize a Congregational parish with a settled minister, and the church was organized by an ecclesiastical council convened for the purpose on May 13, 1807. The original membership, however, was in no sense the pronounced social caste of later years, but was just run-of-the-mill Congregationalist. Six persons made up the original membership: Peleg Oldham, Anna Oldham, and Alpheus Delano from the church in Duxbury; Mary Hunt, from the church in Pembroke, Massachusetts; and Payne and Lucy Elwell from the first church in North Yarmouth.¹ Of this number only the Elwells

¹Reverend Rufus P. Gardner; *Congregational Church of Waldoboro, Historical Sketch* (Waldoboro, 1887).

were identified with the later village aristocracy, and even they were not entirely correct in their politics.

This little group, supported in general by the English-speaking folk of the town, continued for the next thirteen years to hold meetings in the town house, and in the meantime called a resident preacher. It was in the Town Meeting of May 7, 1807, that it was voted "that there should be two ministers of the gospel in the interests of harmony, the money to be assessed equally on the polls; Mr. Ritz to receive \$220.00 per year for the remainder of his life whether he was able to preach the gospel or not." The sum of \$430.00 was allowed an English preacher "for such time as he is here, and not in the usual fashion of other towns for life."² On May 15th, a committee made up of Joseph Farley, John Head, George Demuth, Waterman Thomas, William Sproul, Thomas Waterman, and Joshua Head was authorized to give Mr. John Ruggles Cutting an invitation to settle in the town and "perform the duties of a minister of the gospel." The contract was signed May 18, 1807, and stipulated that Mr. Cutting was to perform faithfully the duties of a minister of the gospel; to preach every Sabbath except four that were reserved "for the purpose of visiting his friends"; to receive a salary of \$430.00 per annum; "if he survives the Reverend Ritz an addition shall be made to the salary provided the German Protestant Society does not hire another German minister."³

Mr. Cutting was a Yale man, apparently the first of such alien lineage in a community of Harvard atmosphere and views, and from the first he seems to have experienced difficulties. In the summer of 1808 he was sick a number of Sabbaths; doubt arose in the minds of his parishioners as to the bona fide character of his illness, and a committee was appointed to settle misunderstandings with him. On September 14th, the next Town Meeting, a letter from Mr. Cutting was read in which he explained his illness and the necessity for his doing manual labor.⁴ In this connection it will be remembered that he had bought land on Jefferson Street and that later he started the construction of the pretentious Reed mansion, known in the community of those days as "Cutting's Folly." In his communication to the town he recognized a division in the congregation "whereunder some had absented themselves from worship." He also added that "infamous attempts were being made to destroy his influence in the sacred cause" and asked that his resignation be accepted "by vote of the Church and the Town." Although the town acceded to his request by a vote of sixty-five to twenty-seven, only English people voting,⁵ the breach was tempo-

²Records of the Town Clerk.

³Records of the Town Clerk.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*

rarily closed, but only temporarily, for on April 30, 1809, Samuel Morse and Payne Elwell were named a committee "to secure a minister to preach the gospel in English." Such committees customarily moved slowly, and decisions were reached only to be revoked. Thus it was on November 5, 1810, a committee was sent to wait on Mr. Cutting "to see if he will take his demission the first of May next," and he "agreed to take a voluntary demission, the salary to run to the 23rd of next May provided that he should preach as usual to that time."

The end of this period was apparently the end of Mr. Cutting's ministry.⁶ The War of 1812 came, and no new minister was hired, but there was much dickering with the German Society to secure a minister who could preach in both languages, and the town authorized a joint committee to write to New York and Philadelphia for such a man. In the meantime the Germans got their own pastor, thus frustrating the plans of the economy-minded citizens. Minister or no minister, the ministerial tax continued to be levied in a rising crescendo. In 1811 it totalled \$450.00. In 1812 the Germans proposed \$750.00, two-thirds of which would be allotted to their new Mr. Starman. In 1813 a tax of \$600.00 was levied and by 1816 it had run to \$1000.00, divided equally between the two societies, and levied equally on the devout and the indifferent, irrespective of creed, although those of other confessions who attended their own churches in other towns began to exercise their constitutional right to contribute to the support of their own ministers, and such notes as the following began to creep into the town records:

April 15, 1813. This certifies that Mr. Christopher Newbit and John Newbit, Jr., both of Waldoboro attend on the preaching of the Methodist Preachers in Union and contribute to their support.

Sept., 19, 1814. John Fitzgerald attested as a Roman Catholic attending worship in Newcastle, also Andrew Fitzgerald, and Christian Schöne-mann.

Signed: J. Kavanaugh
Roger Hanley
Matthew Cottrell

Meanwhile Colonel I. G. Reed had come to town, and the character of the Congregational parish began to change. The difficulties in negotiating with the stubborn German Society were recognized as insuperable and were by-passed. The tax was increased to support two ministers and on February 1, 1816, a bona fide Congregationalist was invited to assume the Waldoboro charge. This was David Meaubecc Mitchell, a Dartmouth man, and a recent theological graduate not yet ordained. The ordination was an early

⁶Rufus R. Gardner in his historical sketch of the parish states that the Rev. Cutting was dismissed Jan. 14, 1815.

act of the Waldoboro parish. It is interesting that on the motion of Captain Charles Miller it was voted that the German Society "take no part in the ordination of an English minister."

The Reverend Mitchell came to Waldoboro in 1816, and remained with the parish until 1842, thus serving a longer ministry than any other preacher, with the single exception of his Lutheran colleague, Reverend Starman. The year following his arrival he took unto himself a wife, Rebecca, the daughter of Payne and Lucy Elwell, and got himself a home. Unlike "Cutting's Folly" it was the little Cape Cod cottage still standing on the west side of Jefferson Street, the first house south of Soule's Bridge. This apparently was the home built and occupied by Isaac Hibbard (Hibbert) the hatter, but it had in some way come into the hands of Deacon Elwell, and he conveyed the house and lot to his son-in-law for \$480.00 on February 20, 1817.⁷

Under the Reverend Mitchell and Colonel Reed the parish in Waldoboro reached the peak of its power, its spiritual intolerance, and snobbishness. It became *the* church, drawing heavily from the Lutherans, admitting the most lowly to membership, but with control always resting in the hands of the village squires. The Reverend Mitchell was a typical Congregational clergyman of his day, a village John Calvin, theological rather than spiritual, righteous, somber, soul-hungry, doctrinated, intolerant, energetic, fervent in spirit, serving the letter of the law to a greater degree than the spirit. In all things he was powerfully supported by an inner hierarchy made up of Deacon Morse, Joshua Head, Colonel Reed, Deacon Elwell, and Henry Flagg, ardent Congregationalists, and, with the possible exception of Deacon Elwell, ardent Federalists.

By the second decade of the century the town was growing rapidly in wealth and numbers, and the popular parish under its energetic pastor expanded commensurately. With this development there rose the need of a dignified and adequate place of worship, or, as the records of the church put it: "We were compelled to enlarge our tents." Accordingly a lot embracing one acre and forty square rods was bought of Isaac G. Reed with right of passage, the present School Street, from the county road to the church lot. Here in the early spring of 1820 the construction of the New Meetinghouse was begun. The structure was located a little farther to the west than the present high school building, and its main entrance was in line with the center of the street which led up to it. Its building was in no sense a strictly Congregational undertaking, but rather one to which the whole English-speaking element in the town dedicated itself. Labor, materials, and money came from all the respectable dissidents and pews were bought by them.

⁷Lincoln Co. Register of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 93, pp. 96, 120.

In fact, it was in this manner that the costs of construction were met in their entirety. The church was completed and dedicated in September 1820. There was energy in Waldoboro in those days,



THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

and churches were constructed with the same dispatch that ships were built.

The church records give the following description of the new house:

Its goodly dimensions, its architectural beauty, its graceful spire towering to the height of 190 feet, and its ponderous bell, inviting the people from the surrounding hills and vales to come up to the House of the Lord and worship, formed a most perfect contrast to the humble sanctuary which we left, and made our hearts leap for joy. It was solemnly dedicated to the Triune God, with the express provision that it should not be used for secular purposes.

Instead of involving us in debt as was anticipated or feared by the timid, it was sold at an advance over the cost, and we had the delight of sitting the first Sunday "under our own vine and fig tree" with none to molest or make us afraid.

Consonant with the practice of colonial days, the first citizen of the church, Colonel Isaac G. Reed, was offered the first choice of pews. He selected three, No. 25, in the center toward the front, for the older members of his family and guests, and No. 9 and No. 17, in the gallery, for the little Reeds and Smouses. For these pews he paid a total of \$241.50.⁸

Photographs of the interior of the original church show two side aisles with a double row of pews in the center and a single row on each side beneath the galleries, which ran the entire length of the church. The choir occupied the gallery at the rear. In the front a high velvet drape furnished the background for a tall altar flanked on either side by two white pillars on heavy pedestals. In front of the altar was the pulpit. There were two chimneys at the north end of the building and in the south end were two stoves from which the pipes rose straight up for about twenty feet and were connected by an elbow with two funnels running the entire length of the church, parallel with, and a few feet higher than the galleries, and connecting with the chimneys at the north end. Architecturally this was an ugly feature, but it was practical, since these long funnels furnished a tremendous surface for the radiation of heat and made it possible to heat the sanctuary as well in the cold season.

The church was Congregational in confession, and its covenant recognized both sprinkling and immersion as valid baptism. The baptism of children was optional with parents. Communion was held six times a year. In the matter of government the standing rules were simple. The church was held subject to no ecclesiastical authority except by its own consent. The governing board was made up of the pastor, two or more deacons, a "standing committee," and a clerk. The first deacons were Payne Elwell, Samuel Morse, and Jesse Page, all three chosen September 1, 1825. Up to the year 1823 the pastor's salary was paid from the ministerial tax assessed on all the polls, but when Maine became a state in 1820 this was no longer obligatory under the constitution, and the tax was discontinued by the town in 1823.

⁸Deed of July 9, 1822, issued by Sam. Morse, agent.

The clerk's records of May 5th of this year contain the following entry: "Voted within six months to pay Revs. Starman and Mitchell their salaries to the end of the year . . . and all contracts between them and the town be null and void after October 21, 1823." Mr. Mitchell consented to this arrangement, but Mr. Starman felt injured and pointed out that he had never entered into any contract with the town, but only with the German Protestant Society, and that it, and not he, received his portion of the tax. This shift from the old manner of support was not felt by the wealthy Congregational parish, but for the poorer Lutheran congregation with its diminishing numbers it created a real problem and accelerated the decline of this old parish in the town.

The first ten years of life in the parish were reasonably peaceful and happy. The church grew in stature if not in wisdom. It certainly was prosperous, and the certainties and smugness of its pastor and membership increased as the cult of a local class distinction grew more marked. But these years were not entirely placid. Long shadows from distant places, the shadows of heresy, slowly fell athwart the local scene. As early as the turn of the century in Massachusetts, Unitarianism, as a liberal movement within the Congregational Church, was making itself felt and was infusing anxiety and horror into the intolerant hearts of the orthodox congregations in the smaller towns. To them it was an ugly heresy raising its head within the church itself, and whereas in the beginning it was apparent only in the larger city parishes, it was the signal for the faithful to be on the alert to strike heresy down wherever it might show itself. By 1826 Congregationalism had fallen on evil days as well as evil ways in Boston. Of the change in these years Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote:

All the literary men of Massachusetts were Unitarian. All the Trustees and professors of Harvard College were Unitarian. All the élite of wealth and fashion crowded the Unitarian churches. The judges on the bench were Unitarian, giving decisions by which the peculiar features of church organization so carefully ordained by the Pilgrim fathers, had been nullified.⁹

In the fourth decade of the century there was heresy on the Medomak, and it appeared in the guise of the First Universalist Society of Waldoboro. This group was limited in numbers, but it was extremely well-equipped in character and brains. In fact, the personal prestige of its members was such as to command the respect of a very considerable part of the community, and to enable it to joust on equal terms with the more orthodox Congregational group. The Universalist faction included Denny McCobb, who came to Waldoboro from Bath and who was the Collector

⁹Lyman Beecher, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, ed. by Charles Beecher (1864), II, 110.

of Customs for a number of years; Dr. Benjamin Brown, friend of Commodor Tucker and President John Adams, and representative of the first district in the House of Representatives from 1815 to 1817; General John T. Castner; Dr. John Manning, a practicing physician, influential in town affairs, who in 1834 became state senator from Lincoln County; Captain Charles Miller, prominent businessman and shipbuilder, who represented Waldoboro at many sessions of the General Court and the State Legislature; James R. Groton, businessman, shipbuilder and first selectman of the town, and Captain Charles Samson, first selectman of the town from 1825 to 1828.

On the whole, this was an important group of leaders, and probably as impressive a group of citizens as could be found in any small Maine town at any time in our history. These men and their followers all had a vested interest in the New Meetinghouse, and when, in 1830, they sought the privilege of holding services in the church when it was not otherwise in use, they innocently precipitated one of the most disgraceful struggles in the history of the Christian Church in the State of Maine.

I have no especial predilection for the details of an ecclesiastical cat fight, but this struggle was a most illuminating historical episode. It reflected concretely the degree of sectarian prejudice, the bitter religious bigotry, and the social as well as the spiritual temper of those days. As such it furnishes us with a vivid realization of the strong gales of emotion rising from the unshakable certainties of these times.

In order to understand this struggle, a somewhat more detailed story of the origin of the meetinghouse is essential. This seems to have been begun as a project of the English-speaking people of the town, for at a meeting of the "inhabitants" held on November 29, 1819, a report drawn up by Isaac G. Reed advocating the erection of the church was presented and accepted. General Denny McCobb, Dr. John Manning (both later Universalists) and Payne Elwell were appointed as a committee to invite and receive subscriptions. A superintending committee was also appointed consisting of Denny McCobb, Charles Samson, and John Manning (all Universalists) to oversee and forward the building of the church. In all these proceedings there was no evidence of sectarian feeling, which points to the possibility that the Universalist Society was a later organization, a reaction perhaps against the solemn Calvinism of the Reverend Mitchell.

At the outset men of liberal sentiments were active and united hand in hand with those of widely different views of religious faith. It was also fully agreed and understood, as appears in the original subscription paper and agreement, "that each subscriber or his assigns, should own said house in proportion to the sum

severally by them paid," and by the several deeds given by Samuel Morse in 1822, as agent and attorney for the proprietors, Isaac G. Reed, and fifty others¹⁰ whose names are mentioned in these deeds, their several pews were conveyed to the several grantees "with right of free passage to, from and around said Meeting-house; and into and from said pew; and in and about the aisles, stairs and passages of said Meeting-house."

It appears then at a glance that the church was not erected by any particular society, body, or class of Christians to conserve any sectarian views, or to accommodate any one sect or denomination more than another. There is no statement in any of the original papers that would lead to such a conclusion. The meetinghouse in fact was owned by forty-four individuals and divided into one hundred and twelve shares. Fifteen of these individuals were of the Orthodox Society and pew owners, holding in all forty shares. Six individuals were friendly to the Orthodox group and owned twelve shares. Twelve of the individuals, members of the Universalist Society, owned seventeen shares. The remainder of the proprietors and pew owners, representing forty-three shares, were connected with other societies and took no part in the management of the house. By far the largest minority group was the members of the Universalist Society.

Such is the background leading up to the disgraceful Sabbath of April 25, 1830. The members of the Universalist Society having been instrumental in the financing and building of the church, and being pewholders and part owners, desired to use the church on occasion for services at which a Universalist clergyman would be invited to preach. Accordingly they called a meeting of the other proprietors and pew-owners to convene at the church on Saturday, April 3, 1830, mutually to agree what part of the time the meeting-house could be used by them for purposes of religious worship. The meeting was held and their case was stated, but no expression of views could be elicited from the orthodox faction. Accordingly on April 17th they dispatched a letter to the Reverend D. M. Mitchell, the orthodox pastor, informing him of their intent to invite Elder Moses McFarland or "some other liberal Gospel Teacher" to preach in the house on the last Sabbath of the month.

This declaration fanned the smoldering embers of bigotry into flame and the Reverend Mitchell replied as follows:

Waldoboro, April 17th, 1830

To Dr. Manning
Gen. McCobb &
Mr. Groton

Committee of the "First Universalist Society"
in Waldoboro.

Gentlemen, — Your communication dated April 17th., was received this morning. I answer it without delay, that you may have seasonable

¹⁰It is of interest to note that nineteen of these names were German.

notice of the course I intend to pursue, and govern yourselves accordingly.

As I have been regularly introduced in to the Pulpit of the New Meeting House (so called) I shall hold possession of it until I am legally dispossessed.

If no special providence should prevent, I shall occupy said Pulpit myself "on the last Sabbath in this month," unless my Parish signify to me their determination to move to some other place of worship.¹¹

I am, Gentlemen

Yours

D. M. Mitchell

In the face of this discouraging response the Universalists proceeded with their plans. The clergyman invited to preach on the Sunday of April 25th was the Reverend William A. Drew of Augusta. Mr. Drew on accepting the invitation promptly sent to the Reverend Mitchell the following note:

Augusta, April 21, 1830

Rev. D. M. Mitchell, Sir —

Having accepted an invitation from some of the Proprietors of the New Meeting house in Waldoboro, to preach in that house next Sabbath, and being informed that you have expressed an intention of preaching in the same place on that day, I have deemed it proper in order to prevent any misunderstanding or interference between us to address this note to you, — saying that I shall, by divine permission, be at the house of General McCobb on the evening of Saturday next, where I shall be happy to meet and confer with you in order that some arrangement may be mutually made as to the times of day at which our respective services shall commence. Trusting that such an interview may take place, and assuring you that nothing reasonable shall on my part be wanting to an amicable and satisfactory arrangement,

I subscribe myself Yours respectfully

William A. Drew

It is doubtful if any degree of deference or courtesy could have prevented the orthodox faction from going to any lengths to check what they regarded as the profanation of the pulpit by an heretic. This was the real issue, even though when stating their case it was put on other grounds, usually the violation of property rights. Determined to defend the church against the heretics, they had been tightening their lines and mapping their strategy for the struggle. A number of meetings had been held for the purpose of consolidating the pewholders against the Universalist minority. At one of these sessions General McCobb had thought it fitting that a copy of the original subscription paper for building the meeting-house should be read. He made a motion to that effect and the paper was handed to Colonel Reed, the moderator. The copy hap-

¹¹The papers in printed form bearing on this controversy are in the possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, 2713 Knight St., Dallas, Texas. All details of this episode are drawn from these papers.

pened to have been made by a justice of the peace in red ink. It is alleged that in order to excite and prejudice his supporters, the Colonel held it up to view and exclaimed in a loud voice: "Gentlemen, look at this paper offered by these men. Here it is, attested in blood." The vote following immediately was against the paper being read. At a previous meeting of the Orthodox, a so-called Prudential Committee had been formed, made up of Isaac G. Reed, Abraham Cole, and George Allen. At the meeting here in question another committee composed of Isaac G. Reed, Joshua Head, and Henry Flagg was appointed for managing the meetinghouse. The two committees shortly united to form a pulpit guard.

At this point we revert to the Reverend William A. Drew. When he reached General McCobb's house on Saturday evening, April 24th, he found awaiting him a note from the Reverend Mitchell objecting to their having an interview at General McCobb's house and suggesting that they meet at Mr. Mitchell's. Mr. Drew met the appointment promptly together with Dr. Manning and Colonel Miller. He found the Reverend Mitchell surrounded by Colonel Reed, John Bulfinch, Esq., and other members of the Orthodox group. Mr. Drew was cordially received, but all deliberations proved futile, and the minority party retired.

Firmly believing in their right to the use of the church for a Sabbath service, minority representatives proceeded to the house the next morning to make their arrangements, but they were not early enough. The documentary record follows:

To their amazement they found the pulpit door guarded by I. G. Reed, Esq., and four others, who represented themselves to be a guard to take care of the pulpit and prevent it from being occupied by any other than Mr. Mitchell during the day, from nine o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night. Dr. John Manning and General Denny McCobb moved towards the pulpit and found the door leading thereto filled up by Joshua Head, Esq., a man of well known size, who evidently in a violent temper of mind, said that he was placed there for guarding said pulpit, and that if McCobb or Manning or any of their Satellites . . . should attempt to enter, he should resist them with violence; telling Dr. Manning that he should not go into the pulpit unless he passed over his body, and that if he got into the pulpit, he would pitch him out of it neck and heels. He further said if it was not the Sabbath, he and Manning should have bloody faces!

The pulpit was actually guarded during the whole day and until nine o'clock at night. The record continues:

At the regular hour for Mr. Mitchell's service Dr. Drew entered the church and took a seat with his friend Dr. Brown. When the orthodox pastor had finished and dismissed his congregation, Mr. Drew took a stand in front of the pulpit at the communion table and commenced his service to a large and respectable audience, and delivered a chaste, ju-

icious and elegant discourse amid interruptions arising from the disorderly conduct of certain gentlemen. In the afternoon he held a second service amid further interruptions. It is recorded that some of the orthodox refused to rise and be uncovered when the Reverend Drew was in the solemnity of prayer. Others of Mr. Mitchell's supporters were in the galleries disturbing and insulting the females and other musicians when in the act of their devotions. Mr. Mitchell declared that he never felt his people so near his heart as he did during this transaction. It is stated to be a fact that Colonel Reed directed the bellman to ring the bell while Mr. Drew was in the act of prayer, which was at least twenty-minutes before the usual time of ringing for Mr. Mitchell's second meeting.¹²

The financial interest in the meetinghouse on the part of members of the Universalist Society from subscriptions and the purchase of pews ranged from the \$200.00 investment of General McCobb down to the \$26.00 of John Burkett. This represented a total investment of \$830.00, a sufficient fraction of the costs of construction to give substance to the desire of the Universalists for an occasional use of the church. They had offered to dispose of their interests at cost, but when the offer was made to Deacon Elwell he took the position that to settle for what they had paid for the pews originally was too much, and furthermore that he as an individual had no power to act.

It is difficult in these times to understand the violent passions that arose from a desire and a claim seemingly so reasonable and just. Social and religious considerations were undoubtedly the prevalent motives, but in a large part the real issue was religious bigotry. A hundred years or more ago in Waldoboro a Universalist or Unitarian was religiously unclean, and there was but one correct church. The Lutherans were never an issue. Their Society was already in an advanced state of decay, but the Universalists did matter, and the other more evangelical sects mattered, and with the rise of the Baptist and Methodist churches in the village the same opposition manifested itself. Methodism especially was held at bay in the outskirts of the town for half a century before securing a toehold in the village. The established church was the correct church both socially and religiously, and its dominance yielded at no point without a struggle.

For a number of weeks following the Sabbath of April 25th there was a quiet period in the affairs of the New Meetinghouse. On the 13th and 14th of May the Reverend Mitchell returned from a visit in Portland and Colonel Reed from a business trip to Wiscasset. In their absence they had seen an advertisement in the Wiscasset papers to the effect that the Reverend J. B. Pitkin would

¹²Pamphlet from the Universalist viewpoint entitled: "The New Meeting House (so-called) in Waldoboro, April 26, 1830," in possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Dallas, Texas.

preach in the New Meetinghouse on the third Sabbath of the month. On Friday before this service Colonel Reed and a number of the leading members of Mr. Mitchell's church held a meeting at Deacon Morse's on Jefferson Street and drew up a bulletin which was dispatched at a late hour in the evening to the Committee of the Universalist Society. There follows an excerpted version of this bulletin:

Gentlemen, — We have seen an advertisement in the two Wiscasset papers etc. . . . and have otherwise learned that on that day, you and your associates will attempt to get and retain the occupation of the meeting house by force and violence. . . . We deem it our duty to warn you against violation of our rights, an infraction of the public peace and the disturbance of religious worship.

The subject of our present controversy is neither religious nor political. It is simply a question of property and the right of occupying it, and the laws of the land have established a tribunal for its ultimate decision. . . . We in behalf of said proprietors offer to submit the decision to the Supreme Judicial Court at its next term in this county. . . . We also on behalf of those friendly to the Rev. Mr. Mitchell's church and society, propose either to purchase your interest or to sell ours, on terms of perfect reciprocity, and to give you for the property heretofore claimed by your society, seventy-five percent of the cost of the pews or to accept the same for ours. . . .

In behalf of said proprietors, we again inform you, that the Meeting-House is in possession of the Rev. Mitchell and his church and society and will be occupied by them on the next Sabbath.

We are your very humble serv'ts

Isaac G. Reed
Abraham Cole

To this communication the Committee of the First Universalist Society replied in part as follows:

Gentlemen, — Your letter of yesterday to us . . . was duly received. Previous to commenting on the contents of it we would say that we act as a committee no farther than in behalf of those members of our Society who are proprietors in the aforesaid house, and that we can recognize you only as proprietors in the same house, knowing of no law or right whereby you can be chosen . . . to control the occupancy of said house without our consent. It is our intention to occupy the Meeting house, for religious purposes to-morrow, agreeable to the notice which you have seen; but we have not heard nor can hardly believe that there has been any intimation given that we intend "to get and retain the occupation of the meeting house by force and violence," as you declare. . . .

We thank you for "reminding us that we live under a government of laws which will not permit the rights of the humblest citizen or most odious society to be wantonly assailed or violated with impunity," — it is an evidence that you begin to be aware that you have gone too far in resisting us in the exercise of our rights in the house. . . .

We deny that the Rev. Mr. Mitchell's church or society have had any "actual" or "legal" possession of the meeting house, excepting so far as members of said church and society are proprietors in the house.

We think that with regard to the subject in dispute between us you misname the parties. With regard to your proposal of purchasing our property in the house, we answer that we should be willing as heretofore offered, to dispose of that property, agreeable to the valuation of three judicious, disinterested men, mutually chosen, or accept in that proportional part of time in the use of the house, which they might assign to us, and that this arrangement may be made, if agreeable to you, as soon as may be after tomorrow. This offer we hope will now be met on your part "with a spirit of liberality and accommodation". . . .

Having given sufficient notice that we wish to have use of the meeting house a part of the time, we expect to occupy it on the morrow undisturbed.

Respectfully yours etc.

John Manning
Denny McCobb
James R. Groton

Waldoboro, My 15, 1830

No reply was made to this Universalist ultimatum asserting the determination of that society to hold a service in the church sometime on May 17th, but that Saturday evening the orthodox group convened at the home of Deacon Elwell and laid out its plan of defense. "The pulpit guard" was increased. It is said that some of them were posted at the meetinghouse late Saturday evening. The others reported for service early in the morning. The narration of the episode continues:

The set up was the same as on the April Sabbath, other than that Joshua Head, Esq., had withdrawn himself further within the pulpit door and had two stout men who appeared to have been placed at the entrance to the door to receive the first attack if any should be made in attempting to enter the pulpit. Colonel Reed walked about and around the pulpit keeping his guard on the alert. At the usual time the Rev. Mr. Mitchell's congregation assembled. The Rev. Mr. Pitkin took a seat with his friend, the Honorable Benjamin Brown, and listened attentively to the discourse, together with a large number of Universalist friends. When Mr. Mitchell had closed his exercises and dismissed his congregation, notice was given that the Rev. Mr. Pitkin would commence his religious exercises and deliver a discourse to such as would be seated to hear him. He then took a stand under the pulpit at the communion table. He commenced his exercise by attempting to read a Psalm, but Colonel Reed and some of his Praetorian Guard approached him and threatened and warned him of the consequences that would follow if he proceeded with his exercises.

At the close of Mr. Pitkin's services, the congregation retired and reassembled in the afternoon. On the close of Mr. Mitchell's meeting Mr. Pitkin took his stand at the communion table as in the forenoon seeking a hymn or a Psalm with which to begin his service. The Rev. Mr. Mitchell rushed down from the pulpit with his large Bible in his hand and crowded on the left of Mr. Pitkin, apparently in a very ill temper of mind, opened his Bible, crowded himself up hard against Mr. Pitkin's chair, probably to get possession of the center of the table, with much confusion made an effort to find some place in the Bible to read. Unable to find the place he intended, he exclaimed to Mr. Pitkin that

he was now agoing to commence with his Bible class. Colonel Reed and many of the other members of the church made use of the same threats, crying out, that you should now be prosecuted for your conduct in disturbing public worship. This drew folk from the pews, galleries and out of doors, the multitude en masse desired to know what was the disturbance. Mr. Pitkin rose and began his service by reading a Psalm or hymn. Mr. Mitchell, finding that he could not by his threats drive Mr. Pitkin from his stand, then proclaimed with a stentorian voice: "We are now disturbed in our worship, and I now dismiss my congregation." The assembled were soon quietly seated, and Mr. Pitkin proceeded with his exercises. The singing as usual was excellent and much praise is due to the choir of the Universalist Society for their acceptable aid and exemplary deportment. An eloquent, solemn and classical discourse was then delivered to a large and respectable assembly, who listened with much attention.

There is ground for believing that all this action was premeditated and planned at the Saturday evening session at Deacon Elwell's and that the Bible class was the motive agreed upon. This class was made up of about sixteen females and a smaller number of males which held one meeting a month. The date of May 17th was at least two or three Sabbaths before their usual time of meeting.

Colonel Reed issued a letter defending the action of the orthodox group, which apparently has not been preserved. It is believed that this was the last outbreak of this disgraceful controversy, and that existing differences were settled by the purchase by the orthodox group of the proprietary rights of the Universalists, a settlement that was neither a freeze-out nor a squeeze-out, which seems to have been the expectation of the orthodox group. Thereafter the course of the Congregationalists was a serene and superior one for many years. But the battle had left its scars on all phases of village life, the orthodox had been worsted though their smug certainties had not been shaken by the intrusion of heresy. The religious views of this group, which explained the real nature of this bitter feud, was probably most truly revealed fifteen years later when one of the old orthodox pulpit guards, writing to his son Charles in Boston on the death of one of the Universalist leaders, registered the orthodox conviction of the times in the following words:

Old Mr. Groton has been confined all the winter and spring and now is upon the verge of the grave. He appears to have none of the bright hopes of the christian to gild the gloomy scene before him and to cheer him as he passes through the dark shadow of the valley of death, and no "rod and staff" to sustain and comfort him in his gloomy journey to another world. Shadows and darkness upon his path. He is at times, allured by the delusive glare of Universalism and at other times sinks into the awful and hopeless doctrine that death is "eternal sleep." He has worshipped and served the world; and now his idol is demolished and he is truly without God and without hope.¹³

¹³Letter of April 24, 1845, in possession of Mrs. Warren Weston Creamer.

Thus spake the orthodox mind of these days on the passing of a Universalist. This is perhaps not so much the revelation of an individual viewpoint as that of an epoch in New England village life. This mentality changed only with the passing of the generations. To the end of its days it convened for two services on the Sabbath, and here in Waldoboro listened to the Calvinistic preaching of the Reverend Mr. Mitchell and his successors, while the younger generation housed by compulsion in the gallery pews focused its attention less on spiritual concerns than on the more amusing details of the services and the idiosyncrasies of the worshippers. Many years later Charles Reed, writing to his sister, Jane Ann, from the gold fields of California, fondly recalled such amusing incidents from his boyhood years in the old church, one of which is here noted in passing:

I think the appointment of George Allen was a good one, as I believe him to be a good man and a Christian, even if he did used to sing so bad, when poor William [a brother] with his chilblains, I ditto, were obliged to go to "meeting" and hear him and Deacon Morse sing. But we had some amusement in seeing them try to see which one could get out first, but Deacon Morse always had the most "bellow" and generally came out half a length ahead of the field.¹⁴

There was another phase to the parish these days — the somber phase emanating from the old certainties. The Reverend Mitchell in a letter to Mrs. Isaac G. Reed in Boston draws the curtain very briefly on the scene in Waldoboro in the mid 1830's. A paragraph follows:

There is quite a waking up in the church, especially in this neighborhood. Our meetings are crowded and *very solemn*. Monday evening the prayer meeting was at our house. It was dark and very muddy, but there were fifty persons present. We have Saturday evening prayer meetings to pray for a revival. The Gentlemen meet at Mr. Elwell's, — the Ladies at Mr. Morse's and Captain Cook's. Last Saturday evening there were eighteen or twenty at Mr. Morse's. This, you know, is a great change from what it has been the last season. What will be the end of these days we do not know, but we feel encouraged to hope for a revival.¹⁵

The Reverend D. M. Mitchell left the pastorate of the church January 14, 1842. Following him pastors came and went at an increase in tempo. The succession follows: John Dodge, 1843-1853; H. M. Stone, 1854-1857; Mr. Lightbody, 1857-1858; T. S. Robie, 1859-1863; supplied 1863-1867 by the Reverends F. B. Knowlton, E. G. Carpenter, and Nathan W. Sheldon; Charles Packard, 1867-1872; A. J. McLeod, 1872-1880; E. C. Crane, 1881-1883; Wilbur

¹⁴Written Mar. 14, 1859. In possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Dallas, Texas.

¹⁵Letter of Mar. 30, 1836.

Rand, 1884-1885; Rufus P. Gardner, 1886-1888; Herbert I. Senior, 1890-1895; Hugh McCallum, 1897-1899; William F. Slade, 1900-1902.

Repairs and improvements were made on the church from time to time. Around 1840 the tall spire which rose one hundred and ninety feet above the ground was removed and the steeple of our own time added to house a fine Revere bell. In 1874 repairs totalling \$4000.00 were made. The galleries were removed, the floor raised, stained glass windows were put in, and a pipe organ installed. These changes and additions gave to the church within and without the appearance familiar to those living in our time.

Among the early deacons were many familiar names. Some of these with the dates of their elections were the following: Payne Elwell, Samuel Morse, and Jesse Page, September 1, 1825; Robert C. Webb and William Cole, December 9, 1836; George Allen, February 15, 1841; Newell Winslow, April 10, 1870; Avery T. Webb, August 10, 1872; Jackson Russell, March 10, 1879; Everett Trowbridge, December 3, 1886.

For three quarters of a century the church maintained its position as the denomination of the social élite and the wealthy. In the 1840's death began to thin the ranks of the old orthodox group. The first citizen of the church, Colonel Isaac G. Reed, passed on in 1847 and his wife, Jane, in 1856. The following list indicates the time of departure of a few of the old village dons: Payne Elwell, August 21, 1840; Samuel Morse, December 1864; Thomas Kennedy, 1838; John Bulfinch, November 23, 1884; Hiram Bliss, January 16, 1874; Thomas D. Currier, April 30, 1878; Elizabeth Farley, May 21, 1849; Mary Barnard, December 6, 1852; John Willet, June 1, 1852; and James Hovey, September 1, 1855. Such losses in wealth and social prestige were irreparable, even though the descendants continued to fill the old family pews. The Great Days came and went; the great industry entered its decline, and in the sunset years from 1875 on, the church was visibly weaker.

It may be said of this church that it held to a strict orthodoxy to the end of its days. It had combated heresy in its youth, and one of the last dramatic acts of its senility was a heresy trial against its own pastor, the Reverend Herbert I. Senior, a learned English divine. Mr. Senior had been called to the charge in Waldoboro from his church in Gould, England, in 1890. He first came to America alone and was later joined by his family, a wife and two sons and three daughters. For a time all went well in the parish, but gradually doubts of his orthodoxy arose in the minds of his pious deacons, who held firmly to a literal interpretation of "the Word," while Mr. Senior's emphasis was on the spirit.

One major point of difference was the story of Joshua who arranged with Yahweh to have the sun stand still for a whole day at Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon, that the Hebrews might complete the slaughter of their enemies, the Amorites. The deacons held that on this day the sun "hasted not," while Mr. Senior correctly assumed that this incident was an old war legend from the Book of Jasher, incorporated by an unknown scribe in the Book of Joshua, probably as a morale booster for the Hebrews engaged in the desperate struggle for the conquest of Canaan. By such trivial differences the breach was widened, and the pastor found himself without a Sunday School class until Mrs. Farrington invited him to teach her class in which she remained as a pupil. It was clearly a situation where a scholar by some ironic twist of destiny had fallen into a Philistine milieu. Undoubtedly the Reverend Senior's sermons were over the heads of the deacons and some of their orthodox brethren, and when he would end his talks by urgently and naïvely advising them to take up their Greek Testaments and compare passages with their sources in the Hebrew of the Jewish Canon, it annoyed them no end.

The parish as a whole liked Mr. Senior, and since he had not been installed, a date was arranged for the ceremony. "I¹⁶ remember as though it were yesterday when he announced at the close of the morning service that the usual examination would take place on a certain date to be followed in the evening by the rites of installation." But the orthodox had been busy and had secretly laid their case before the consistory which was to examine Mr. Senior's theology. The session was a long and stormy one. The congregation was split on the issue. Hence the decision was a compromise designed to please everybody but actually satisfying nobody. The consistory reported that while it could find no fault with Mr. Senior's orthodoxy, it held, in view of the existing bitterness, that it would be unwise to install him.

This decision left Mr. Senior stranded since he found himself neither fowl nor fish. He stayed on because there was nothing else he could do. Bitterness increased and degenerated into sheer vindictiveness and petty persecution. Supported by a faction and damned by a faction, the pastor in the end found himself being supported in part by the benefactions of charitably minded citizens whose humanity transcended creeds.

The old church never recovered from the fracas. Quite ironically its orthodoxy proved its undoing. In 1903 the Reverend William C. Curtis began the last pastorate of this once venerated parish, now a mere handful of aged worshippers. He ended his pastorate

¹⁶The "I" here speaking was Jane Matthews Brummitt, to whom I am in a major part indebted for the details of this episode.

in 1908 and the doors of the "old North Church" were closed forever. For more than a quarter of a century thereafter it stood, a ghost church, a symbol of a sterner faith and greater days.

The end came in 1935. There were few members left, descendants of the Blisses, the Reeds, the Storer, and the Trowbridges. This mere handful comprising the remnant of the original society was not even able to maintain the edifice in a state of repair, and it was decided to transfer the property to the town to be used as a site for a new high school building. Therefore in 1935 a Bill in Equity was placed before the Supreme Judicial Court of Maine for the purpose of having trustees named to make the conveyance of the property. By virtue of a decree in the above-named Bill in Equity, which was signed "April 15th., A.D. 1935," a deed of the premises was made to the inhabitants of the Town of Waldoboro by Emma Trowbridge Potter, Louise Bliss Miller, Josephine Storer, Mary I. Boothby, and Mary E. Elkins, as Trustees. The Revere bell was given to the high school and the fine Hook and Hastings organ to the Baptist Church. On June 19, 1935, the contractor for the new school, with a crew of men, began wrecking the church building. As work progressed it became necessary to dynamite the structure on account of unsafe working conditions.

Just one hundred and fifteen years after the start of the work of building the church, the structure was demolished. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

AMID THE ENCIRCLING GLOOM

Ignorance, which in the matter of morals extenuates the crime, is itself, in intellectual matters, a crime of the first order.

JOUBERT

EDUCATION IN WALDOBORO under the dominance of the "Dutch" had been of a very casual character. They had managed to get along, violating freely the school laws of the state and escaping penalties. They had been fined by the General Court for not sending a representative to it; they had been warned on the score of not maintaining a "settled minister," and they had faced frequent actions brought against them in the County Court arising from the condition of their roads. But always somewhere in some district at some time in the course of a year a school was being held, and in consequence they had been able to escape the penalties of their slack conformity to the state educational laws. Around the turn of the century control of schools was in some measure passing from their hands and coming under the influence of the growing Puritan element in the town. These men had a more immediate interest in the education of their children; they knew the requirements of the state laws, and they had become strong enough to make a little headway against "the Dutch," traditionally conservative in educational matters.

When the year 1800 was reached, one hundred and sixty-one towns had been incorporated within the present bounds of the State of Maine. Common schools as required by law had been established in all of them and "grammar schools" in seven of them. At this time the school laws of Massachusetts divided the responsibility for supporting and managing the schools between the town and the district. In this fact lay for upwards of a century the root of all educational evils in Waldoboro. On the one hand, the town at its annual meeting was required to elect a committee of not less than three nor more than seven men, whose duty it was "to examine and certificate the teachers," visit and inspect the schools, inquire into the discipline and proficiency of the pupils, choose

the textbooks, dismiss incapable teachers, and handle extreme cases of discipline. On the other hand was the district. By law the selectmen issued annually a warrant to some citizen in the district authorizing him to call a district meeting which elected its own moderator, clerk, and school agent. Each family in a district turned in to the selectmen or the town clerk the names and ages of its children between four and twenty-one years.

The number of pupils in a district determined the amount of school money the agent could draw from the selectmen. It was the responsibility of the district to locate and build its own schoolhouse, to determine the length of the school year, and the age at which children should be admitted to the school. Through its agent it hired the teachers, provided equipment, cared for the building, and drew and disbursed its allotment of the school funds. It was a system of divided authority, and from this fact there followed for a hundred years a long series of abuses and absurdities which all but nullified any improvement in the town in the field of education.

It was within the framework of this law that the Puritans and Germans laid the foundation of our common schools. For the next half century progress was small. Existing school laws, so far as they were an aid to education, were not even in force in Waldoboro, and the primary aim of those seeking improvement in the schools was to bring the town, where possible, to a point of conformity with existing legal requirements. On the whole, the system was such as to make progress possible only in those districts where there was a desire for education and where this desire was implemented by an interested and conscientious agent. Naturally such a desire was strongest in the central or village district, and here for many years the pace was set for such educational improvement as there was, but in a district where indifference prevailed, and such was the case in many of the outlying sections, little could be accomplished.

The first decade of the century was a period in which a considerable number of new schoolhouses were built in the town.¹ This was not due to any renaissance of interest in education but rather to the fact that the old log schoolhouses were rotting down. Just how they went about having a new school in those days is shown from the records of a northeasterly district. Since each district was compelled by law to erect its own schoolhouse the normal course was to lay a tax on the real estate of the district. In the one here in question no taxes were levied, but rather at a district meeting it was voted "that the following persons give towards building said schoolhouse as follows: Robert Lermond $\frac{1}{4}$ acre of land for

¹Records of the Town Clerk, Vol. II.

location. John Weaver 1000 feet of boards. Days work: John Nubert four; Michael Nubert four; Francis Miller five; Christian Storer two; Jabish Upham two; Elijah Nash two; James Cushman two; Joseph Burns two; William Lermond two; Robert Lermond four." In this case the building seems to have been constructed by a dozen people, possibly all that lived in the district, or perhaps only those having children of school age.

There is also a record² of an early district meeting in the village section which shows that in this area direction was pretty much in the hands of the English element. This meeting was held August 5, 1802, at Isaiah Cole's house.³ Dr. Benjamin Brown was chosen moderator and George Demuth district clerk. A new schoolhouse had just been completed in the district, under contract as usual to the lowest bidder. It was voted to accept the schoolhouse for \$103.49, and then in a burst of generosity, or an attack of conscience, an additional \$30.00 was raised, making the total cost of the central school building \$133.49. The state law required a Superintending School Committee in every town, one of whose duties was the inspection of schools, but since Waldoboro had not yet reached that point of conformity to law, this district conformed by voting Dr. Benjamin Brown, William Thompson, and Willam Sproul "a committee to visit the schools in this district." George Demuth, Ludwig Castner, and George Kuhn were voted "a committee to draw the school money due to this district." Provision was also made against chisellers from surrounding districts, in that it was voted "not to admit any scholars to this school, but those belonging to this district." A further luxury was provided when it was agreed

that the building of a necessary for the use of the school house be put at vendue to the lowest bidder. John Borkhart [Burkett] agreed to build the same and make it sufficantly light for six dollars. Said Borkhart likewise purchased some boards that remained from finishing said school house for one dollar.

George Demuth, Dist. Clerk

The location of this school building is unknown. It may have been in the field to the rear of the little house on Friendship Road now owned by Ralph Dean and occupied by Mary I. Boothby, for this was one of the earliest school sites in the central district. It was definitely not the site of the old Brick School House, for it was not until August 13, 1822, that Friedrich Castner and Dr. John Manning sold to the Central School District the one-quarter acre of land on which the Brick School House was later

²Records of the Town Clerk, Vol. II.

³Now my residence.

built.⁴ For more than one hundred and twenty-five years now this lot has been devoted to educational purposes.

At the end of the period around 1800 the curriculum was limited to simple fundamentals. Its scope may be inferred by the early textbooks used. These were Webster's *Spelling Book*, *The American Preceptor* (a reader), Perry's *Dictionary*, Pike's *Arithmetic*, or its abridgment. A bit of grammar came in this decade and a bit of geography a little later, but both were slow in making headway. Since Waldoboro was slow in giving any recognition to state educational laws, teachers continued to be employed by the district agents without examination and with little respect for qualifications. The main merit in doing things in this way was that such teachers could be secured for little money.

Consequently the town was slow in electing a School Committee that would *ipso facto* be empowered to change existing arrangements. It did not act in this matter until the meeting of May 7, 1807, when it was voted that "a Committee be appointed to visit the schools in this town and that no schoolmaster shall teach a school in this town without approbation of this Committee." Such action could never have been taken at the March meeting, but in the mud season of April or the planting season of May the villagers were sometimes able to circumvent the back-district folk. This first school committee of Waldoboro was made up of Joshua Head, Joseph Farley, Benjamin Brown, and the Reverends Augustus Ritz and John Cutting. The latter provision in this resolution seems to have remained a dead letter for a great many years, and the agents in the respective districts continued to hire the teachers they wished irrespective of qualifications.

During the period of German administration of education, appropriations for the support of schools had been low. The starting figure in 1800 was \$333.30. This amount had to suffice to pay for the schooling of approximately seven hundred children. The following year the sum was pushed up to \$500.00, with the provision that "every district shall draw their money as it becomes due for their school district." By 1803 it had become necessary to define rather accurately the bounds of each district, since the real estate of each district was subject to a tax levy for the erection of new schoolhouses. This was done, but despite such arrangements districts existed in a fluid state for many decades. Scarcely a year passed that the town was not faced by petitions of a group "to be set off in a new school district," or petitions on the part of citizens to be annexed to a different district, although few went so far as Henry Ewell, who at the meeting of April 4, 1803, was allowed

⁴Lincoln Co. Register of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 118, p. 238.

“to be a school district by himself.” For a short time in 1804 provision was made for “evening schools for scholars upwards of 21.” This arrangement probably arose from the desire of parents to have the older children free for farm work during daylight hours.

By the year 1805 things began to move a little more rapidly under Puritan pressure, and the sum of \$1000 was raised for schools. In 1809 it was again voted “to inspect the schools” and the Reverends Ritz and Cutting, and I. G. Reed, Joseph Farley, and Samuel Morse were empowered with this thankless function, although they were not a school committee. Just what educational conditions were in the back-districts may be inferred from the fact that in 1810 no orders were drawn for \$291.64 of the school money, nearly a third of the one-thousand-dollar appropriation. From this it would follow that this year at least no schools were “kept” in nearly a third of the districts of the town. The battle for some educational progress was discouraging and intermittent. The warrant for the March meeting of 1812 contained an article “to choose a general school committee,” and a second article, “to make proper regulations for establishing a uniform system of education throughout the town.”

Such articles could have been inserted in a town warrant in Timbuktu with the same results. There is no further record of them. They were probably snowed under by the antischool faction which under the general paralysis of the shipping business was able to put through at the May 3rd meeting, 1813, a vote to the effect that “no money be raised for the support of schools the coming year.” The following year the town renewed its appropriation of \$1000, and in 1815 tabled a petition of “Benjamin Arnold and others to determine if the town will suspend the collection of the school and ministerial taxes to some future period.” Verily it must have seemed at times that this little world of Waldoboro “was without form and void, and darkness was on the face of the deep.” But there were those few who were always seeking to extricate themselves from this chaos. From such absurdities and uncertainties the central district (No. 6) sought to protect itself, and in December 1812 got a motion through a small Town Meeting to the effect “that the village district be a school district by itself.” This caused the heathen to rage, and the action was rescinded at the larger March meeting the following year. It seemed an almost warranted conclusion that the majority of the people in the town wanted no education, nor did it want anyone else to have any.

At the close of the War of 1812 interest in education seems to have quickened, and the battle for it was resumed with greater vigor. Many influential Puritans had sizable families coming into school age and the full weight of their prestige was thrown to the

support of education, although the struggle remained a slow, uphill affair, not now against German schools, but against indifference, ignorance, and to some degree vested power in the person of the inefficient and parsimonious district agent with his penchant for the cheapest teachers in the market. In the March meeting of 1815 a motion was passed directing the school committee "to report to the selectmen such schoolmasters as have kept or may keep any school in this town without having obtained legal certificates, and that the Selectmen be directed to present them to the Grand Jury." This was a move tackling an effect, not a cause, for the real causative factor of evil was the agent representing the district.

Another step ahead was taken in the March meeting of 1816 when it was voted that "the settled clergymen and the selectmen be the committee to examine Schoolmasters and to visit all schools in the town." The trouble with these forward steps was that too few of them were implemented by vigorous action, and even this latest gesture seems to show that the voters were still dodging the legal requirement of electing a superintending school committee. Some years they would have one and some years they would not, although such an organization came the next year at a meeting of February 28, 1817, and it had a resolute membership, Colonel Isaac G. Reed, Henry Flagg, Dr. John Manning, and the Reverends Starman and Mitchell. At this same meeting there was a backward step, however, for a report of the selectmen on the designating and numbering of the school districts in the town was rejected. Such a plan apparently assigned too many of the voters to districts they did not wish to be in.

The village people acted. Despairing of securing a district organization for the schools, they petitioned the town in 1818 and at the March meeting secured favorable action for the formation of their own district "around and near the town bridge." This district was strictly defined by an enumeration of the families living in it. The following year at a small May meeting the district secured a recognition of its geographical limits and voted "to build at their own expense a good School House and to keep a Grammar School throughout the year." This vote was carried by the narrow margin of sixty-three ayes to fifty-seven nays. This was a new advance in Waldoboro education, for it meant a school whose curriculum carried some of the higher subjects, such as grammar, geography, Latin and mathematics beyond arithmetic, and from which students as they were "judged ripe" might be received into college. This lift to education widened the rift between town and country, for while the village was becoming better educated the back-districts were at the same time becoming more ignorant and illiterate. It was an oil and water relationship. There was no integration.

Toward the end of the second decade of the century the school committee was made up of energetic and competent citizens and on March 6, 1820, it moved for some simple reforms. Its brief report, the first such of a school committee in the history of the town, follows:

The Committee on Schools beg leave to report that it is necessary that some regular system should be adopted by the Town for the better organization and government of the schools. To aid in effecting this object they would recommend the following rules for adoption.

1st. That the Selectmen be directed to issue no town orders for school money to any district School Committee, unless said committee shall produce a certificate from the General School Committee that the instructor employed by them, was legally qualified for the task.

2nd. That it shall be the duty of the committee for each School district to inform the Chairman of the General School Committee when their school will commence and when it will close; and when so informed, it shall be the duty of said General School Committee, or of a part of them, to visit said schools, to observe their development and the improvement of the Scholars.

per order, Gorham Parks, Chairman

The most significant fact about these proposals is that they reveal an effort to correct the same evil conditions that prevailed in 1800, and that two decades had made little progress in reducing to conformity and cooperation the insurgent character of these independent school districts.

This report was adopted by the town and a copy sent to the clerk of each school district. Furthermore, it was voted that the General School Committee report annually "the situation in the schools at such meetings as they may think proper, and that they serve without pay." This report was little more than a gesture or an expression of wishful thinking. To be sure the problems were focused, but that had been done before, and we shall find the same enumeration of evils running through the committee reports for years. By 1821 a small consolidation of school districts had been effected, but little more accomplished. Deacon Samuel Morse, a former teacher, was agent in the central district, and here there was progress but always limited to the grudging concessions the back-district folk were willing to convey to the villagers.

In 1820 Maine became a state and its first school laws in 1821 were modelled closely on those of Massachusetts. Hence the situation was little changed. There was no stipulation as to the length of the school year, but a new requirement was laid down, to wit, that there should be spent on schools a minimum of forty cents for each inhabitant. The great weakness of divided authority still remained inherent in the system. In fact, Maine school laws between 1820 and 1845 aided little in the progress of education. They limited themselves merely to defining and clarifying the status quo.

The only laws of lasting significance were: provisions for collecting school statistics (1825 and 1833); the setting aside of twenty townships of the public lands, the proceeds from the sale of which were to be used as a permanent school fund (1828); and the use of the state bank tax for public instruction (1833). These financial provisions were destined over the years to add substantially to the development of the school system.

One may wonder who the teachers were in these years. An exact identification is difficult even with the family names available, but James G. Groton of the General School Committee submitted to the town in 1825 a bill for his services in examining teachers, masters, and mistresses. Both lists contain many familiar names and show that the daughters of some élite families were not above trying a hand at schoolteaching. The lists follow. Mistresses: Wellman, Levensaler, Caroline Howard, M. Howard, Trowbridge, Lash, Parker, Eliza Davis (grandmother of Clara and Dora Gay), Currier, Larry, Cushman, Davis, Cole, Rawson, Kaler, Clark, and Bruce. Masters: Miller, Blackstone, Daggett, Haskell, Adams, Moore, Stilkey, Light, Bruce, Lindley, Davis, Sides, Eaton, Percival, C. Kaler 5th, and Larmond. This list shows a number of masters less by only one than the list of mistresses, the balance being explained by the fact that the men invariably taught the winter schools when the larger and older males of school age received their modicum of education. In these years it was a hardy female indeed that ever essayed instruction in a winter school.

Another element of curiosity in the modern mind is how this district system functioned: very honestly and changelessly in a few districts and very badly in many others, depending on the district and its agent. Fortunately the clerk's record⁵ in one of the better managed districts has been preserved, which affords an insight into the simple operation of the school in District No. 3, in the early century. As previously indicated, each district managed its own school. A warrant was issued by the selectmen and served on some member of the district requiring him to summon a meeting of all voters in the district. At this meeting a moderator was elected to preside, a clerk to record the proceedings, and a School Agent who was the purchasing agent, the hiring agent, and the accounting agent. At the end of his term he settled with the clerk who was the auditing officer. For example, Henry Winslow, agent for District No. 3 for 1825, drew from the town treasury \$31.35; paid Caroline Howard, the teacher, \$31.35.

Ezekiel Winslow, agent for 1827, drew from the treasury \$40.95. Paid Charles Bruce, teacher, \$25.73; paid Caroline Howard \$13.00; paid Peter Ludwig for wood \$1.89. The price of a year's

⁵Record of Clerk for District No. 3, 1825-1874, in possession of Mr. Ruel Eugley, Waldoboro, Me.

supply of wood and the teachers' pay are interesting features. Probably due to the number of the children in the district and the limited size of the schoolhouse at this time, a girls' school was held for a term and a boys' school for a term. For example, in the year 1829 it was voted in the district that one third of the money for the year be expended on "a womans' school." The female session usually started the second Monday in May or the first in June, and the men's school the first Monday in October, an arrangement which would release the boys for the spring and summer work. In winter the house was heated by a wood fire, and the wood supply was usually furnished by the lowest bidder. In 1831 Peter Prock furnished, delivered, and piled up in the entry the half year's supply for \$2.42, and the second half year's supply for \$2.50. In 1836 Peter Ludwig furnished the full year's supply for \$4.34. For the year 1837 the full expense of maintaining a school in this district was as follows:

Paid Boyed Miller for teaching the mens' school	\$26.00
Paid for a dipper	.08
Paid for a chair	.75
Paid for a pail	.33
Paid for wood	2.50
Paid Margery Kennedy for teaching the womans' school	14.00
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total expended	\$43.66

In 1840 this district built a new schoolhouse. Its size and structure may probably be taken as typical of schoolhouses of the period. The building was 24' x 20', with walls nine feet high and with five windows in the body part with fifteen lights each. It was bid off to James Crammer for \$199.00. Another item of interest in the clerk's record is that of May 2, 1846, when it was "voted that boarding the mistress be sold to the lowest bidder. Sold to George Achorn for 70 cents per week." A rather unusual expense for the period was the sum of thirty-nine cents paid to Peter Ludwig for washing the schoolhouse. There was also an outburst of generosity in 1852, when it was voted "to have all this year's money expended in a womans' school to begin in September." Apparently the district sometimes had the conviction that education was not essential to males. This record runs down to 1874. The annual expense for the school in this year was \$132.50, an increase of three hundred per cent in forty years, which would seem to show a slowly growing realization that education was something worth spending money for.

The inadequacy of the educational setup in the town was recognized by the most discriminating families and attempts were made at having private schools, of which we catch only an occa-

sional glimpse. For example, Bertha Brown, writing to Jane Ann Reed in Boston around 1834, observes: "Miss Lashe's school is the only one in the village this winter. How do you think Mrs. — would succeed with a school in this place? I think if she could add French to other branches she might obtain a number of schollars here." Colonel I. G. Reed, writing to Charles in Boston under date of November 2, 1837, remarks: "Mr. Whitman keeps a private school and Mary attends it," and again under date of August 11, 1841, "Edward is still keeping what is termed here 'a high school' and has 24 scholars. He gives great satisfaction to parents and children and appears to be pleased with the employment."⁶ Other families resorted to instruction in the home at the hand of tutors or the head of the family. For example, in 1837 John Bulfinch inserted an article in the town warrant and secured the sanction of the town "to be set off from his district and draw his own school money." Deacon Morse and the Reverend D. M. Mitchell sought the same privilege in 1838, but the town voted "to dismiss this article from the warrant," and for the time being at least no further favors were accorded to the villagers in such matters.

By 1837 the school appropriation had risen to \$1250.00, but further indications of progress were few. Reaction was still in the saddle and the efforts of the school committee to assert even its legal rights in district affairs were checked by the town in the meeting of April 2, 1838, when it was voted "that the Superintending School Committee be directed not to visit the schools unless requested by the agent and that in case of difficulty in the district." This vote was a clear indication of existing discord, and of the districts rejecting even the very limited central controls required by law.

Regularly at the meetings through these years it was voted that "each school district be authorized to choose their own agents," which kept the control of school affairs a rather strictly district matter. The Reverends Mitchell and Starman held positions on the school board for many years, the other members varying from year to year. By 1840 the school appropriation had advanced to \$1360.00, which cannot be construed as an increased interest in education, but rather to the increase in population and conformity to state law which required an appropriation of forty cents to each inhabitant for support of the schools. This is shown rather clearly in the appropriation of 1841 which set no stipulated sum but simply voted "to raise for schools the sum required by law."

By 1842 the back-district folk, sure of their own power, graciously voted at the meeting of March 7th that "the central school [District No. 6] be empowered to choose its own school commit-

⁶Letters in possession of Dr. Benjamin Kinsell, Dallas, Texas.

tee and agents who shall have all the powers that can be granted by Section 19th, Chapter 17th, of the Revised Statutes." Such a vote reflected the desire to limit the jurisdiction of the School Committee to the central district. Apart from this consideration and from the legal angle, this vote could carry no weight, and its only value lay in the fact that whatever was done in the central district would be beyond the criticism and the political retaliation of the back-district people. Hence while meaningless it was doubtless expedient. With a free hand in the village area the district by request proceeded to annex Squire Bulfinch's bailiwick and those of other border residents who were eager to share in the coming educational dispensation.

Fifteen hundred dollars for schools was the annual appropriation for a number of years through the fifth decade of the century, and the personnel of the committee remained made up of the more competent village folk. In 1844 Mr. Starman failed of reelection for the first time in many years and the committee was made up of James Groton, Parker McCobb, and John H. Kennedy, but in 1845 Mr. Starman was re-elected to membership. Despite the fact that the members of the committee were able men, every effort made at progress was nullified by the district organizations whose agents for the most part were the complaisant tools or victims of district mass psychology.

Up to this point this picture of the first forty-six years of nineteenth-century education in Waldoboro has been pieced together from fragments of evidence. That it is not untrue or exaggerated becomes entirely clear from the more detailed documentary evidence furnished in the years 1847 to 1850, for beginning with 1847 the revised statutes required the Superintending School Committee to make an annual report on the condition of the schools. These reports, to be sure, are the work of laymen, and some are stereotyped and superficial, while others are courageous and penetrating, depending on the personnel of the board, but all are highly revealing of the evils pervading the town's educational system of the mid-century, for they were so obtrusively apparent as to be obvious to the lowest village nitwit. These reports tell the story more clearly than can any comment or analysis of the historian, and are, as they should be, presented here in an excerpted form as an accurate appraisal of the merit of our school system, unchanged and unchanging through the first fifty years of the nineteenth century.

The first annual report was made to the town at the meeting of March 15, 1847. In it the committee conceded the laxness of its own administration, but exonerated itself in a large measure by placing the blame on the district agents; of the teaching staff some

teachers were adjudged excellent. Others it alleged were not deficient in mental qualifications but were lacking in "an aptness to teach." The committee then advised that an investigation should be made of all teachers to see how many had received the required legal certificate from the committee. Such a recommendation was clearly an unmitigated piece of pussyfooting, for any responsible committee should have known this better than anyone else, and in lieu of such a recommendation should have presented the facts to the town as a matter of its responsible knowledge. It next recommended that it be empowered by the town to "appoint a certain day for the examination of teachers," a power it already held under state law. Such an attitude and such recommendations are the best evidence of the degree to which its powers had been usurped by the districts, and of its own impotence in the face of the political power wielded by the back-district folk.

The same confession of weakness runs through the balance of the report, but since it reveals conditions as they were, the conclusions of the report are here offered:

In regard to the schools your Committee cannot give as favorable report as a whole, as they wish your schools would warrant them to give. Some schools were highly satisfactory both in their discipline and improvement, and reflect much honor to them and their teachers, while some other schools have been very irregular and unprofitable, not only because of immediate influences in those schools, but by influences and temptations outside the schools. In some cases a large number of scholars left the school before it closed, and were very irregular and tardy in attendance when they did go. And though your Committee have not expelled but one scholar from school, yet some may have left fearing they would be expelled if they did not go in advance. And though your Committee withhold names now, they would suggest that in the future the Committee embrace in their annual Report the names of all scholars expelled from school, and the offence for which they were expelled as "a terror to evil doers," and a great safeguard to the peace and improvement of our schools.

Your Committee would also inquire whether the time has not come and the state of our schools does not require that we should be furnished with teachers of a higher and much higher order of qualifications than many of those who have formerly attempted to teach our youth. We need those who are qualified to teach scholars who cannot avail themselves of the privileges of our Academies and High Schools. Studies of a higher order than those now taught in our schools would be of sensible benefit. . . . Your Committee are deeply impressed with the importance of a more general interest in and study of English Grammar, — the foundation of all language. . . . In some schools not more than one to five, in others not more than one to ten who should be attending to grammar, are now paying any attention to it.

Strangely enough this report was followed promptly by a vote of acceptance, which was little more than a formality in that it left the vicious dual management of the schools untouched. But

elsewhere there was progress. Mr. Starman, old and ill, did not stand for re-election to the school committee. The next year a Teachers' Institute was established for a term not exceeding three weeks and was held in connection with the examination of teachers. This was in reality a school for teachers which aimed at instruction in the basic techniques of teaching, and at the introduction of common methods and a uniform system in the town's schools. For the brief period of its existence it was under the direction of Albion P. Oakes.

Of even greater importance was the election of the new Congregational minister, the Reverend John Dodge, as chairman of the school committee. In this role he proved himself a man of courage, energy, and vision, and under his direction there were some gains. He did not hesitate to call things by their real names, to assert the power of the committee against the district agents by dismissing their incompetent teachers, expelling unruly pupils, publishing their names, and facing the town with cold, unpalatable statistics in reference to the conditions in its schools. His report is the most illuminating document at hand and to date in our sketch of early Waldoboro schools. Its gist follows in abbreviated form as presented to the Town Meeting of March 20, 1848. The statistical section affords a real insight into the casual attitudes of the population with reference to schooling.

The document shows twenty-nine districts in the town and 1620 scholars. This year there was available \$1687.98 for the support of the schools. By this money twenty-seven summer schools and twenty-three winter schools were "kept." Nine of the summer teachers and eleven of the winter teachers were from out of town. In the districts where winter schools were held, there were 1583 scholars. The whole number in attendance at these schools was 887, and the average attendance was 637. The committee examined fifty-three teachers

which occupied 46 days; spent 55 days visiting schools; removed one teacher from District No. 4 on account of failure in discipline, and expelled six scholars for refusing submission to the rules of the school, viz., Warren Sidelinger, Dist. 28; Washington Shuman, Dist. 10; Solomon Broadman, Josiah Mink, Benjamin and Aloin Bornheimer, Dist. 11. . . . In some cases the shortness of the schools and the irregular attendance have rendered the improvement very small. . . . Schoolhouses in several of the districts are an insurmountable barrier to proper progress in education. . . . One indispensable appendage to every schoolroom is a blackboard,

and the report recommends that each district have one.

In some of our schools there can hardly be said to be any system at all, and no two schools in town, except taught by the same individual, bear any resemblance to each other. . . . There were ten teachers whose

services we believe the town would be better off without. . . . The establishment and praiseworthy success of our Academy the past year has materially affected the standing of some schools. Pupils from various districts have given attention to Algebra with other higher branches. . . . In the future your Committee recommends the winter teachers be qualified and examined accordingly.

This report is the plainest and most candid summary of conditions in Waldoboro schools up to 1848. It undoubtedly made enemies for Mr. Dodge. Whether it was instrumental in forcing his resignation from the school committee is not known, but he did resign in November 1848. This fact seems to have altered not at all the new note of vigor and fearlessness in the policy of the committee, and the Reverend O. B. Walker, the Baptist pastor, carried on even more valiantly than Mr. Dodge, and in the 1849 report hinted at evils never before mentioned in connection with the administration of schools in the town. This report spared no one and no thing.

It opens on a note of sincere regret respecting the resignation of the former chairman, Mr. Dodge, and then proceeds to the candid evaluation of the contribution made by Squire Bulfinch, who had been appointed to the vacancy, disposing of the Squire's contribution in these words: "John Bulfinch, Esq., was chosen to fill the vacancy, which change in the Board will account for all the apparent neglect to those schools which our former chairman visited with such prompt regularity." The Report shows twenty-eight districts in the town and then adds quite frankly "though one district, No. 8, has neither schoolhouse, schollars or money." The report then continues: "The number of schollars as returned last May is 1661, and the money raised for their benefits \$1782.57. In view of these facts the question arises where are the 1661 schollars that so small a number attend school, and of your \$1782.57, — not all of that sum is expended for school services." This was a new development or perhaps the disclosure of one already long existent. It certainly must have jarred the assembled citizenry, for of all things money was always the first to command their interest and consideration.

The committee then reported that only a part of the school registers had been returned, and that some of those returned were very incomplete. Without these registers it was impossible to complete the attendance, but "the committee, reckoning from the registers returned, [find] less than one half have been regular in their attendance," and the committee continues, "the great importance of a more general and regular attendance should claim your serious attention." The committee goes on to state that "in the examination of the registers of five districts *there are \$48.62 more than has been expended for school instruction. . . .*" [Italics mine.] The inade-

quacy of houses is stressed. "It is impossible for schollars to learn when suffering from cold and every storm pelting their heads through broken windows." There are still no blackboards, and too much of the school money goes to out-of-town teachers, and it adds significantly: "Among the thronging competitors those generally have been most successful who gave the lowest bid for the district. . . . Cases have occurred where persons conscious of their unfitness teach without certificate." This led the committee to recommend that "no agent allow a teacher to commence school without first presenting this evidence of his lawful qualifications." The report stamped its approval on the Institute but added: "Though a superior practical teacher was secured to conduct it, it is to be regretted that so few of the male teachers availed themselves of its benefits . . . be it to the praise of your female teachers 22 out of 28 attended."

Included in the report is a resolution of appreciation passed by the Institute "to the Superintending School Committee and to Mr. Albion P. Oakes, our able instructor for his indefatigable labour and deep interest." The expense for the Institute for the past year, it may here be added, was \$42.96. The report continued with the recommendation that "the annual report be published with all the statistical facts contained in the school registers." The report calls attention to the state law whereunder teachers forfeit their pay "unless the register for his or her school, properly filled out, completed and signed, shall be deposited with the School Committee." The report then added that "one third of the teachers have failed to comply with this law." This report was signed by the Reverend O. B. Walker and William H. Sides. Squire Bulfinch withheld his signature for obvious reasons.

The town was certainly impressed by this report, probably because it had long been vaguely aware of the scandalous state of its educational system, and because of the suggestion of the misuse of public funds. It promptly approved the committee's recommendations; appropriated \$50.00 for the continuation of the Teachers' Institute; ruled that no district agent employ any teacher unless they produce a certificate from the Superintending School Committee; instructed the selectmen not to draw any orders for school money until the teachers had deposited their school registers with the school committee, and ordered that the report of the committee be printed next year for the benefit of the town.

This was progress with a rush, that is, provided the instructions issued were adhered to — only a remote probability. It seems a certainty that this committee kept the ball rolling so long as the two determined and energetic pastors held positions on the board. They saw to it that the Institute became a regular service, and at

the March meeting of 1850 the first printed report of a school committee was distributed by the Reverend O. B. Walker. It was unfortunate that the pastorate of the Reverend Walker was terminated in 1850, and that the Reverend John Dodge who replaced him did not remain in Waldoboro after 1853.

The Report of the Committee for the year 1850 is touched only briefly here for certain interesting statistical data. The number of scholars in the town between the ages of four and twenty-one was 1733. There were twenty-three districts and two parts of districts, which shows that despite the increase in the number of pupils some consolidation had been effected. The amount of money raised for school purposes plus the bank tax was \$1833.93. There were twenty-one male teachers with average salaries of \$18.31 per month and thirty-five female teachers with an average salary of \$1.68 per week. Such females as essayed winter schools received an average of \$2.06 per week. Beginning this year the committee was elected for three, two, and one-year terms.

This half century in the history of Waldoboro schools may be termed the period of stagnation, although that term could be appropriately applied to any and all periods prior to the 1930's of the present century. By 1850, however, there were unmistakable signs of progress. It is a matter of interest that during this mid-century there were more college graduates living in the town than at any other period in its history, with the exception of the present, and it was at this time that the town was sending more of its young men to college than ever before or since. For this the town schools can claim no credit, for the required preparation was completed in out-of-town schools or with local tutors.

THE RISE OF THE SECTS

Religions commit suicide when they find their inspirations in their dogmas.

ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD

DURING THE COLONIAL AND FEDERAL periods the Lutheran and Congregational churches held an unchallenged sway at Broad Bay and Waldoboro. While the established church was rising to its dominance the Lutheran was already in decline and was allowed by the reigning theocracy to exist by sufferance, and to depart slowly in peace. The ministers of "the standing order" were religious descendants of the Puritans, inheriting their stern virtues as well as their stern theology. Intolerance against other sects was in the air throughout this period as well as in the fatalistic creed of the dominant faith. This church up to 1820 was *de facto* the state church, supported in the law by a tax on all polls from which no taxpayer could be exempt except by formally filing with the town clerk a certificate of withdrawal from the parish and by giving financial support to a parish elsewhere. In Waldoboro the Lutheran and the Congregational churches were supported by a general ministerial tax down to the year 1823, and for the ten years preceding this date \$1000.00 had been raised annually and divided equally between the two parishes.

The established church did not yield ground graciously. Occupying the privileged position of drawing its support from the public till and embracing in its membership the rich and exclusive families of the town, it fought to maintain a single religious supremacy in the village not only by opposing the invading forces openly but by using the more subtle and powerful influences which it controlled to prevent them from securing a foothold in the center of the town. In consequence the local Baptists worshipped for years in Warren, Nobleboro, and Jefferson. In fact, this sect closed in on Waldoboro from all the neighboring towns and through these members eventually supplied a nucleus for the establishment of a Baptist parish in the village.

Methodism entered the town in a similar manner. For decades the established church kept it out of the village while its roving circuit riders kept gradually closing in, first establishing "classes," then churches, in the Genthner Neighborhood, at West Waldoboro, Winslow's Mills, Orff's Corner, North, East and South Waldoboro. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did the Methodists eventually break into the village proper. When the Baptist Society organized in the village it had an advantage in having at least two members, Cyrus Newcomb and Thomas Willett, whose social standing and prestige were strong enough to carry both respectability and appeal to village folk, but the Methodists, to establish a toe hold at all, were obliged to appeal to the humble and the lowly. Thus it was that their first converts came from the poorer back-district folk.

The Baptists historically had sought admission to Maine as early as 1681. This year the Reverend William Screven, seeking to preach the gospel in Kittery, was arrested and haled into court for not attending the established church on Sundays. After repeated efforts at preaching and consistent persecution he finally "did in the presence of said Court and President promise to engage to depart out of the Province within a very short time."¹ Leaving Kittery with a small band of the faithful, he went south and near Charleston, South Carolina, established the first Baptist church below the Mason and Dixon Line. Throughout the eighteenth century the Baptists had kept inching into Maine and were well established for decades before they broke into Waldoboro, which at the time was perhaps the most conservative town in the state, thoroughly dominated by that indissoluble axis, the Established Church and the Federalist Party, which everywhere else had already been dead for some time, even though this fact was not acknowledged in the town. In the face of anti-influences the Baptists in Waldoboro engaged for many years in "voluntary association" before proceeding to a "formal organization." This meant meeting from house to house for prayer and "experience" meetings. In this way they gradually added to their numbers and prepared for the day of public organization as a church.

The records of this Society exist in unbroken continuity in the form of clerk's records, from its organization down to the present day. They offer a most revealing story of small-town life for well over a century, as well as of the slow evolution of religious experience in this community. They are couched in a language which for simpleness and candor defies imitation. For the modern reader they furnish an incomparable index to the moral, social, and religious life of an older day, and reek with the savor of the

¹Henry S. Burrage, *History of the Baptists of Maine*, p. 19.

decades, conveying more of local history than can any narrative of the historians; nor are they lacking in an unintentional humor and pathos. If the reader is to experience the birth, the struggle, and the growth of this society in all its realism and verve, he need not go beyond the records.

They open at the first meeting of "the Baptist Brethren," June 19, 1824.

Thomas Willett, Cyrus Newcomb, Jacob Shuman, Charles Keen, Jacob Kaler, 3rd, John Shuman, and John Welt being of one mind agreed to seek their dismissals from the church in Warren, Jefferson, and the first and second [Damariscotta] in Nobleboro requesting them to send their elders with one or more delegates to set in council at Jacob Kaler's house,² July 6, 1824, for the purpose of organizing a Baptist Church in Waldoboro.

By request the council met at Brother Keen's house. Present were Elder T. Wakefield and Brother George Kelloch of Warren, Elder W. Allen and Brother Samuel Chisim of Jefferson, Elder P. Pillsbury of the first church in Nobleboro and Elder D. Dunbar and Deacon Day of the second church of Nobleboro. "The council sat, examined the candidates, thought a church was expedient," and "thereupon Elder Pillsbury gave the right hand of fellowship to the brethren and to Sisters Mary Keen, Charlotte Shuman, Mary Shuman and Catherine Welt." An organization was effected then and there in which Brother Jacob Shuman and John Welt were chosen deacons, and Cyrus Newcomb, clerk. "Immediately after, an appropriate discourse (Text, Acts 2, verses 41-42) was delivered by Elder Dunbar and another appropriate one by Elder Wakefield of Warren," and the clerk adds: "The day was wet but the season solum and interesting."

In its earliest days this small congregation held its meetings in private houses. On August 14, 1824, the church met at Brother Jacob Kaler's "to relate the merciful dealings of God towards us and to transact church business." Jacob Kaler was the moderator at these early meetings. Mrs. Sedone Winslow related her "experience" and requested membership through baptism. The clerk was instructed to "write to Elder Jole Washburn requesting him to preach with us and administer the ordinances once in three months for 6 or 12 months to come."

August 21. Ezekiel Winslow requested membership. . . . "At the close of the meeting we went out by the river side because there was much water there and Elder Dunbar baptized Mr. Ezekiel Winslow and his wife by Immertion." Elder Dunbar they acknowledged "was the instrument in God's hand of awakening their minds in May last at the first meeting Elder Dunbar held in the town."

²Now the residence of William Kirkpatrick.

September 18. Cyrus Newcomb was elected treasurer, and as a means of raising money for the support of the church, agreed to take any salable produce from the members and sell the same in his store "to the best advantage, without profit to him and the income when sold to be paid to the church." The first sacrament was administered on September 19th by Elder Washburn "to the little church in Waldoboro consisting of 13 members, 8 males and 5 females."

March 23, 1825. Since September 1824 Elder Washburn and Brother Chisim had been leading the services at Waldoboro, and the church had agreed to pay the sum of \$77.00. The money was raised in part at this meeting, Deacon Jacob Shuman leading off with a subscription of \$14.00.

"May 25, 1825, at Brother Winslow's house. Voted to ordain Mr. Samuel Chisim of Jefferson at or near the house of Deacon Jacob Shuman³ on June 29 if agreeable to his wish." On this date the elders, deacons, and brothers assembled at Deacon Shuman's from Nobleboro, Jefferson, Appleton, Warren, and Thomaston. It had been intended to hold the services in the house, but people came in such great numbers that the ordination was held outside, and a large flat rock in Deacon Shuman's yard, still there today, was used as the speaker's platform. Elder Dunbar of Nobleboro preached the sermon, and the Reverend Mr. Starman offered the opening prayer, but the resident Congregational pastor did not participate. Brother Chisim began his ministry in September "for so many Sabbaths as he may feel his duty" for the year. At the meeting of August 20, 1825, the members subscribed \$37.00 in produce and \$31.00 in cash to support the preaching of the gospel for the year. On November 19th, Elder Chisim was received in membership in the church.

Mr. Chisim served the church for ten years during which he continued to reside on his farm in Jefferson. He received no stated salary and derived his major income from his farm. There were no revivals during his pastorate and few members were added. Strong prejudice and opposition was met by holding the services in the outlying districts, never in the village. Many of Elder Chisim's meetings were held in an unfinished building roughly fitted up for worship. It stood on the left of the road on the east side of the river between the present Railroad Station and Winslow's Mills, and between the houses of Solomon Welt and Randall Creamer. But use of this building aroused opposition, and finally the place of meeting was shifted to a schoolhouse. Meetings were also held at Feyler's Corner where a strong nucleus of members resided and public opinion could be controlled. No services were

³On the east side of the river above Winslow's Mills. In recent years the residence of Mrs. Edith Cuthbertson.

held in the village until the pastorate of the Reverend Joseph Wilson, when he was called there to conduct the funeral service for Thomas Willett, a respected villager and a charter member of the church. The funeral sermon must have been a moving and an amazing piece of religious oratory, for it led many people to urge Reverend Wilson to hold services in the village schoolhouse, swept Augustus Welt and General Henry Kennedy into membership in the Baptist Church, and moved the Reverend D. M. Mitchell to invite the Reverend Wilson to occupy his pulpit. From this time on there was regular preaching in the schoolhouse in the village.

This brief summary covering a period of ten years has taken us somewhat ahead of our story, and we turn back to 1826 for the beginning of dissension. Conflict seems an entirely normal order of things within Protestant churches. Their theology is so explicit that trivial differences become matters of major import in the life of the faithful and they are ever ready to halt at Armageddon and battle for the Lord. Looking backward for more than a century now, we can be grateful for these bickerings of so long ago, for there is little in our history that is more basically or humanly revealing. Trouble began in 1826. On March 16, the church "met at Brother Winslow's to try to settle a difficulty between Brother Kaler and Brother Avery, also between Brother Kaler and Brother Winslow. Brother Willett, Elder Chisim, and Jacob Shuman were appointed a committee to meet at Brother Shuman's house on April 15." Brother Kaler was not present at either meeting. May 20th, "The difficulty between Bros. Kaler and Avery not settled." May 27th, "Difficulty not settled." July 15th, "Two Brethren from the church in Hope present, sent to make inquiry why we could not receive Sister Wilson upon her dismission from their church. The reason why we could not receive Sister Wilson was on account of Bro. Kaler." . . . In these days and for forty years following, the discipline of the church was strict and rigorously enforced. No discord was tolerated among members, attendance at religious services was exacted, and any departure from the moral standards set by the church called for public explanation from the offending member. In this case since Brother Kaler did not appear at the meetings called for an explanation of his conduct, it was voted on July 22, "to exclude him for immoral conduct and absenting himself from meetings."

Even as the little congregation increased death, too, kept thinning its ranks. The departures of the first faithful were quaintly and reverently recorded as the following excerpts indicate:

Sept. 11, 1827, Sister Catherine Welt died in a very comfortable state of mind. Sept. 16, Sister Margaret Wilson from Hope received in

membership. Sept. 21, Bro. Cyrus Newcomb died in a comfortable state of mind. May 19, 1827, Voted to comply with the request of the first church in Whitefield in sending our Elder and Deacon Shuman to meet them in council the 23 inst., to set apart Bro. Enos Trask to the all important work of the ministry by the laying on of the hands.

October 15, 1828, "Voted to forgive Bro. Winslow, he having made an acknowledgment to the church only, and leaving to Bro. Winslow to make a public acknowledgment as he can answer before God." March 20, 1830, "Voted to set aside Brother and Sister Winslow two months and then if repentance is manifested restore them to the Communion of the Church." Aug. 12, "Voted to set aside Brother and Sister Winslow for immoral conduct." On December 15, 1832, it was voted "that any member who shall absent himself six months from conference without giving a reasonable excuse shall be excluded from the church." May 30, 1833, "Bro. Nathaniel Vickery died in a happy frame of mind."

In 1837 began one of the most memorable pastorates in the history of the church, that of the Reverend Joseph Wilson from Damariscotta. He was young, earnest and "a powerful speaker." The church enjoyed a continuous revival for three years. New members were added every month. For the purpose of receiving them meetings were held in all parts of the town. In fact, a considerable portion of the membership was from the more remote areas. Among those receiving baptism in this decade were Susan Levansaler, Rebecca Kaler, Margaret Stahl, Mary A. Pollard, David Rice, Frederic Benner, Thomas Stahl, John Feyler, Paul Kuhn, Peggy Kuhn, Sally Boggs, Isaac Cushman, Oliver and William Sweetland, John and Lucinda Pitcher, Susan Burkett, Reuben and Isaac Wyman, William Burkett, Eliza Haupt, and Margaret Comery.

Sixty-five members were baptized and received in 1837 alone, among them the Waldoboro Number One Baptist, General Henry Kennedy, who was baptized August 27, 1837. The Dutch Neck went Baptist on a large scale the same year. Baptisms from this section of the town in this period included Elmira Havener, Mrs. Aaron Stahl, Catherine Creamer, Mrs. John Stahl, Silas Stahl, and Elizabeth Havener. The inclusion in membership of Mrs. Sarah Weaver and Henry Kennedy from the village district gave to the church a certain helpful social prestige, and the interest and support of Augustus Welt, a top businessman of the area, served to cast an added aura of respectability around the growing church. These were indeed fruitful years in the life of this parish which numbered about thirty-five members at the time of the accession of the Reverend Wilson. Under his vigorous pastorate two hundred and twenty-nine new members were added.

Encouraged by this phenomenal growth and to meet its new needs, the Society decided in 1837 to erect a church. Frederic Benner secured the lot on which the church now stands from the Sproul estate, and under date of December 9th of this year it was voted "to accept the proposal of John Willett to build the Meeting House for the sum of \$2950.00." A building committee was named, and consisted of Henry Kennedy, Charles P. Willett, Augustus Welt, Jacob Shuman, William Matthews, Frederic Benner, and John Shuman. Most of the lumber was hauled into the village that winter on ox-sled by Frederic Benner, from the forests of North Waldoboro. General Henry Kennedy acted as agent to sell pews. On September 12, 1838, the record states: "We opened our Meeting House for the worship of God." The service was conducted by the ministry of the Lincoln Association. The order of the dedicatory exercises was the following:

Anthem by the Choir
 Prayer by Brother Curtis
 Hymn by Brother Starman
 Scripture Reading by Brother Pillsbury
 Prayer by Brother Chisim
 Hymn by Brother Curtis
 Sermon by Brother Curtis
 Address to the Church and Society by Brother Bond
 Dedicatory Prayer by Brother Kellock
 Doxology by the Choir

The rapid rise of this parish was a disconcerting experience for "the Established Church," and the Reverend David Mitchell did not participate in the dedication as did his colleague, the Reverend Starman. The bell was not added to the church until 1844. It was bought by the pastor, Reverend Wilson, who gave his note in payment, and the Society later assumed the debt.

The pastorate of the Reverend Wilson was a strenuous period in church life. He seems to have been something of a protestant Jesuit. Absence from meetings, intemperance, gossip, in short, any departure from morality as defined by the church, became a matter of immediate and vigorous discipline. Such matters, however, are seen best in concrete form such as the following:

April 30, 1840, "Voted to exclude Charles Studley for drinking spirituous liquors and for neglect of meetings."

Aug. 26, 1841:

Voted that David Rice be requested to appear at Feyler's in the School House in publick Prayer Meeting on the Second or some other Sabbath in September and confess that he did drink too much intoxicating liquor and that he has said and done things that are wrong for which he is sorry and ask the People to forgive him. If this is done and if he comes to the church and makes the same confession we will forgive him, if not will exclude him.



VILLAGE BAPTIST CHURCH
(Prior to the 1880's)

September 30, "Voted to exclude David Rice for drinking spirituous liquor and saying and doing things wrong." March 30, 1843, "Voted to exclude John Miller from this church for Drinking intoxicating liquors and for railing against the church both in and out of meeting for its temperance principles." December 2, 1843, "Voted to have a committee of seven to visit any members of the church that may be found who have not lived agreeable to their profession and report the same to the church at their next

business meeting." This was heresy hunting and it was inevitable that sooner or later, pursuing such policies, the Reverend Wilson would strike snags.

Sex indiscretions and an excess of firewater seem to have been frequent sins plaguing the church, as may be inferred from the following:

March 29, 1844, "Voted to forgive after they have confessed and acknowledged to the church, Sisters Martha S —, Mary S —, and Mary Jane G — for the sin of being in a situation to become Mothers before Marriage." This apparently was a sin so common that the church felt the need of some blanket legislation against it, and at this same meeting it was "Resolved that if any member shall hereafter be liable, or in a situation to become Parents before marriage, they do by this sin exclude themselves from being members of this church and it shall be the duty of the clerk so to record the same." The church likewise took a strict stand on the liquor issue in the following resolution:

Resolved that if any member of this church shall make free use of ardent spirits as a Beverage, or shall sell it to others, or shall in anyway use their influence to favor or promote Intemperance. They shall be subject to the discipline of the church and after being suitably admonished by the Church, if they shall persist in the above described sins, they shall be excluded from the church.

The zeal of the Reverend Joseph Wilson in combating the sins of the frail produced the inevitable reaction and caused so much hard feeling in the church that on April 13, 1844, it was voted that "there be a committee of eleven chosen to settle any and all difficulties that exist between members of the church, and that this committee have power to summon before them any members that may be at variance with one another, that they may be before the committee face to face." Ebenezer Bradford was chairman, and one of the problems he essayed was the differences between the pastor and old Deacon Shuman. This was no simple chore, for the Deacon was tight-lipped and obdurate. He said, "whatever in the future he gave he would hand to Deacon Harlow Morse and he might do as he saw fit with it. Mr. Wilson made his statement of regret and sorrow for any injury he may have done but Deacon Shuman made no such confession." A few weeks later the Deacon did make an equivocal statement to the effect that "so far as he had done wrong or injured Mr. Wilson he was sorry for it and asked his forgiveness." This confession, however, led to a mere truce and in February 1846 there was another examination of the state of fellowship between church members. On February 7th they "met in church meeting at 9 o'clock A.M., and spent the day in laboring, expostulating, and entreating Deacon Shuman to have him reconciled and brought into fellowship and union

with Brother Joseph Wilson, but could not, and was at last brought to the painful duty of excluding him." Deacon Shuman, it will be recalled, was a charter member and the first deacon of the church.

In Sister Overlock the committee likewise found the going hard. The sister was "found in a bad state of mind towards Mr. Wilson, said she would not hear him preach, still said she had nothing against him; could not reconcile her feelings against him, nor persuade her to come to meeting on the Sabbath." Fellowship was accordingly "withdrawn from Sister Elizabeth Overlock until the next conference when she was to come before the Church and give her reasons for leaving the meetings and communion, and also why she sent word to the church by one of the brethren that the church might turn her out if they wanted to." The choice was given the Sister to comply or be excluded. On April 27th Sister Overlock appeared and asked the church to forgive her, "but said she wanted them to understand that she made no acknowledgement nor asked forgiveness of any individual."⁴ Mr. Wilson protested against the vote at the close of the meeting and stated as the reason that "only a part of the conditions required of her by the Church had been complied with." This was clearly a situation in which Sister Overlock did not come off second best.

Despite the Reverend Wilson's apostolic zeal his pastorate was the great period in the history of the church. Two hundred and twenty-nine members were added; a church was built; influential villagers were enrolled in membership, including General Henry Kennedy and Augustus Welt, who was baptized March 31, 1839. Death too made its inroads on membership, and the recording of these departures was continued in the quaint, serious church vernacular of the period, to wit, "July 15, 1841. This day Sister Catherine Shuman passed through the dark veil in the full assurance of faith. June 1, 1844. Sister Elizabeth Morse left the Church of Christ on earth, only to be reunited again (we trust) in that better world."

The temperance stand of the church continued to be upheld with unflagging vigilance. This need only to be illustrated by a case of typical action. "Dec. 2, 1843. Voted that the church withdraw fellowship from George Kennedy and Ambrose Weeks on account of charges preferred against them for their disorderly walk as professors of religion, and that four weeks be allowed them to come before the Church and make acknowledgement."

The first systematic method of financial support was "to assess each male member a shilling and each female a sixpence." Later the town was divided into nine districts and a member collector was appointed for each district. Members were apportioned

⁴Meaning the Reverend Wilson with whom she was having her trouble.

their subscriptions and this apportionment was made according to property and the ability to pay. Augustus Welt was the chairman of the first Apportionment Committee. The church began its support of foreign missions in 1843 and raised \$37.28 for this purpose that year. The same year Deacon Jacob Shuman laid down his duties as clerk after a service of seventeen years. The office was assumed by Henry Kennedy who held it until the year of his death in 1875. Despite this fruitful era in the life of the church the Reverend Wilson's work was done, and he was succeeded July 30, 1846, by the Reverend O. B. Walker from the Baptist church in Dover.

In this era the Sunday service was an occasion when numbers gathered regularly from all parts of the town, four, six and eight miles away. The system of soliciting support for the year 1843 shows to what degree the Baptists had extended themselves into the various districts of the town in a period of twenty years. This year John A. Benner was collector on the west side of the river; Augustus Welt in Deacon Shuman's district (east side above Winslow's Mills); Henry Kennedy in the village; Stephen Hoffses in Deacon Sweetland's district (South Waldoboro); Stephen Bickmore on Jones Neck; Nathaniel Hunt in his district; Gardner Shuman in the Feyler district, and Samuel Lowry in the Goshen district. No mention is made of the Genthner Neighborhood, Winslow's Mills, Orff's Corner and North Waldoboro which at this time were well defined bailiwicks of Methodism.

One of the points of pride in the new church was a magnificent chandelier. The church was lighted at first by candles with sconces, then by little oil lamps, and then the chandelier. When the old Boston Theatre was dismantled, one of the fine cutglass chandeliers which had been imported from England was purchased for \$500.00 by Mrs. Elizabeth Gurney (née Kinsell) of Boston and given to the church. This remained a fixture until Josephine Belt of Auburn purchased and presented to the church its present chandelier. This gift of Mrs. Gurney's served to lighten somewhat the burden of inferiority which the Baptists suffered in the near presence of the local Congregational ascendancy.

The pastorate of the Reverend O. B. Walker extended from 1846 to 1850 and during this period there were only four accessions to the church. In 1847 the membership totalled two hundred and five. The church school, headed by a superintendent, had twelve teachers, ninety-five scholars and a library of ninety-five books. Discipline continued in the tradition of the Wilson regime.

Brother Hiram Shuman was excluded for unchristian conduct towards Brother William Shuman; Brother Thomas Soule for intemperance; Brother Alfred Bateman for the sin of intemperance; Sister Eliza-

beth S— for violation of chastity before marriage and Brother Thomas Haupt for his entire violation of church covenants and obligations.

These and other exclusions cut seriously into membership, which by 1849 had dropped to one hundred and seventy-four.

In January 1850 the Reverend Walker offered his resignation and in March the church "voted to invite the Rev. Edward J. Harris to become our minister." He came from the church in Exeter, New Hampshire, and began a promising pastorate, during which twenty-nine new members were added to the roll. His mission came to an end, however, with his death on September 4, 1852. The church allowed his widow the full salary for the unfinished quarter of the year and purchased the stone which marks his resting place in the Lutheran Cemetery. During his pastorate no exclusions were recorded, and one of the church's charter members, Deacon Jacob Shuman, was received back into church fellowship. The Reverend L. C. Stevens from Pembroke, New Jersey, and the Reverend Jacob Tuck followed one another in swift succession. The Stevens' pastorate of less than a year added five new members. In 1852 the membership had risen to one hundred and eighty-seven, and the budget had reached the sum of \$600.00. By 1854 the pastor's salary had attained a level of \$400.00.

The pastorate of the Reverend Tuck, beginning in 1853, terminated in 1855. That year the Reverend Joseph Kelloch of South Thomaston came to the church for a period of four years. His evangelical power may be inferred from the fact that he added ninety-six new members, many of them village folk and among these some old familiar names, Mrs. J. Tyler Gay, Ann Young Chapman, Horace Flanders, Horace Marble, John Schweier, J. Warren Hall, John B. Stahl, Silas Stahl, Mrs. Daniel Castner, Luella Austin, and Adolphus Ritz, names which evoke childhood memories in the hearts of many of us still living. In March and April 1855 there were forty-two baptisms, and thirty in May. Augustus Welt was elected a Deacon on December 27, 1855. In January 1856 the Baptist church in South Waldoboro was organized and the parent church thereby lost about thirty of its members residing in that section of the town. The Reverend William Corthill was the first pastor of this branch church, serving from 1856 to 1860, and the Reverend Sydney E. Packard was its last minister, beginning his pastorate in 1903.

During the 1850's the village church was supported by parish taxes similar to the old ministerial tax, members of the church, of course, being the only ones so taxed. This levy was assessed by a committee, and members refusing to pay rendered themselves liable to the disciplines of the church. In 1856 the first extensive alterations were made in the meetinghouse. The whole building

was raised about four feet to give greater height to the vestry and a tall, slender steeple was added in which the town clock was later installed. This addition remained until new and sweeping alterations were initiated in 1889. These changes were effected at a total cost of \$2800. The pastor's salary was raised in 1857 to \$500.00. In March 1859 the Reverend Joseph Kelloch was called from his fruitful ministry to the second Baptist church in Rockland. He was followed in Waldoboro by the Reverend Mr. Carleton for a short pastorate of eleven months.

During the War between the States the pulpit was served by A. H. Estey who came from the church in Alna (1860-1865). In this period twenty-six new members were added, among them Dorothy Howard (Mrs. Adolphus Ritz), who had been baptized a Methodist. Discipline, which had been relaxed somewhat in the 50's, seems to have been resumed in the 60's as an answer to the more liberal trends in morals and behavior. In the war years Sister Mary Jane Feyler, Brother Martin Bornemann, Sisters Edward Achorn and Hulda Stahl were excluded.

In May 1865 the church voted to receive the Reverend H. B. Marshall of Buxton Centre as its pastor at a salary of \$550.00 per year. During his three-year pastorate fourteen new members were added and the church faced its first serious heresy which was vigorously countered, even to the point of excluding the wife of a wealthy and influential deacon, Sister Sedona Welt, who was excluded from the church in 1865 "for embracing Spiritualism and for forsaking the meetings and ordinances of the church." Sister Rosalinda Benner was excluded for the same reason, while Sister Clarissa Shuman was denied fellowship "for the use of her abusive and slanderous tongue," and Sister Genthner "for using profane language and for her unchristian walk and conduct before the world."

Spiritualism was a fad that seemingly intrigued the whole town at this time, and the oral tradition has recorded some weird manifestations, such as one related by Edna Young to the effect that her father on occasions bound Dr. Eveleth securely in his chair and the knots would invariably become untied. The focal point of this infection seems to have been Medomak Terrace, and more specifically the houses of Mrs. Eliza Gracia and Augustus Welt.⁵ Mrs. Gracia did not believe in spirits, or if she did, regarded their work as that of the Devil. Hence it was a favorite pastime of the mediums in the Welt house to keep the spirits busy in Mrs. Gracia's home, rattling the dishes in her cupboards and revealing their presence in other insistent and unfriendly ways. The most sensitive and powerful medium was Clara Welt. On one occasion

⁵The homes of Mrs. Sarah Lash and George Coward respectively.

when Eliza had gone to a Wednesday evening prayer meeting, Aunt Frank and the Welts decided they would tip tables at Mrs. Gracia's, but here the spirit gave evidence of such power that one table followed the medium right around the room and would not let her go. Thereupon the party, having conjured a power that could not be controlled, broke up in great fright.⁶ After the medium, Clara, became married to Edward Chapman he would not permit a continuation of her powers as they invariably left her exhausted. This fad covered a considerable span of years and led to further exclusions in the church.

As the years passed the world was becoming more as we know it today, a more worldly world than the Baptists could possibly approve of. It kept edging in on their strict moral code, and the church sought to restore the behavior of its more modern communicants to the good old straight and narrow patterns of acceptable conduct. Accordingly on September 25, 1865, it issued the following defiant manifesto to this world becoming steadily more sinful:

Whereas — we believe that secular labor, riding, walking, or visiting for pleasure or pastime on the Sabbath, dancing, playing chance games, drinking fermented liquors as a beverage, and engaging in any loose or immoral conduct whatever, are not only derogatory to good morals, but especially antagonistic to the Cause of Religion, Therefore

Resolved, That all Church Members who engage in any of these practices, or allow their children to do so, if it is in their power to prevent it, shall accordingly be considered subjects of censure and strict discipline.

The above resolves were passed by the Church, Oct. 9, 1865.

Attest. H. Kennedy, clerk.

There was an immediate example given of the Church's resolution in such matters, for on the same date it was "voted to exclude Sister Martha Kuhn for . . . attending the dancing school."

On the 22nd of February 1866, it was voted to receive as pastor Dr. David W. Hodgkins of the Cannon Street Baptist Church, New York City. April 5, 1866, "Brother Elijah Morse and Mrs. Kimball investigated for spiritualism." May 27, 1866, "Miss Maggie Cook, a colored girl, related her Christian experience and was received as a candidate for Baptism." Sept. 1, 1866, "Voted to exclude Deacon Augustus Welt from the fellowship of this church for breaking the Church covenant."

The Reverend Henry Stetson from Hudson, New Hampshire, served the church as pastor from 1868 to 1872. Twenty-seven new members were added in this period, among them Mrs. Joseph Clark (Mrs. Frank Hutchins), and Samuel Flagg. Total church

⁶Oral tradition of Frank Welt who as a boy had observed these phenomena.

membership was one hundred and sixty-six, and the salary paid the pastor had been raised to \$800. The Sunday School had grown steadily and at this time had an enrollment of one hundred and thirty. On April 15, 1872, the church suffered the loss of another of its deacons when Alexander Young fell from a building and was instantly killed. The Reverend Stetson accepted a call to New Gloucester in 1872, and W. G. Goucher came from Kenduskeag to serve a brief pastorate of two years, and added six new members to the church.

Following the Reverend Goucher the church in 1874 ambitiously called the Reverend Luther D. Hill from the church in Reading, Massachusetts, and agreed to pay him \$1000 a year. During this pastorate further changes were made in the church edifice. The annex was built on the south end of the church making room for the choir behind the pulpit. Previously the choir had been housed in the "gallery" at the northern end of the edifice. A pipe organ was purchased and installed for \$1000. The exterior of the church was painted and the interior frescoed. These additions and alterations were effected at a total cost of \$2000. In this decade the Baptists reached the peak of their wealth and influence. The Hill pastorate continued for four years and added forty-eight new members, including many prominent village folk, among whom were Daniel W. Castner, Mary Ann Jackson, Lincoln L. Kennedy, Sarah Young, Sewell Hatch, Mrs. Lincoln Waltz, and Herbert Weaver. On October 13, 1875, the church suffered the severest loss in its history in the death of General Henry Kennedy, who through hard years had unswervingly supported the church with his counsel, prestige, and wealth.

In March 1879 the church called as its pastor the Reverend Silas P. Pendleton of the Messiah Baptist Church of Philadelphia. His pastorate extended to April 1880 and added three new members to the church. It was also the last of the experiments of calling ministers from the larger city churches, for Pendleton was followed in 1880 by the Reverend Albert A. Ford of St. George. His pastorate of four years saw the inclusion of thirteen new members, among whom were Ira Ritz, Irene Wyman, James Castner, and Dr. and Mrs. Eben Alden. It was in 1880 that the last cases of discipline occurred. Rufus Achorn, Alvin Welt, and S. E. Weeks were faced with charges of "cherishing a spirit of bitterness towards the church, non-attendance and hurtful talk." The first was excluded, the second appeared and answered charges, and they were dropped. Brother Weeks faced similar charges, and at an evening meeting in the vestry on January 18th brought against the church "without provocation the wicked and insulting accusation of erecting an altar to Baal and worshipping the same." He appeared in answer to the summons and "time was given him to

make an acknowledgement to the Church." Within the month he had asked for forgiveness and the charges were dropped.

In the year 1880 a further program of major repairs and changes in the church edifice was initiated when it was "voted to repair the vestry and lay the floor in brick or maple." This was a propitious time for undertaking big projects, for in August 1884 the Reverend James Graham from the church in Meredith, New Hampshire, had assumed the pastorate. This was a mellowing period in the history of this congregation, for the Reverend Graham was in every respect a Christian leader and perhaps the greatest figure in the church's ministry, genial, kindly, wise, balanced, and able in the pulpit. From 1884 to 1891 he continued in the service of the church, beloved by its members without exception. During his ministry forty-five new members were added, mostly local village folk, among whom were Sydney Packard, Captain Eugene Wade, Olive Burkett, Mary E. Castner, Mary B. Gerrish, Edna M. Young, Clara Gay, Dora Gay, Dr. Marcellus Palmer, Captain and Mrs. Albion F. Stahl, Elden Welt, Annie Sanborn, Guy Waltz, Grace Chapman, and Georgia Sproul. In 1886 the church numbered one hundred and thirty-two members, and a salary of \$700 was paid to the pastor. The old discipline was a thing of the past; an era of assurance and good feeling began; the church was experiencing a deep confidence in its resources and power, and a program of extensive renovation in the church edifice was initiated.

This program when completed left the church in appearance as it stands today. Prior to this time steps at the front of the structure rose to the level of the sanctuary, which one entered directly from without, while the top of the north gable was surmounted by a tall, slender spire which housed the bell, below which, in an oriel window-opening, was the town clock. Old pictures of the building give the impression of a successful and lovely architecture. But change was the order of things, and the graceful spire and the clock came down. The outside steps disappeared; a square tower was added to the front of the building and the steps to the sanctuary were laid in an inner vestibule. The tower covered the whole center front of the church, housing the bell and culminating in a steeple above the belfry. The building was painted and the interior frescoed; a new carpet was laid and the present-day circular pews replaced the older, straight, boxlike pews, which one entered through a door at the end which was secured by a wooden button. The old Boston chandelier in the sanctuary was replaced by the present one, the gift of Mrs. George Belt of Auburn. The stained glass windows were furnished by F. M. Whipple of Boston, and two of them were memorials, one the gift of Mrs. George Weaver and the other of the young people of the Society in memory of a former associate, Miss Abbie Jackson.

"The plans and specifications were furnished by the well known Portland architects, Fossett and Thompson. . . . The carpenter work was by S. O. Waltz and Sons . . . and the frescoing by C. M. Emery of Rockland . . . Austin and Waltz furnished the carpets." The entire project was under the supervision of a committee of six members of the church, Lincoln L. Kennedy acting as chairman. The changes were effected at a cost of \$5000, of which sum \$2500 was raised in 1889, and a tax of \$700 was levied on the pewholders to pay for the new pews. On completion the church was rededicated. Nine Baptist preachers participated in this service.

The attendance during the day was large, in the afternoon every seat being filled. The church choir was at their best and gave some fine selections. Mrs. Belt (Josephine Clark) of Lewiston sang a solo which enchained the attention of all present. The sermon by the Rev. T. F. White, Bath, was a calm and thoughtful discussion of the nature and value of true worship.

The Reverend James Graham ended his pastorate in July 1891. It had been a bright afterglow in the history of the church, and the twilight period was now at hand. Relentless economic changes were in full swing. In the town decline was a general condition; in the church age was removing the faithful and wealthy from the scene. Many were removing to places of greater economic promise. An old Waldoboro religious landmark vanished forever on July 5, 1889, when Rudolphus Ritz, his wife, Ira, and Maria Ritz were given their letters to the church in Framingham. In the summer of 1938 a Ritz revisited the old scenes in the town, attended church and "staid for sabbath school." In 1891 Miss Mary A. Jackson, organist in the church for many years, was succeeded by Annie Sanborn of gentle and gracious memory.

In September 1891 the Reverend G. W. Ellison of Brentwood, New Hampshire, became the pastor of the church. He was early appointed a committee of one to solicit funds for the payment of the balance due for repairs. This unjust commission led to the resignation of a promising pastor at the end of his first year. He was followed by the Reverend G. W. Hill of Winter Harbor, a quiet, scholarly gentleman who remained in Waldoboro until October 1900. No new members were added during his pastorate, and losses were steady through death and transfers. Financial support weakened. In 1897 the pastor's salary was \$600.00. In 1899 female members were allowed to vote in the business affairs of the church.

The pastors during the period of decline came and went. They were earnest and hard-working men, but the set of events was against them. Religion was minus its old certainties and its

old appeals. The roll of the pastors follows: H. B. Tilden, 1901-1904, two members added; George F. Sibley, 1904-1909, twenty-five new members; Frank H. Pratt, 1909-1915, thirteen new members; Willard P. Palmer, 1915-1918, twenty-seven members; Lewis W. West, 1919-1920; Stephen H. Talbot, 1921-1922, twenty-one members; Guy C. McQuaidee, 1923-1928, thirty-two new members. During this pastorate the centennial of the Church was celebrated with the ordination of the pastor, and with a large attendance of pastors and delegates from the churches in the Association. The sermon was preached by the Reverend A. B. Lorimer of Westbrook, and the "Rev. C. W. Walden of Damariscotta officiated in the impressive laying on of hands."

In the twentieth century the church suffered a steady decline in membership. Its roll of resident members in 1909 was seventy-eight. In 1941 the figure stood at eighty-six, forty-four of whom were nonresident. Although the Baptists were compelled, as were the Methodists, to strike root in the outlying districts, they managed to secure an earlier toe hold in the village, and in consequence never resorted to an elaborate building program in the suburban areas. Exceptions were the church in South Waldoboro built in 1856, and St. Paul's Chapel on Dutch Neck erected in 1885-1886, a joint Baptist-Methodist enterprise, but largely promoted by two Baptists, Captain William Keene and the Reverend James Graham. In the main the Baptists once established in the village, wisely concentrated their efforts in a central church, and even though in a weakened state in comparison with their former strength, they still maintain their position as one of the stronger churches in a town where the decay in religious interest has been steadily going on for over half a century.

The Methodists entered Maine in the late eighteenth century, and the Province proved a fertile field for their endeavors, but their expansion was not an easy one. They found the Congregationalists organized in all the more important towns, occupying a position buttressed by constitutional and legal safeguards. The creed of this latter sect was based on the Westminster Confession. The sermons were written essays flavored with Calvinistic doctrine which imparted a somber hue to community religious life. Only the larger centers were supplied with pastors, and none other was deemed qualified for the task of ministering to man's spiritual needs. This meant that the established church was inactive in the rural districts where the tide of population was at this time rising. All this was the antithesis of Methodism. It was ready and willing to carry the word to the poor and the lowly in the outlying districts, and to this end it employed a lay ministry, which was energetically active, following an itinerary without a stipulated salary,

calling the people in apostolic fashion rather than waiting for them to come seeking the gospel.⁷

The field was white for the harvest when Jesse Lee, founder of Methodism in Maine, reached Boston on July 9, 1790. Lee was a Virginian who experienced the state of grace in 1776. Yankee hospitality may not have been in line with his expectations, for in Boston he found no house open to him, in consequence of which he preached to three thousand on the Common. In 1793 he set out from Lynn for Maine. His outfit was the inevitable saddlebags stored with a Bible, hymnbooks, a few other books and a needful supply of clothing. He first preached at Saco, from whence he moved rapidly along the coast, preaching two or three times in a place and then passing on. Between the 15th and 25th of September he was in Waldoboro. Passing on to Union he preached in the barn of Rufus Gillmore, then up the Penobscot, from whence he cut back westward across the interior. Says Lee, "I was a perfect stranger and had to make my own appointments. I preached almost every day and had crowded assemblies to hear." The first circuit set up was west of the Kennebec, the Hallowell-Readfield-Sandy River circuit. In 1796 came the Bath circuit which reached eastward along the coast to Union. Timothy Merritt, a collaborator of Lee, was on the Bath-Union circuit in 1800-1801. Thus it was that the word was brought and Methodism was founded in Maine.⁸

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the circuit riders were prowling periodically in the outskirts of Waldoboro. It was here only that they could strike root in the face of the varied forms which opposition can assume. These noisy and persistent leaders of Methodism were denounced as "wolves in sheep's clothing and intruders unto other ministers fields of labor." They were treated by the established clergy with cold disdain, and by some of the laity even more harshly. Joseph Taylor was drummed out of Castine, and Enoch Mudge, another prominent preacher, harassed by unjust civil prosecution. In a measure the Methodists laid themselves open to derision and ridicule, for their preachers made no pretense of high, literary culture. They were crude in speech, and the rules of grammar were conspicuously ignored in their exhortations.

In Waldoboro Methodism was over forty years moving into the village from the outlying districts, where it established a firm foothold in the first half of the century. The first "class" formed in the town was in the neighborhood of Charles Kuhn (North Waldoboro) by the Reverend William McGray in February 1819. In the March following he organized another class in the Peter

⁷Stephen Allen and W. H. Pillsbury, *Methodism in Maine* (Augusta, 1887).

⁸W. H. Pillsbury, *History of Methodism in Eastern Maine* (Augusta, 1887).

Ludwig neighborhood (Winslow's Mills), and in 1820 the Reverend Henry True formed a class in the Godfrey Ludwig neighborhood (South Waldoboro). The movement in this section was sponsored by Godfrey Ludwig, his son, Aaron, and his two brothers, Joseph and James. The class comprised about a dozen members, and Godfrey was appointed its leader. The first Methodist sermon preached in the town was in 1813 in the Genthner Neighborhood at the funeral of Charles Merritt, a veteran of the War of 1812. Again in 1819 in the same neighborhood Cornelius Irish was called from Bremen to attend at the funeral of Mrs. Fannie Wellman. At this time Father Irish left an appointment for meetings. A little revival followed and a class of six members was formed, Mrs. Amelia Merritt, leader. Four of the number were members of the Wellman family.⁹

Following these beginnings there was incessant preaching in the back-districts and frequent revivals. The nature and scope of these may be inferred from the following brief entries in the records.

In 1819 Rev. William McGray, a revival and two classes organized; 1820, Rev. Henry True, some revival and one class formed; 1824, Rev. S. Bray, revival; 1832, Rev. James Thwing, revival; 1833, Rev. John Cumner, an extensive revival; 1838, John Cumner, prosperity; 1839, John Cumner and Nathan Webb, a year of revival; 1841, J. Harriman and John Benson, a glorious revival; 1842 and 1843, Edward Brackett, a revival; 1853, Paris Rowell, revival.

Up to 1828 Waldoboro was a part of the Union circuit. In this year the societies in Friendship, Waldoboro, and Washington were set off and called the Friendship circuit. In 1842 the societies in Waldoboro were set off and called the Waldoboro circuit.

For decades the circuit riders were unable to secure a footing in the village, but the sect grew rapidly in the outlying districts, where churches and chapels were springing up. All told there were seven of these edifices, and the chapel on Dutch Neck as an eighth was built in part under Methodist auspices. The first of these chapels to be erected was, according to Pillsbury, on the west side of the river. "There was a Methodist meetinghouse built in the western part of Waldoboro and dedicated Nov. 20, 1839, by Reverend Charles Baker.¹⁰ The second Methodist Episcopal Church built in the town was at North Waldoboro and was dedicated in March 1843 by Reverend C. C. Cone,"¹¹ and the bell was added in 1898. The East Waldoboro Church known as Monroe Chapel was in existence in the early 40's, but the exact date of its erection is not known. This was named after its first preacher, and

⁹Reverend Orren Tyler, in Pillsbury's *History of Methodism*.

¹⁰The present chapel in West Waldoboro was erected in 1888.

¹¹Pillsbury, *Opus cit.*, p. 78.

the land was given by Adam Storer in consideration of a dozen eggs. A poor sort of parsonage was built across the road from the chapel in 1849.

In the Genthner Neighborhood at Sprague's Corner the Methodist Chapel was built in 1860-61 with a seating capacity of about two hundred people. This was during the village pastorate of W. H. Crawford. The South Waldoboro Church was built in 1855 by the Congregationalists and was served by Father Sheldon and the Reverend Flavius V. Norcross, but after a few languishing years it was taken over by the Methodists in 1860. Originally this church had a steeple, but this was so weakened by a gale in 1869 that the steeple had to be removed.

The church at Orff's Corner seems to have been built as an investment. It was erected in 1839 by George Genthner who apparently calculated on a profit from the sale of pews. A loss was experienced, however, since the sale of pews proceeded very slowly. At Genthner's death only half the pews were sold, and the remainder was disposed of by his widow. In 1873 the high pulpit was removed, the doors were taken from the pews, and arms substituted. In 1895 the steeple was built and the old lights replaced by stained glass windows. Before the turn of the century a bell had been secured. The Winslow's Mill chapel was the last church to be built on the Methodist circuit. It was completed in 1894 and made a part of the Waldoboro charge. The bell was not added until 1907.

Thus it was that Waldoboro was ringed by the Methodists and their churches with the village as the promised land in view but not yet reached. The early preachers, lay preachers, and exhorters in these back-districts were many; there was much coming and going, and the people saw many faces and heard many different voices. Apart from those previously mentioned there was in the Waldoboro circuit the Reverend Zebulon Davis, born in Friendship, 1816, died in Bucksport, 1882. Converted in 1833 he received the following spring a license to preach, and was active in both the North and South Waldoboro districts. The earliest known circuit rider ministering to the town was Father Cornelius Irish, "an aged and local preacher," who was in and out of the town as early as the second decade of the century. Another early preacher was the Reverend George Pratt, born in New Vineyard, 1812, died at Winterport, 1882. He was a man of limited education but a power in the pulpit, who later became the Presiding Elder in this district. The Reverend Edwin A. Helmerhausen of a Waldoboro family, born in Jefferson in 1818, converted at Waldoboro in 1841, entered the ministry and ultimately achieved the distinction of becoming a Presiding Elder.

The earliest documents bearing on Methodist activities in the town are the Records of the Quarterly Meeting Conferences¹² of the Waldoboro-Friendship-Union-Washington circuit. These records show the Methodists at work and afford an index to their organization and procedures. A few illuminating excerpts follow: "Beginning Meeting at Church at East Waldoboro, Sept. 21, 1844, M. F. Farrington, Presiding Elder." The Reverend Daniel Clarke was the rider in this circuit at this time. "Voted that the Rev. E. H. Small be employed by the Presiding Elder to labour in this circuit this year." December 7, 1844, the circuit was divided

so far as supporting preaching is concerned, that Bro. Small is to receive his support from that part of the Circuit south of the county road running east and west across the Medomak River — that Bro. Clarke is to receive his support from the other part of the Waldoboro circuit. — Voted that Bro. Clarke remind the stewards of their duty in the Groton and Peter Ludwig neighborhoods.

At Waldoboro, February 22, 1845, Stewards Report: Bro. Clarke has received \$119.81, Bro. Small, \$42.59. Voted to license William H. Seiders to exhort.

The Reverend Daniel Clarke's claim for the year 1845 was as follows: Quarterage, \$280.00; Table expenses, \$70.00; Travel expenses, \$34.00; House rent, \$15.88; Fuel, \$14.00; whole claim, \$418.36.

In 1849 conferences were held at West Waldoboro, the village, East and North Waldoboro, east and west side (Orff's Corner). Active members in the circuit in these years were Godfrey and Aaron Ludwig, Joseph Bornheimer, Jacob Hoch, George Ludwig, George Wallis, George Newbert, Jacob Hoffses, Elijah Miller, Jacob Bornheimer, Reuben Orff, Thomas Mink, Joseph Ludwig, Solomon Orff, and Gideon Hoch. The stewards made the rounds of the circuit once a quarter and "received what the people are willing to give the preachers." According to the records B. F. Sprague, a local figure, was a licensed preacher in the 1850's. Sunday schools were conducted in connection with each church and were zealously attended. In June 1853 the school at East Waldoboro had fourteen officers and teachers, sixty-seven scholars, one hundred and seventy-five books in its library, and an annual budget of \$23.70. It is also interesting to note that like the Baptists the Methodists maintained some degree of discipline over their members, and that in 1853 Godfrey Ludwig and George Wallis "were brought to trial."

During the many years of the growth of the church in the town the Methodist preachers were not treated with fraternal courtesy by either the settled ministers or their people, and were

¹²Records in possession of Dr. Wm. H. Hahn, Friendship, Me.

not found worthy of brotherly recognition. It was doubtless due to this quiet, persistent hostility that the village remained a sealed area to the Methodists for so many decades. But at long last the central district, ringed with firmly established little parishes, and with a small nucleus of the lesser folk in the village as members of the church, gave ground, and the Methodists broke in. An article appeared in the town warrant at a meeting of December 20, 1845 "to see if the town will allow the Methodist Society the use of the town house as petitioned for by Watt Gibbs and others." This sect was now so strong in the back-districts and controlled so many votes that the action on this article was favorable. Thus it was that meetings were started in the village. The first preaching was by Gilbert Ellis¹³ a local exhorter in the town house and around the village. He was active until the next regular conference of the Church in June. At this session North Waldoboro and the village were connected, and B. B. Byrne was appointed pastor with Father Ellis as a supply. During this year "their labors were blest, souls were saved and two classes were formed, one in the village and the other on the Union road."

The first service held in the town house "was announced by one, Albert Johnston, ringing a bell upon the street during the day, the service being held in the evening." At the close of the first year of such services a hall was secured in the village for worship, and at the next conference at Bucksport, July 1856, the Reverend William H. Crawford was sent to Waldoboro. The early members of the village church included families by the name of Johnston, Miller, Ludwig, Neubert, Creamer, Gibbs, Achorn, Heyer, Richards, Schwartz, Keizer, Mink, Benner, Kuhn, and Winslow.

In 1857 the construction of a church in the village was begun. A lot was secured on Friendship Road and a building was erected at a cost of \$4000. The trustees who were chosen and who were instrumental in building the church were John Heyer, James Ludwig, Gilmore Miller, Martin Mink, and W. H. Schwartz. It is stated by Samuel L. Miller¹⁴ that some of these men "put nearly all their means into this work." The church was dedicated October 28, 1857, by the Reverend George Pratt. A revival followed and the first convert in the new church was "Dr." Daniel Wing, the herb vendor and doctor of Lower Friendship Road. Of later changes and additions the Reverend Oren Tyler, pastor, 1885-88, writes: "Repairs have been made from time to time, but this year [1887?] we have expended some \$1200 and are not yet through.

¹³Reverend Orren Tyler, "Origin and Progress of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Waldoboro, March 1855 to Jan. 1, 1885," from Allen and Pillsbury, *Methodism in Maine*.

¹⁴Samuel L. Miller, *History of Waldoboro* (Wiscasset, 1910), p. 221.

During the pastorate of C. L. Haskell, 1879-1881, a fine organ was purchased at a cost of some \$600. The church has often been blest with revival and the members are looking to a bright future."

The roll of pastors of the village church is as follows: William N. Crawford, 1856-1859; Cyrus Phenix, 1859-1862; Phineas Higgins, 1862-1863; L. L. Shaw, a few months only; A. R. Lunt, 1863-1866; John N. Marsh, 1866-1869; George A. Crawford, 1869-1871; M. W. Newbert, 1871-1873; John Collins, 1873-1874; J. P. Simonton, 1874-1877; Seth H. Beale, 1879; C. L. Haskell, 1879-1882; William L. Brown, 1882-1885; Orren Tyler, 1885-1888; J. R. Baker, 1888-1889; E. H. Haddock, 1889-1892; D. B. Phelan, 1892-1897; T. J. Wright, 1897-1899; F. L. Hayward, 1899-1900; J. A. Weed, 1900-1902; J. E. Lombard, 1902-1905; L. L. Harris, 1906-1908; N. R. Pearson, 1908-1910; Harry Hill, 1910-1912; Sydney O. Young, 1912-1914; Herbert F. Milligan, 1915-1917; Oscar G. Barnard, 1918-1924; W. R. Patterson, 1924-1927; H. O. Megert, 1927-1930; Alex. Stewart, 1930-1931; Alfred G. Davis, 1931-1936; Oscar G. Barnard, 1936-1942; J. Clarke Collind, 1942-1947; Chester P. Duncan, 1947-1948; Philip Palmer, 1949-1953. It will be noted that these pastorates were short, the longest being that of the generally beloved Pastor Barnard, a descendant of an old Waldoboro family, who served the parish in two pastorates, which ran into a total of twelve years.

In the mid-nineteenth century there were thirteen churches in Waldoboro, one Lutheran, one Union chapel, two Congregationalist, two Baptist and seven Methodist. After the lapse of nearly a century, the Lutheran and two Methodist buildings are closed, and the latter are in ruins. A small Baptist society or group retains some degree of organization in South Waldoboro, and the pastor of the village Methodist church again rides the circuit, serving four parishes each Sunday. The Lutheran church is preserved by the German Protestant Society as an historic landmark, and the once proud and dominant Congregational church has been demolished to make way for a new high school building. Today there are five ministers resident in the town, but the older parishes have shrunk to ghosts of their former selves. These facts bespeak more potently than any narrative the decline of faith and the abandonment of the churches by generations that are losing sight of spiritual values and forsaking the unchanging certainties that were so real to their fathers.

XXXVII

ANNALS OF THE 20's AND 30's

One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh.

ECCLESIASTICUS

THE ADVENT OF THE THIRD DECADE of the century marked the tuning-up period of the town's Great Days. Small industries were expanding; population was providing large reservoirs of sturdy laborers; capital was accumulating in the hands of the bold and the competent; the number of able and enterprising men in the community was being swelled by new arrivals, young men of exceptional power, hungry for the fleshpots of fortune. The period of economic isolation was over, and vital impulses were driving the citizenry headlong into new ventures with a passion and zeal never witnessed before or since in the town. The Puritans and a few of the Germans were to furnish the brains for the new era; many Germans and some Puritans the brawn necessary for implementing the new dreams.

The rise in population from 1810 to 1820 had represented a sound but not impressive growth, in fact, an increase of less than four hundred souls in ten years. This gain, however, does not furnish any index to the birth rate in the town for there was no diminution in Teutonic fecundity, but the death rate among children whittled down the increase remorselessly. The census figures for the year 1820 reveal 745 children under ten years of age. By the time this generation had reached the age of sixteen its numbers had been reduced to 385. There was also a constant draining off of German farmers to new and cheaper lands in the more interior and undeveloped areas of the Province. However, Miller's figure of 2449 for the 1820 census cannot be reconciled with photostats of the Federal census schedules which give the population of the town as 2502.¹

These figures may be broken down into further classifications which will throw some light on the family, racial, and social pat-

¹Bureau of the Census, Wash., D. C.

terns of the town in the year 1820. At this time there was a total of 382 households with an average of between six and seven members. The number of persons living in English households was 692. In the German homes there were 1810. The size of individual families varied little between the two races. For example, there were seventeen members in the household of Colonel Isaac G. Reed; fourteen members in Mary Thompson's; thirteen each in the households of Betsey Farley and Abner Pitcher, and twelve in those of Denny McCobb and Isaac Simmons. In addition to these exceptionally large units there were six families of eleven members; five of ten members, twelve of nine, and sixteen families of eight members. The remaining households stood within the range of from one to seven members.

Over one third of the German population was concentrated in sixty-five families. There were twenty-six households of nine members, twenty-one of ten members, ten of eleven members, four of twelve members, two of thirteen members, one of fifteen and one of sixteen members. The largest home unit was that of Jacob Ludwig, Jr., with sixteen members. By 1820 some of the old Broad Bay families had expanded into sizable clans. Ignoring numbers lost by death and migration, there were in the town one hundred and six Kalers, eighty-eight Benners, eighty-three Millers, sixty-two Minks, sixty Storsers, fifty-eight Ludwigs, fifty-six Creamers, fifty-two Shumans, forty-one Achorns, forty Genthners, thirty-eight Hoffses, thirty-seven Schwartzes, thirty-six Feylers, thirty-four Levensalers, thirty-two Kuhns, and thirty-two Orffs. These sixteen clans alone accounted for 855 of the 1800-odd Germans in the town, and there were other clans falling not far short of those named. For some time these clans had been concentrating in given districts, and as their numbers in any area became preponderant, their names became affixed thereto as in the case of Gross Neck, Genthner Neighborhood, Orff's Corner, Weaver Town, Black Town, Mink Town, Benner Town, and Farnsworth District.

This census was the first to classify in a general way the population by occupations, but the classifications used are too general and overlapping to furnish a vivid picture of the town's economic life. If a man engaged in both farming and ship carpentry, and many did, he is listed in the schedule as a farmer. Under the heading commerce, it is not possible to distinguish a common sailor from the keeper of a general store; under manufacturing, the ship-builder cannot be differentiated from the tanner or the miller. Such a classification is not helpful, but taking them as given for whatever they may mean, there were 394 families listed as engaging in agriculture, 38 heads engaged in commerce, and 57 in manufacturing.

The census schedule of 1820 lists seven slaves in the town. This term requires a little clarification. In New England slaves

suffered no greater hardships than hired servants. They could own property and were admitted to church membership. Family relations were seldom disturbed, although sometimes small children were given away like kittens or puppies, especially if they were an encumbrance. In Waldoboro the extent of slavery is not definitely ascertainable, but we must assume that there was slavery, since seven "slaves" are listed in the schedules. Since such a status had long been illegal in Massachusetts, it is possible that some of the other blacks in the town were slaves, but were not reported to the census taker. That slavery should linger so long after having been outlawed is not surprising, for with so many ship captains moving about in the slave ports of the world, it was inevitable that slaves would be purchased and ultimately brought home just as were curios and luxuries.

Ezekiel Winslow had in his home one black girl under fourteen, possibly a slave. Captain Charles Samson had one slave woman between fourteen and twenty-six years of age, and one slave woman over forty-five. Peter "Purkins" (probably Perkins), living in East Waldoboro, had five slaves on his farm, all males with ages ranging from twenty-six upward. Dr. Benjamin Brown's slave man was no longer living, and his wife, "old Prue," is listed as a "foreigner not naturalized." Peggy Neubert had in her household one "foreigner not naturalized," possibly a colored person, and Richard W. Cargill in the village area had "five foreigners not naturalized" on his place. Whether these were colored or what their status was is unknown.

The assessors' valuation of property in the town for the year 1822² shows that nearly every citizen was a landowner, and seldom, indeed, was there a farm of less than fifty acres. Some of the holdings in the northern sections of the town embraced as many as three hundred acres. By 1820 horses had become rather common, there being one to every third farm. Samuel Morse, John Stahl, Charles Benner, John Benner, and Friedrich Schwarz had two each, while Eliphalet Hale, the local post driver, was the owner of five. For tax purposes horses were valued at \$35.00. Oxen, of course, were very common. There was a yoke on practically every farm. Nineteen farms had two yoke, while George Achorn and John Levensaler worked three yoke on their farms. There were in all 502 oxen owned in the town with an assessed value of \$50.00 per yoke. There was at least one cow in every stable. Average herds were from five to seven head, while the largest in the town, that of Andrew Genthner, consisted of twenty-four head. Everybody had a pig; most folks had two, while John Kinsell with a herd of twelve had more than any other in the town.

²Schedules in my possession.

In these days the local economy was in the matter of basic needs self-sufficient. The major activities were agriculture and shipbuilding, but these were supplemented by a great variety of little businesses, each on a small scale meeting one or another of man's varied necessities. These mills were scattered all over the town and were of a diverse variety, gristmills, sawmills where shingles, staves, barrel heads, clapboards, lumber and ship timbers



were sawed out, carding mills and clothing mills. The town is ringed with ponds from its southwestern line all around the compass to its southeastern border. Streams large and small flow in all directions through the area feeding or draining these ponds. At every place on every stream, big and little, where a dam could be erected and a little millpond flooded to furnish a little power, albeit only seasonally, there was a mill or some little industry requiring power for its operation. There were in all thirty-seven³

³Assessors' books of 1822.

of these little industries or mills which represented a tremendous outpouring of individual energy, skill, and initiative.

The major emphasis for many years had been shifting from the little streams to the big stream. By 1820 vessels were on the ways all along the banks of the Medomak, and they were in men's minds aplenty as well as in the river. Ships were to evoke the great upsurge of energy that by the mid-century was to bring to the town proud renown in the annals of American shipping, and ships were to furnish the foundation of the fortunes of many of the village squires. For some time the local surplus of capital had been flowing into vessels. By 1820 nearly a score⁴ were owned in the town, with a total of 2253 tons. The largest individual investors were Friedrich "Cramer," owning 195 tons, and William Sproul, owning 172 tons. These figures perhaps do not reveal the full tonnage of ship property owned in the town.

Carriages, too, were taxable and reflect the new pattern of social life. The common folk still rode horseback, but not the village grandes. There were in all thirty-six carriages in the town of all degrees of serviceability and splendor. Henry Flagg and Benjamin Brown owned chaises valued at \$125 each, but Squire Farley's widow, Betsy, topped them all with an equipage valued at \$150.

During the second and third decades of the century it may be said that the influx of the Puritans ended. The last of those coming were certainly not the least, for among them were some of the town's major spirits in the days of its glory and greatness. It was in the autumn of 1823 that Joseph Clark came from Jefferson with all his worldly wealth in his pocket and in the pack on his back. In his fifty years of residence in the town he built and launched a fleet of forty vessels. At the time of his death in 1875 he had become the wealthiest man in this section of the state and "towered far above any in his county."⁵

George Allen had come to Waldoboro a little earlier than Mr. Clark and was prominently identified with the life of the town in its flowering period. He maintained a jewelry store, served as Collector of Customs, was a pillar of "the established church," and cashier in the Medomak Bank for forty years. His home was on Main Street, the house now owned by Ellie McGlaughlin. His grandson, Professor Allan R. Benner, shortly before his death, gave me the following excerpt from Deacon Allen's papers:

I, George Allen, was born at North Yarmouth, October 29, 1801. My father died at sea when I was an infant. My mother with her father's family moved from North Yarmouth to Gloucester, probably in the year 180-two or three. Year 1812 I left home to live with my grand-

⁴Assessors' books of 1822.

⁵*Lincoln County News*, July 23, 1875.

father Elwell in the town of Bradford and remained with him three years. In year 1815, October I came to Waldoboro to live with my uncle, Payn Elwell, and rem'd with him until year 1823 June.

On June 16, 1820, Avery Rawson "in consideration of the sum of \$500 sold to William Haskell of Greenwich, Massachusetts the Barnard family rights by the dam on the river . . . to work clothing works and a carding machine."⁶ Haskell shortly became a partner of William Sproul in his milling enterprises and in this way there began a relationship between the two families which was to last for upwards of half a century. Hither in 1821 came Haskell's young nephew, Bela B., destined to become one of the town's leaders in its great period. Young Haskell was born at Hardwich, Massachusetts, October 27, 1805. At the age of sixteen he walked to Boston and took a packet for Waldoboro where he started his apprenticeship in his uncle's carding mill. Shortly thereafter he went to Windsor for three years of practical study in a carding and cloth mill. Returning to Waldoboro young Bela further cemented the Sproul-Haskell partnership by marrying Elzira, daughter of William Sproul and one of the town's most eligible and desirable young women.

Thereafter his rise was rapid. He went into trade with his brother-in-law, George Sproul, and in 1837 formed a partnership with Isaac Reed which lasted ten years. His interests continued to expand, embracing shipbuilding and the collectorship during the administrations of Taylor and Fillmore. He was the first superintendent of schools and the first and only cashier of the Waldoboro Bank. The fine brick residence, now the home of Senator Frederick Payne, was built by William Sproul for his daughter, Mrs. Haskell. Death came to Bela B. on April 24, 1887, while he was on a visit with his daughter, Harriet, at Godfrey, Illinois.

The founder of the Hovey family in the town, Alfred Hovey, was in Waldoboro as early as 1827, for in that year he was appointed as an auctioneer by the selectmen. On April 25, 1822, John and George Achorn sold to Robert C. Webb of Newcastle, tanner, for \$85, one acre and twenty square rods on the west side of the river above the Great Falls.⁷ Young Mr. Webb had already taught school in Waldoboro and beginning in 1822, established a tannery on the river on the property purchased. Subsequently he enlarged his holdings and built the home occupied for many years by his son, Avery Webb, and now the residence of James Harkins.

By the spring of 1823 Squire John Bulfinch, of Boston, Belfast, and Union, a Harvard graduate, was in Waldoboro. On March 1st he acquired a toe hold to the property on which he built his

⁶Lincoln County Register of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 110, p. 86.

⁷*Ibid.*, Bk. 117, p. 101.

lovely home. Mr. Bulfinch was a shrewd and thrifty squire, and his interests in the town expanded rapidly and came to include the law, shipping, milling, surveying, and real estate. In August of the following year he extended his holding down to the river by purchasing of Hugh Coleman for \$130 "one half of a grist or corn mill owned with John Freeman, on the east side of Medomak River at Medomak Falls⁸ near the dwelling house of Hugh Coleman."⁹ Squire Bulfinch's rise to wealth and prominence is closely integrated with the history of the town.

In 1834 came John Balch from Haverhill where he had been born in 1800. He established a drug business in the town, served as a Democrat in the Legislature from 1857 to 1859, and as postmaster from 1839 to 1849. His name still clings to the southwestern corner in the village square. Mrs. Delia Hastings is the last of his descendants still living in the town. In the 1830's Ezra B. French opened a law office in Sproul's new block, and two new doctors settled in the town, Dr. Elijah A. Daggett and Dr. Hiram Bliss. Dr. Daggett, a descendant of Thomas Daggett and Ruth Athearn of Martha's Vineyard, Warren, and Union, was born in 1803. He received his medical degree from Bowdoin College in 1833, and came to Waldoboro to establish a practice. He married Ruth Ann Waters of Jefferson. Two children, Ann and Athearn, were born of this union. For a century and a quarter this family, the descendants of Dr. Elijah, have maintained their local connections. The Doctor's great grandson, Athearn Park Daggett, is the present William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Constitutional and International Law and Government at Bowdoin College.

Dr. Bliss was a Dartmouth graduate. Coming from Bradford, Vermont, he made his appearance and established himself in practice at Waldoboro in 1833, where he continued his work until his death in 1874. In 1843 Dr. Bliss rode in his old gig from Waldoboro to Boston for the express purpose of hearing Daniel Webster deliver his oration at the dedication of the Bunker Hill Monument on June 17, 1843.¹⁰

Parker McCobb, Jr., came to the town in the mid 1830's. He was of the McCobb family of Phippsburg, a son of the Parker who in 1825, when Lafayette visited Portland, was adjudged to have the only carriage in the state suitable for the great guest to ride in. In 1845 he held for a short time a temporary appointment as Collector of Customs. The young man was the betrothed of Mary Katherine Samson (b. 1812) but the marriage never came about, since young Parker was drowned from a packet while on a trip from Waldoboro to Boston.

⁸Lincoln County Deeds, Bk. 126, p. 203.

⁹The site of the present Lovell Mansion.

¹⁰S. L. Boardman, *Private Libraries of Bangor* (Bangor, 1900).

In 1839 Alexander Young moved into the town from Pleasant Point, Cushing. With him came a son George, two years old and a daughter Ann, four. He built a brick home on Dog Lane which was burned in the fire of 1854, with only the north wall left standing. Within a year he rebuilt the house occupied in recent years by his granddaughter, Edna M. Young. Alexander was a carpenter and master builder. With Edwin Achorn and Justin Kennedy he built the clipper ship *Edwin Achorn* which was burned at Muscongus in 1855. This was a terrific loss to Mr. Young, but with the vitality characteristic of the times he promptly mortgaged his home to help in meeting bills due on her construction. Death came in a fall from the barn on the Ritz farm, where he was generously giving a day of labor to the shingling of the building.

The 1820's and 30's were the heyday of the military muster, a day or days set aside for all the militia units of a district to assemble at a rendezvous for maneuver and muster. Waldoboro was a community interested and active in this now outmoded method of military readiness, and it furnished to the state organization some of its highest ranking and most competent officers, including Colonel Isaac G. Reed, and Brigadier Generals Henry H. Kennedy and William S. Cochran. This movement had received great impetus from the War of 1812, and at the close of the struggle Waldoboro had become the mobilization center for the "3rd Reg., 2nd Brigade and 11th Division of the Massachusetts militia." The officers were elected by the men, and Waldoboro being the largest Third Regiment town, furnished a majority of the privates and thus was able to elect all the officers from its own numbers. Such dominance was deeply resented in the smaller associated towns, and led first to friction and later to the utter breakdown of regimental morale and the disbandment of some of the companies.

Before proceeding to the bizarre account of the last muster of the associated towns, we should seek a glimpse of such a military gathering over a century ago, that gala day for the countryside, similar to the later ship launchings or agricultural fairs. Since we are over a century removed from the last muster, there is no recourse left other than the account of one familiar with them in his boyhood years. Such an eyewitness narrative follows:

The days on which they took place were among the few holidays of New England. . . . Eagerness was manifested in securing modes of conveyance to the muster-field. Persons who had relatives or intimate acquaintances in the vicinity went the day before. Others travelled in the night. . . . Along the roads were men, women and boys, on foot, hastening forward with as much ardor as if the existence of the nation depended on their being there at the earliest practicable moment. Upon their coming together from various places, the pulse was quickened and more energy aroused by the rapid driving, the loud talking, the trooping

of the boys, the beating of drums, and the marching and countermarching of companies, before going upon the field. Then there were the officers' loud tones of command, the crowding of people, the occasional crying of children and barking and yelping of dogs, the glittering of guns and bayonets, the nodding of plumes, and the indescribable feeling experienced on seeing the machine-like movements of a large mass of living beings when marching and drilling. From towns far and near was poured in a great tide of life. Temporary tents, wheelbarrows, stands, handcarts, and horse wagons with produce, lined the muster-field and places of congregating. Rum and brandy and gins; gingerbread, cake and molasses; honey, new cider and apples; ham and bread and sausages; cheese and oysters and crackers; doughnuts and pies and peppermints; clothes, hats and tin-ware; in short, almost all things which could be bought or be sold were brought together and exposed in great profusion. . . . Fiddlers played, the lads and lassies danced; and on planks and slabs temporarily laid down, clowns exercised themselves with the double shuffle. Old toppers got drunk and swore, and others became tipplers. The irritable would become angry and strip off their coats, and then a cry would be raised, "a fight, a fight!" and a crowd, unless the constables interfered, would run and gather around in a ring, to give the combatants room and see that they had fair play. Everybody seemed to be trying to be happy in his own way; and, amid the vast variety of character, habits and tastes which were brought together, there were, of course, many queer manifestations of enjoyment. So great has been the change within thirty years, particularly where the temperance movement has had control, that the young have no adequate idea of the old musters of New England which were substantially the same on Boston Common and in the town of Waldoborough.¹¹

Thus writes John L. Sibley, a native of the town of Union and onetime Librarian of Harvard University.

Until the militia faded from the picture with its last muster, the regimental unit from this district was dominated by the esquirearchy of Waldoboro Village. The local dons held the major commands, ordered all musters held in Waldoboro, and assigned difficult and unpleasant duties to the lesser officers from other towns. These high-handed practices stirred the resentment of the companies and the populace from the adjoining towns, and finally flared into an open rebellion led by the company from Union. Sibley devoted four chapters in his *History of Union* to this episode which led to "the entire overthrow of all military organization" in that town.

The bill of grievances leading to the revolt, some trivial and some weighty, was a long one. A few of these follow, though not necessarily in logical sequence. A high-ranking Waldoboro officer invited the officers from the adjoining towns to a dinner in his "marquee" at the time of a muster. This was assumed to have been an act of courtesy on the part of the local squire, and no end of surprise was engendered when the officer on dispersal observed "in a manner not to be misunderstood, that he trusted no one would

¹¹John L. Sibley, *History of the Town of Union* (Boston, 1851), pp. 384-386.

go away without leaving a dollar." (The spirit of thrift so characteristic of early Waldoboro folk was indeed slow in giving way to the finer graces.) Elections were apparently manipulated too frequently in the interest of local aspirants; positions of precedence on the muster-fields were usually assigned to Waldoboro companies irrespective of the dates of the commissions of the captains in command; musters were always held in Waldoboro; the charges for refreshments and in stores smacked of profiteering and led the companies and people from adjacent towns to bring their supplies with them; and it was alleged that Waldoboro influence reached even into the legislature and secured the passage of military measures favoring the local junta.

Long suppressed feelings broke into the open in the muster of 1824. The Union Rifle Company commanded by Captain Lewis Bachelder and the Union Infantry Company commanded by Captain John P. Robbins had marched a good part of the night and reached Waldoboro in a rainstorm on the morning of September 8th, cold, wet, and cross. The latter assembled near the Old North Church, and the former on the open space now occupied by the Baptist Church, directly across from the house¹² of the Colonel, Avery Rawson. Curt messages were exchanged between colonel and captain. Finally a positive order came to quarter the Union men in some barns and sheds. The Captain replied that he would not "put his company into a barn or shed in Waldoborough," and as to hiring quarters he would not do it. He then proceeded to shelter his men in the lee of the Congregational Church where Captain Robbins' men were assembled.

Soon the two companies fell in and started parading the streets to the music of a funeral dirge, "Pleyels German Hymn," as an insult to the Teutonic origin of the local citizens. The word was passed around among the soldiers that the Colonel was dead, for otherwise he would not permit soldiers to stand around in the rain. "He must be dead!" So with arms reversed and to the music of muffled drums, they marched by the Colonel's house and up Main Street. By some it is alleged they went as far as the gate at the head of the lane leading to the Central Cemetery. What happened there is not known, but a little later John C. Robbins came forward and announced to the companies that the Colonel was dead and that he had just been buried under arms.

During the march the next day to Smouse's Field,¹³ the Union companies lagged awkwardly and conspicuously in the face of repeated orders "to lengthen step." On the field conditions worsened. One of the Warren men procured a fife and took his station outside the muster-field near the gate. When Colonel Rawson

¹²The present Waltz Funeral Home.

¹³The present farm of Millard Winchenbach.

marched through the gate the fifer struck up the "Rogue's March." As the Colonel passed along the musicians of the Rifle Company struck up the same march. Orders to cease the music were at first put off, and on insistence the bearer of the Colonel's message was told by the Captain of the Union Company that he could not be accommodated. In the subsequent maneuvering on the field the execution of the Union men was markedly ragged. In wheeling the men would scatter. When in line some would fall in the rear and others advance. "In ordering arms some guns would be put on the ground and others raised. In carrying arms they were in all positions from the erect to the horizontal." As the time approached for firing and the order was issued: "Make ready!", a Union man from the ranks shouted: "Fire!" All in his vicinity fired. Again on the order: "Take aim!", the word "Fire" would be given from another quarter of the ranks and there would follow another discharge of guns. This soon broke into an incessant, irregular, scattering fire along the Union line. Thus did the muster end in chaos. The Union troops stole off to the rear, two or three together, and before the time for dismissal came, every member of the Union Infantry except the captain and one private was gone. "The regiment at last left in confusion. The soldiers and spectators swung their hats and sent up loud shouts and hurrahs, and thus amid uproar, storm and drenching rain, ended the day."¹⁴

The aftermath of this black muster came in the form of charges and counter charges. Those against Colonel Rawson were suppressed, supposedly by the Brigadier General. On the other hand, the recalcitrant Union officers were court-martialled and convicted on some of the accounts preferred. This episode practically brought to a finish militia activity in Union, but there is no evidence to show that the Waldoboro grip on affairs of the Third Regiment was shaken to the slightest degree.

The Germans of Old Broad Bay and their Puritan neighbors of Waldoboro were almost from the beginning hair-trigger litigants. Particularly marked was this disposition in these years of rapid growth. The town was a lawyers' paradise. The economic expansion that was under way led to all sorts of new ventures cooperative and competitive. Everybody was feverishly engaged in making money every way that it could be made, and some as always were engaged in ways in which it should not be made. There was much loaning and borrowing of capital, and some inability to pay it back; there were also many competing for the same chance. All this stir led to constant clashes, and clashes led to the arbitrament of the law. Hearings were held in lawyers' offices and the records show that they were affairs of surprising frequency.

¹⁴Based on Sibley, *History of Union*, Chaps. 39, 40.

The scenes were usually staged in the offices of Reed, Bulfinch, French and Parks, and the cases covered land disputes, boundary disputes, failure on loans, complaints of bastardy, stealing of hay, threats, assaults, in short, every difference common to clashing humans in a growing society.¹⁵ In the 1820's in a period of five years there were no less than sixty-six such actions at village hearings, not to mention the cases tried in the regular sessions of the Court at Wiscasset and Warren. Libel was a frequent charge and a typical case was that of the State *vs.* Jacob Kaler, "libel charge of publishing Charles Welt as having boar service for sows." This action indicated some sense of humor on the part of Mr. Kaler, but one that caused Mr. Welt some degree of annoyance and embarrassment, and so it became the subject of a suit.

In the course of these two decades there were events that came to pass which do not admit of historical integration, but which because of their human interest merit passing mention. They follow as miscellaneous items:

On July 24, 1821, Avery and Harriet (Barnard) Rawson sold to William Groton of Waldoboro the northwestern corner lot in the Four Corners in the village for \$2500.¹⁶ Mr. Groton erected a building on this lot which was used for many years as a store and residence. This site was later occupied by the Matthews Block and in our time by Gay's Store.

"Uncle Valtin" kept bobbing to the surface from time to time in his lifetime, in the third decade as a squatter overtaken by retributive justice. When he settled on a plot of land in the woody recesses of East Waldoboro, he did so without purchase or authorization from the proprietor, General Henry Knox. Nor was the General ever able to dispossess the old magician, buttressed as he doubtless was by the Power of Darkness. On the General's death many of his claims against squatters on his lands were sold to a real-estate manipulator, Benjamin Joy of Boston. In 1823 by means not known Mr. Joy forced Uncle Valtin to redeem his ninety-one acres in East Waldoboro for \$91.00. Whether these dollars changed overnight in Mr. Joy's strongbox into ninety-one wooden chips is not a matter of record.

In 1827 the towns were exempted by the state from keeping military stores, and the powder house on Prock's ledge was abandoned.

On August 7, 1823, a meteor exploded in the northwestern district of the town and quantities of stone fell on the border of Waldoboro, Nobleboro, and Jefferson.

¹⁵Docket of the Clerk, Wm. Manning, Nov. 27, 1823, in my possession; also private papers of Col. I. G. Reed.

¹⁶Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 115, p. 20.

In these decades a few of the wealthier began bricking up the old fireplaces for the first cook stoves which came in after 1820. Parlor stoves followed a little later. In 1839 George D. Smouse and Isaac Reed purchased parlor stoves for their "front rooms." Friction matches displaced the old tinderbox and steel; windlasses and pumps appeared in place of the old well sweep. Threshing machines came in around 1837, and the horse rake a little earlier.

In 1829 a miracle occurred in Waldoboro. Colonel Isaac G. Reed, appointed in the Adams administration, became postmaster in that of the most Democrat of all Democrats, Andrew Jackson. All efforts to find ground for his holding the appointment have been in vain. For ten years the Waldoboro Democrats were restive, but all attempts to displace the Colonel, even those of some of his own political stripe, failed, until 1838 during the Van Buren administration.

In 1824 a bridge was erected in place of the old boom at Bulfinch's. This was administered as a toll bridge until some years later when it was taken over by the town.

"Commodore Samuel Tucker, born in Marblehead, 1747, died at Bremen 1833. He was buried there a bleak, stormy day in March. His friend, Denny McCobb, of the Port of Waldoboro was with him at death."

Around 1835 George Sproul, the son of William, moved the old Sproul residence back from the northwest corner, the site of the present Benner Shoe Store, and erected a brick block extending southward part of the way to Dog Lane. Although this block was subsequently destroyed in "the great fire," it did set the fashion in future architecture, a village of brick in the place of a village of wood.

The following notice is of interest bearing as it does on the mode and cost of travel in this period. "Stages leave Bath, 9:00 A.M., and 3:00 P.M., for Wiscasset, Newcastle, Waldoboro, Rockland, Belfast." The fare from Wiscasset to Waldoboro was \$1.50, and also \$1.50 from the latter place to Camden.¹⁷

A note on the medical practices of the period, especially in the treatment of tuberculosis is contained in a letter of Colonel Isaac G. Reed to his son Charles in Boston. Commenting in detail on the last illness of Sarah Webb and Bertha Farrington, the Colonel adds: "She, Sarah, has had no physician and has relied on the efficacy of Wistar's Cherry Balsam and her mother's prescriptions."

The Reed family correspondence furnishes many an interesting sidelight on a wide variety of the details of local life. For example, in a letter of Isaac Reed's, October 27, 1832, we learn a bit of the speed of travel. He tells his half-brother, Gorham Smouse,

¹⁷Letter in possession of Mrs. Jason Westerfield of Camden, Me.

that a trip from Waldoboro to the office of Mr. Joseph Ballister, a friend of the Reed family in Boston, "consumes exactly 48 hours." The costs of education, too, are illuminating. Edward, the young son of Colonel Reed, while attending Union College in Schenectady, New York, was required to furnish to his father his expense account figured down to the last fraction of a penny. The young man's "total expense for a term of eighteen weeks in 1833, including travel to the New York town, was \$60.73 $\frac{3}{4}$." He also gives us some idea of Squire Bulfinch's physical stature when he observed that his "Professor Jackson in Trig., was very small, about the size of Mr. Bulfinch."

The salvation of souls was an obsession of Waldoboro folk until comparatively late in the nineteenth century. Bearing on this strange concern, the following furnishes an insight too rich to be by-passed. The time is November in the 1830's. Sally in Waldoboro is writing to her sister, Hannah Shepard, at Appleton Ridge Plantation, about a revival going on in the town. These are her comments:

The Reformation is still going on. They are more encouraged than ever. Five or six obtain hope every week. Harriet Blanchard and George Allen have a hope. There are some in almost every house under concern of mind in this neighborhood, not any in our house serious. It seems as if the Lord had passed by us. I am as bad as ever I was. Mr. Tappen [revivalist from Augusta] was at our house today. He says he can't say more to me than he has said. He says I am in a lamentable condition. Jacob Lape is converted and Betsy Lash and Augustus. It would take me all night to name them all to you. Henry Acorn is very much concerned for his soul. Last Friday evening he was in such great distress he sent for — to come down and pray for him. He said there was no mercy for him. He said the Lord would be just if He cast him off forever. Mr. Tappan has great hopes of him. He goes to all the — meetings and all the prayer meetings. . . . They have prayer meetings every Saturday and every Sunday evening, besides a great many other evenings.¹⁸

In the preceding chapters the methods used by the town in handling its poor have been sketched in some detail, but with the omission of one of the oldest practices, that of indenture, a practice which dates back to the early days of the Colonial Period, and which assumed a wide variety of forms. In the Waldoboro area it was practiced primarily in the case of children whose parents abandoned them or were incapable of supporting them. Many of General Waldo's Germans landed here bonded for their passage money, and in those dire winters following the coming of the Colony of 1753, many of the German children were indentured to English families in Damariscotta and on the Georges simply because there

¹⁸Letters in possession of Mrs. Jason Westerfield, Camden, Me.

was not food in the town for their support. The meaning of such indentures is made amply clear in the following document, which in my belief was the last to be issued in the town of Waldoboro:

This Indenture Witnesseth, That we, Jedediah Arnold, Charles Samson, and Frederick Castner, Overseers of the Poor of the town of Waldoboro in the County of Lincoln, by virtue of a law of this State in such cases made and provided, have put and placed and by these present do put, place and bind out, William James, a poor child, the son of Mrs. Nancy Butler of Warren in our County aforesaid, as an apprentice to Robert Farnsworth of Waldoboro, aforesaid yeoman, to learn the art, mystery and business of a Farmer: — the said William James after the manner of an apprentice, to dwell with and serve the said Robert Farnsworth, from the day of the date hereof until the sixth day of October which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-eight, at which time the said apprentice, if he shall be living, will be twenty-one years of age — And the said Robert Farnsworth on his part, doth hereby promise, covenant and agree to teach and instruct the said apprentice, or cause him to be taught and instructed in the art and calling of a Farmer by the best means he can; and also to teach and instruct the said apprentice, or cause him to be taught or instructed to read and write, if the said apprentice be capable to learn; and during the said term to find and provide unto the said apprentice good and sufficient meat, drink, clothing, lodging and other necessaries fit and convenient for such an apprentice during the term aforesaid; also medicines and medical aid in case the said apprentice should require either or both during the term aforesaid, and at the expiration of said terms the said Robert shall give unto the said apprentice, two suits of new wearing apparel, one suitable for the Lord's Day, and the other for working days.

In testimony whereof, the said parties have to this and one other indenture of the same tenor and date, interchangeably set their hands and seals, the first day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and twenty-four.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of us:

Joseph Ludwig
Alexander Palmer

Robert Farnsworth
Jedediah Arnold
Charles Samson
Frederic Castner¹⁹

The census of 1830 was taken by James Schenck, and it reveals certain new trends in the town. In the first place, it showed a growth more marked than in the previous decades. The total count of 3113 was an increase of that of 1820 by 611. In the second place, the Puritans were catching up on the Germans. The number of those living in families bearing German names was 2016, and in families bearing English names 1097. The Puritan ratio had risen and now stood at one to two. The third factor was the growth of village population. The people living within a radius of one mile of the Four Corners numbered approximately five hundred souls, and the English in this area were in a ratio of three to one. Here was

¹⁹Document in my possession.

concentrated the brains, the initiative, the refinement, and the capital, but the back-districts still remained heavily weighted with political control.

Families were still large. The largest household in this town was that of Daniel Sidelinger, 3rd, with seventeen members, while households of ten came close to the average. There were few aliens in the town. One was listed in each of the families of James Herbert in the village, Nathaniel Ewell in South Waldoboro, and Gabriel Martin in East Waldoboro. The McGarrett family at Kaler's Corner, a group of which all villagers heartily disapproved, numbered seven, four of whom were aliens. All negroes were listed as free men, since the slavery issue was becoming tense throughout the entire country. Child mortality continued to run high. Despite this fact there were in the population of the town 1672 males and females under the age of twenty-one, which was well over fifty per cent of the total inhabitants in the town.

Numerical dominance still rested with comparatively few families, the Benners leading with a total of one hundred and forty bearing that name. Thereafter in order followed the Kalers, Minks, Millers, Creamers, Ludwigs, Storers, Shumans, Winchenbachs, Achorns, Genthners, and Eugleys. The twelve most numerous family clans totalled 846 which was well over one quarter of the population of the town, while two thirds of the population was made up of those bearing the names of twenty-five family groups.²⁰

During the third and fourth decades many of the second generation of Germans and of the first generation of Puritans were joining the founding fathers in the public resting places and in the little private cemeteries which dotted so many of the old family farms. A bit of historical insight is furnished by the following death notice:

1827 – Died in Waldoboro st inst., Mr. Bernard Eugley, aged 92. He was one of the few survivors who emigrated to that place with Brigadier General Waldo from Germany in 1754. Although he resided since that time in Waldoboro, he never became well enough acquainted with the English language to use it in conversation. He as well as most of the early emigrants survived to a great age, which may be attributed to habits of industry and temperance.

There were in these decades two deaths which left a void in the life of the town. The first of these was Jacob Ludwig, not a citizen but an institution, the leader and factotum of the German element since early days. Mr. Ludwig was a veritable jack-of-all-trades, farmer, businessman, soldier, local jurist, public scribe, legislator, and village statesman. To the community he must have seemed timeless. His body aged but his mind retained its clarity

²⁰Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

and keenness to its last hour at the advanced age of ninety-six. On New Year's day, 1826, Jacob Ludwig sat in his "ancient chair" at the western window of his hillside home. Thoughts of a little village in the Rhine country, where his youth was spent, may have smouldered in his memory; he may have recalled the harsh and hungry days of the French and Indian War; he may have remembered the upper Medomak Valley, on which his dimming gaze was fixed, as a trackless wilderness, with later a few little clearings marked by humble homes of logs.

But in this New Year all was changed. It was a cleared valley of level meadows and commodious dwellings. He had begun life in the New World as a subject of King George III; he had witnessed, yea, aided in the birth of a nation, and now in the time of the second Adams all its life was vivid back through the time of Madison, Monroe, Jefferson, Adams, and Washington. But now the panorama of these long and colorful years dims and fades forever. Jacob Ludwig elected to be laid in a place among the Puritans in the Central Cemetery near the lot of his old friend, Colonel Isaac G. Reed.

In 1831 the colorful and eventful life of Dr. Benjamin Brown came to its close. It was a life spent in many places. He was born in Swansea, Massachusetts, on September 23, 1756. As a young doctor he roved the seas with his old friend, Commodore Tucker. After the Revolution he lived in Providence, Bremen, and Waldoboro. His activities were as varied as those of Jacob Ludwig, physician, surgeon, farmer, civic leader, village squire, and congressman. In these parts Dr. Brown first lived "at the landing" at Broad Cove in Bremen. In Waldoboro he bought and resided at a large farm on Friendship Road about three-quarters of a mile south of the Four Corners. This farm was bequeathed to his son, Charles S., who later sold it to Governor S. S. Marble. In this home Dr. Brown entertained his old friend, President John Adams, and hither came frequently Commodore Tucker from Bremen. On one such occasion a party was held. The ladies, Mrs. Hector Brown, Mrs. Farley, and others formed a circle around the two old veterans and sang "Scots Who Hae Wi' Wallace Bled." At the end Commodore Tucker slapped Dr. Brown on the shoulder and in his bluff way exclaimed: "Bennie! Bennie! That would make a worm crawl that had been dead a thousand years."

Dr. Brown was the medical adviser to Mrs. Henry Knox, and it was said that he was the only local figure whom the haughty disposition of this lady would accept on terms of social equality.²¹ Dr. Brown was buried in the new cemetery on Main Street, then known as the "Sproul Yard." His passing left Colonel Isaac G.

²¹Bertha V. Foster, *Brown Memorial*.

Reed and William Sproul the sole survivors in the town of the group of leaders in the early Puritan period. Colonel William Farnsworth, Cornelius Turner, John Head, Nathanael Simmons, Colonel Waterman Thomas, and Captain Charles Samson had all been gathered to their last rest. Thomas McGuyer had moved back to Bristol and Joshua Head had gone to pass his few remaining years with his married daughter in Warren.

The great age reached by so many of the first, second and third generations has long been a matter of comment and speculation. The answer is probably a rather simple one. These old generations lived in a frontier environment which kept their adaptive mechanisms functioning normally from birth to death, and so conserved a sound functional unity in the entire organism, an organism geared for a million years or more to move through life at the pace of the ox rather than at the speed of the auto and the aeroplane, a pace wherein the process of wearing out was not accelerated beyond the process of repair. This seems to have been the formula of their longevity, and its dividends were certainly high, as may be seen in the following fifty-one deaths in the town between 1819 and 1840, of which not one occurred below the fourscore mark.²²

Died	Aet.	Died	Aet.
1819 Gottfried Burnheimer	87	1830 Abel Cole	90
1819 Dr. John C. Wallizer	89	1830 Abner Keene	85
1819 Mrs. John Fitzgerald	85	1830 Cornelius Turner	90
1820 John Kinsell	90	1831 Daniel Achorn	97
1820 Mary Haupt	82	1832 Mrs. Wm. Farnsworth	96
1822 Charles Heibner	99	1832 James Schenck	85
1822 Peter Kramer	96	1832 Peter Walter	82
1823 Nathan Sprague	87	1832 Barnabas Freeman	91
1824 Catherine Eliz. Ludwig	89	1833 Joseph H. Ludwig	91
1825 Michael Sprague	88	1833 Christian Hoffses	85
1825 John Kinsell	80	1833 Martin Benner	90
1825 Paul Lash	80	1833 Mary Ann Newbert	96
1826 Jacob Ludwig	95	1833 Philip Keizer	90
1826 William Farnsworth	90	1833 John Fitzgerald	95
1827 John G. Bornemann	97	1834 Levi Russell	84
1827 Michael Ried	99	1835 Jane Eugley	84
1827 Bernhard Eugley	92	1835 Paul Kuhn	84
1827 Bertram Gross	94	1836 Isaiah Cole	83
1827 Mrs. John Feyler	96	1838 John William Kaler	99
1827 Henry Stahl	90	1838 John Newbert	98
1827 Mrs. Charles Shuman	82	1839 Katherine Kaler	86
1828 Christopher Newbert	93	1839 Peter Schwartz	82
1830 George Hoch	100	1839 Christian Bornheimer	82
1830 Philip Stahl	87	1839 Hannah Simmons	83
1830 Abel Nash	90	1840 Jacob Bornheimer	80
1830 Michael Hoch	99	1840 Mrs. Paul Kuhn	86

²²M. R. Ludwig, *Ludwig Genealogy* (Augusta, 1866).

The amount of transportation necessary to feed the business of the community affords an excellent index to the volume, scope, and intensity of the local economic life. In the 1830's Waldoboro's connection with the larger world was twofold, land and water. Land transportation was by stagecoach with the great business centers via Bath and Portland, and inland via Augusta. These routes made provision for mail and to a considerable degree for passenger transportation, but all heavy traffic and to some extent passenger traffic proceeded by water. This trade was almost exclusively with Boston and it was surprisingly active and heavy. For more than eight months during the year a dozen schooners were busy handling this traffic. It was necessary to accumulate stocks for the winter season during the ice-free months, but even in winter, stores were landed at Broad Cove in Bremen and from there hauled by oxen over the snow.

All the vessels engaged in this trade were two-masted schooners and their skippers were all local men. The vessels were: *Example*, Captain Wallace; *Atlantic*, Captain Kaler; *Othello*, Captain Cole; *Packet*, Captain Haupt; *Hero*, Captain Cudworth; *Bahama*, Captain Lewis Winchenbach; *Medomak*, Captain Isaac Winchenbach; *Bertha*, Captain Castner; *Watchman*, Captain Waltz; *Mary Jane*, Captain Waltz; *Columbia*, Captain Kaler, and *Firm*, Captain Creamer. These vessels were somewhat over one hundred tons burden and probably represented a total of around fifteen hundred tons. Under favorable conditions a trip a week was the average run. All the produce shipped from the port was carried by these vessels, and in turn they supplied the needs of its households, its farms, its stores, its industries, and the ever-increasing needs of its shipyards. There were long journeys also undertaken by private vehicles, as for example, in 1835 when Jane Ann Reed went to Bangor by horse and sleigh with her half-brother in-law, Doctor John G. Brown.²³

Up to the year 1834 Waldoboro had been without a local newspaper. This was a rather unusual phenomenon considering that some of the smaller towns in the county had supported a weekly paper for several decades. Such a project was hardly feasible in Waldoboro in the earlier days, since so large a proportion of the population was non-English speaking and reading, and the Puritan element was not sufficiently numerous to form a supporting reading public, but in 1834 G. W. and F. W. Nichols issued the first number of their *Lincoln Patriot* on December 5th. It was a weekly made up of a folio sheet, twenty-one by thirteen inches, with the printing finely done on a clear rag paper. The service was two dollars per year.

²³Letter to parents (Jan. 29, 1835), in possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Dallas, Texas.

After about five years its publication was discontinued. The reason for this failure seems to have been threefold. It was, in the first place, more of a literary periodical than a newspaper. To be sure, there was advertising in its columns, but there were none of the local news items which in a small town sustain and swell the subscription lists. In their place were long, political articles, commentaries on national and world events, and the essay type of discourse on religion, morality, and related fields. In a word, it was too "highbrow" for the local reading public. In the second place, its political views were those of the Democratic Party and as such anathema to the old Federalists, now the local Whig machine, and its henchmen. These elements gave grudging and limited support and derisively dubbed the paper "The Lincoln Poker." Lastly, there were still too many people in the town who did not read English with any degree of ease, to say nothing of the scholarly English in which the columns of the paper were cast. The time had not come as yet for journalism in Waldoboro, and was not to come for nearly another half-century.

With rapid growth in the economic life, the town was coming to feel ever more acutely the lack of banking facilities. With capital and experience ample for the enterprise the Medomak Bank was incorporated in August 1836 with a capital stock of over \$90,000. The largest stockholders were James R. Groton, sixty-two shares; James Hovey, fifty shares; John Bulfinch, twenty-five; George Sproul, twenty; William Groton, twenty; Samuel Morse, twenty; George D. Smouse, twenty; Parker McCobb, eleven; Delia A. Farley, eleven, and Joseph Clark, ten shares. The balance of the stock was distributed through the town among sixty-six holders, taking from two to five shares each. The first president was George D. Smouse and the directors were Samuel Morse, John Bulfinch, Isaac Reed, George Sproul, James Hovey, James Cook, Henry Kennedy, and Frederick Castner. The first cashier was James R. Groton, followed by Parker McCobb, George Allen, who served for forty years, David W. Potter, and Hadley H. Kuhn. On February 15, 1865, this institution became a national bank with Samuel W. Jackson, George D. Smouse, Henry Kennedy, Alfred Storer, and Samuel M. Morse its directors. The first dividend of \$2375 was paid on March 6, 1837. The control of this bank remained in local hands for over one hundred years.

The rapidly growing village was in the main in these years an aggregate of wooden blocks, wooden stores and wooden houses, facts which created a terrible fire hazard and rendered the men whose money was at stake in the growing town acutely desirous of some form of protection against such risks. There had been fire-wardens since early in the century, but these were little more than the organizers and directors of bucket brigades. Sometime in 1838

a fire-engine agent came to town and through him the first engine was purchased, the little old "Water Witch" with its rotary pump which is still a part of the town's fire equipment *pro honoris causa*.

This engine was strictly a village machine. The back-district folk had slight interest in giving the village protection, especially if it meant added taxes. Consequently the money was raised through private subscription by Hector M. Brown and George D. Smouse. With the delivery of the machine Waldoboro's first fire company was formed. It was a going concern in April 1839 when the foreman, General William S. Cochran, reported to the selectmen "a true list of the men now belonging to the engine company in this town, all of whom regularly do their duty." The roll of the company follows:

Benjamin Roberts	Bela B. Haskell
Jacob Hahn	Isaac S. Kaler
James Hovey	Edwin Achorn
Thomas Overlock	George H. Hopkins
Isaac G. Benner	Solomon Benner
Charles P. Willett	Hector Levensaler
Augustus Welt	Solomon Shuman
Isaac Sides	Andrew Sides
M. T. Simmons	William G. Reed
William S. Cochran	John Ames
Alden Miller	John A. Levensaler

It may be noted in this connection, as in many others, that in these days it was the most able and prominent citizens of the town who sought office and were elevated to office, and who did a very considerable part of the spadework in all new enterprises. It was not above James Hovey, Augustus Welt, or Bela B. Haskell, three of the ablest and wealthiest young men in the village, to serve the community in a fire company. Perhaps the zeal of these good men was better than their judgment, for there were fiery days not far ahead when the brave little Water Witch would prove as impotent as a child's squirt gun.

The essential character of human activities and interests tend to remain ever the same. As it is now, so it was in the town more than a hundred years ago. There was the same never-ending undercurrent of small talk touching on the little things in village life, births, deaths, marriages, political and social intrigue, petty spites and squabbles, parties, church clashes, and long smouldering family feuds. If it be the function of history to portray the whole life, the little may be as essential or revealing in its own way as the big.

Certainly life cannot be pictured as it was in Waldoboro so long ago without recourse to these intimate and trivial phases. Much little village gossip comes to light in old letters, in the case

of Waldoboro, letters of the correct and numerous Reeds, in these years the first family of the town, whose lot it was in common with their fellow men to swallow bitter medicine on occasion. This was strikingly so in case of the social apostasy of "Uncle" (by marriage) George Demuth. Uncle George was a second or third generation German born at Broad Bay in 1771. He was indubitably able, and in his younger years was the local agent of his cousin, Captain George Demuth Smouse. In this family business he laid the foundations of a comfortable income and became one of the most active and influential Germans in the civic and business life of the town. In 1810 he sold the original Demuth Homestead,²⁴ on which he was then living, to his brother, Martin, and then purchased of William Sproul the tract on Main Street now occupied by the Baptist Church and the homes of Mary Hutchins and Roscoe Benner, deceased. Here Mr. Demuth built himself a home where he lived until his death. To the east of his house and next adjoining on the present Sanborn lot was a house owned by Uncle George, and occupied by the McCobbs in their earlier years in the village. McCobb was the Collector of the Port, a Democrat and a Universalist. Uncle George, the Smouses, and Reeds were all Federalists, later Whigs, and people of standing in the established church. In these facts there was a more than ample basis for a family feud.

But now Uncle George was old and apparently getting careless, for on the 17th of October, at the age of fifty-nine, he took as his second wife a Miss Sarah Melvin, who was a Catholic. This was a most un-Federal act on his part, since Catholics had not been allowed in the Massachusetts Bay colony, and this intolerance still lingered strongly among all sound churchmen in the smaller centers. One of the McCobb girls, Hannah Elizabeth, daughter of Denny McCobb, Esq., had married Matthew Cotterell of Damariscotta. The rites had been solemnized on September 15, 1821, in Waldoboro by a Catholic priest, the Reverend Dennis Ryan. This had not rendered the odor of the McCobbs any more savory in the most exclusive social circles. And then Uncle George went and did the same thing. Family pride was swallowed, perhaps with a blush, and the subject became taboo.

This bit of social history will serve as the background of a letter by Jane Ann Reed, daughter of the Colonel, to her half-sister, Bertha Smouse, who was on a visit in Boston:

Waldoboro,
Oct. 2, 1830

... Uncle is published. Arn't you ashamed to let that old man break the ice. I should think you would have wanted to have been first.

McCobb has moved. I heard he and uncle had quite a spat about some rose and currant bushes. They were all at work taking them up,

²⁴The home of Henry Hilton on Friendship Road.

the old woman, girls and all, and were supplying their neighbors. Uncle told them if they took another one he would prosecute them. The old man was quite humble and Uncle told him he had no more to say to him about it, but as for his wife and girls if they did not mind how they behaved, he would make them smart. If this were true as I think likely it is as I had it from his brother Martin's wife, I should think they had fallen into the right person's way. I wonder if they will invite him to eat Thanksgiving dinner with them this year? I suppose Ma told you that Denny's²⁵ girl has a little thing. I am sure I cannot tell if it is a boy or girl. I believe a boy.

We have a pretty still time about here now. The Baptists have meetings occasionally at the schoolhouse. It is thought by some to be a plan of the Universalists to draw off Mr. Mitchell's society.

Charles Miller²⁶ has not taken possession of the Post Office yet. Some think that the letter which he received from the Post Office Department was a refusal instead of an appointment. It will probably be known soon. Perhaps he is too busy in preparing for muster to attend to it at present.²⁷

On December 22, 1832, Edward Reed writing to his sister, Jane Ann, then on a visit in Boston, draws the curtain and gives us a brief glimpse of social life in the town in the 1830's:

You know, I suppose, that this is about the season of our country parties, and as usual they have not failed to make their display. They already begin to be frequent. There have been two or three at Mrs. Bela Haskell's. I was at the last one which embraced all the young people, and think it was the best I have known in Waldoboro excepting one at Col. Ludwig's. I will not attempt to describe it to you; but as your experience will help your imagination assist me by picturing to yourself Bela in his new capacity, George Sproul and Thomas, his brother, Dr. Brown, Dr. Daggett, Hovey, G. Ludwig, Farley, George, Gorham,²⁸ and myself, and all the ladies in the place, with addition of one or two from out of town, all in their usual attitudes, but making twice as much noise.

Our Lyceum,²⁹ which as you know was so lively last winter, has not revived, and I fear it will die unless some of the Literati undertake to shield it's infancy.

Colonel Reed's years in the Post Office were stormy ones, subject to the assaults of his political opponents, and of those in his own party who wanted the job. Jane Ann, writing from her visit in Bangor with Doctor Brown's family, January 29, 1839, reports to her brother Charles in Boston that letters from home inform her "that the Tories have sent on a petition to have Pa removed from the post office and Mr. French appointed post-

²⁵Dennis McCobb, Jr., later lost at sea, *circa* 1835.

²⁶Col. Reed was the postmaster. Charles Miller, his brother-in-law, and a fellow Whig, apparently had an eye on the Colonel's job.

²⁷Letter in possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell of Dallas, Texas.

²⁸The two Smouse brothers.

²⁹The Waldoboro Lyceum, fathered by Edward Reed, met in Sproul's Hall. Jones Hovey was secretary. It discussed abstract ethical and political questions, for example: "Has every man his price?"

master and Mr. Balch assistant postmaster. I suppose McCobb and his party consider Pa is the mover of the investigation which had been made into his conduct in his office and are now retaliating."

The closing of the annals of these two decades in such a key is not unfitting. On the contrary it is highly characteristic, for family feuds and political controversies in these days were vehement and bitter beyond anything known in our times. The creative vitality and passion which men brought to their business enterprises was the same which men carried over into party feeling, religious strife, and personal antagonisms. It was the principle of power politics in family, church, and economic life, and usually, as in feudal days, the henchmen, retainers, or party followers lined up behind a powerful family head or a party leader and visited their spite quite generally against those enrolled under the banner of another family or leader. In reality these were embattled and stirring days.

XXXVIII

THE RESURGENCE OF MORALS

If the ancients drank wine as our people drink rum and cider, it is no wonder that we hear of so many possessed with devils.

JOHN ADAMS

THE COLONIAL PERIOD in Puritan New England was in many ways a rough, roistering one. Life was hard and pleasures were crude and few. An agricultural economy held the yeomen through the four seasons in strict servitude to the never ending tasks of the farm. Nor did religion bring any surcease, for the theology of the all-dominating and embracing church was a bitter and fearsome thing, offering little in the way of sweet consolation to the spirit and much in the way of harsh discipline to the flesh. Its precepts were written into the civil law, and they offered little elbow room to individual volition. Escape, if escape there was to be, had to come through other channels, and it came through a unique pattern of social life evolved in part under drab economic pressure, and in part by the settler himself in response to the pricks of the hair shirt in which he was garbed by his rural economy and his established church.

The main positive influence in the character of the Puritan came perhaps from the spirit of neighborliness. This was in part an economic necessity, and it also arose from the escape urge. It assumed divers forms such as the barn raisings, the husking and chopping bees, and the quilting parties. It also cultivated, oftentimes to a ruinous degree, the social ideal of conviviality, and the outlet for such an escape mechanism was the tavern, with its warmth, cheer, its genial host, its cider, and its rum. The "ordinary" of Puritan days, or tavern, as it was generally known after 1700, met a great variety of social needs. It was a meeting place for neighbors; here the overnight guests tarried, told their stories, related new experiences, and brought the news from distant parts.

With the advent of newspapers the only copy in the district was to be found at the tavern, and here the illiterate might gather and listen while the host would read aloud the complete columns

of the press amid interruptions, comments, and endless arguments. Such gatherings were the scene of interminable and bitter political bickerings, and also the center of excitement arising from betting and games of chance. There was also a darker side to the picture, for here was the exhilaration, the lightheartedness, and also the moral degradation arising from the consumption of great quantities of cider, flip, toddy and rum.

The tavern was not only a social necessity in early days, it was also a legal requirement, ostensibly to provide for the traveling public. As early as 1656 the General Court made towns liable to a fine for not maintaining an ordinary, and the towns were admonished to conform to this law just as they were required to maintain a church or a school. The Puritan statesmen also recognized the tavern as a potential evil as well as a good and hedged it about with some of the most refined of Puritan sumptuary legislation. The innholders could not "knowingly harbor in house, barn or stable, any rogues, vagabonds, thieves, sturdy beggars, masterless men or women," and the Puritan magistrates dealt harshly with drunkards and excessive drinking. Fines were heavy, and in addition there was the elaborate Puritan machinery of the bilboes, cages, stocks, whipping posts, and the dreaded scarlet letter D. The tithingmen too kept the tavern under surveillance as well as the parish. Despite all such safeguards, all the social evils associated with the consumption of strong drinks rose like a relentless tide, sweeping aside many of the moral barriers of Puritanism and littering the social scene with human wreckage and debris, until the resurgence of morality in the nineteenth century set strong counter currents in motion.

In these respects Waldoboro was no different from other New England towns after the coming of its Puritans. The Germans who preceded them were essentially a sober people. Those of the colony of 1752 who came from the sunny, grape-growing districts of the Rhine had, to be sure, bemoaned the lack of wine,¹ but they were all too poor to use available fruit for wine, their barley for beer, or their rye for whiskey. Mild or stronger liquors among them were rare and were consumed in strict moderation until their economy became more settled and productive. Nor did the Germans have any taverns. Their hospitality in earliest times was of and in the home, where it was their wont to receive strangers and to share generously with them the little which they had. The local taverns were Puritan institutions. They came to Waldoboro with the early English settlers, where they were but one phase of the new culture, destined slowly but surely to effect

¹Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 148. Cited on the authority of Joseph Ludwig.

marked modifications in the German feudal viewpoint and social pattern.

The earliest taverns in New England were located in considerable part near the ferries, which, of course, were the main line for travellers afoot and on horse, and places where delays in travel would occur if the ferrymen chanced to be absent from their posts, or if the tide happened to be down. The two earliest taverns in Waldoboro were both on the main line of ferry traffic, and both were founded and kept by Puritans, Charles Sampson and Thomas McGuyer.

Captain Charles Sampson and his son, Captain Charles, Jr., had come to Broad Bay from Duxbury in 1769 and acquired the property roughly embraced in the present-day farms of Messrs. Stephen Patrick and James Bain. While Captain Charles senior continued as master of a coaster, his son managed the land end of the partnership, which included farming, real-estate speculation, and a tavern. In 1773 when Broad Bay became Waldoborough, Charles Sampson, the innholder, was elected as the first essayer² of the town. In the course of time the Sampsons erected a large square-roofed mansion on the property on the crest of Thomas Hill ridge. This house served as the Sampson homestead and tavern. It is interesting that the four friends, Waterman Thomas, Charles Sampson, Abijah Waterman, and Colonel William Farnsworth all built houses of the same type. The Waterman and Farnsworth houses still stand, but the Thomas mansion was destroyed by fire many years ago. These were all pretentious homes. Tradition has it that the militia used to drill in Captain Sampson's kitchen.³

A tavern in such a location will seem strange to the reader, but not if he recalls that at this time there was no village; that the present county road through to Warren was little more than a bridle path; that the Thomas Hill area bade fair to become the center of the new town, and that much of the travel east and west was through the southern part of the present town, hitting the river at Waterman's ferry, the farm next south of the tavern. Here Abijah Waterman ferried travellers across to the Dutch Neck shore, from whence they made their way through West Waldoboro and on westward over the Old County Road, the only overland artery of travel to Falmouth and Boston.

In the New England towns the inns were kept by men of consequence. This was true of Charles Sampson and equally so of Thomas McGuyer, the innholder on the west side of the river. For fourteen years he was town clerk, and for five years first selectman. He came to Waldoboro from Bristol in 1784, probably

²Official tester of liquors.

³Mary Katherine Sampson, born *circa* 1812. Oral tradition from Ruth Turner George.

drawn here by his marriage in that year to Sarah Sprague. In 1786 he purchased of Jacob Unbehind (Umberhine) for £146 the latter's farm⁴ at the junction of the Old County and Bristol roads. On the north corner of the junction of the two roads on the lot now occupied by the home of Kenneth Creamer stood the McGuyer Tavern. This site was a natural location for a tavern. By its door passed all east-west travel afoot or on horse, and at this point travel split. The traveller either went south and crossed the Medomak at Waterman's ferry, or he went due east to the shore and crossed the river at Light's ferry, which plied between "Tommy Creamer's boathouse rock" and Merle Castner's shore. At this point he still had the option of going south on Friendship Road and passing on to the eastward through the southern part of the town, or of proceeding north to the head of tide and then east on the Warren Road over Willett's Hill. A third tavern of a sort was that of "Aunt Polly Klaus." The ell of the home of John Burgess is all that is left of this old landmark where Aunt Polly used to dole out rum and molasses between sermons to the Sabbath worshippers at the old Lutheran church.

These old Waldoboro taverns had little in common with the inns of our own day. They were first of all the homes of the innkeepers' families, and the sleeping quarters of the family were the only parts not open to guests. The large front room served as lounge, dining room, and tap room. Here also some of the meats were roasted in the big fireplace, but most of the cooking was done at the kitchen fireplace back of the front room. Few of the social amenities were observed. Guests of high and low degree ate with the family at the same table. Sleeping arrangements were less democratic. A guest of little consequence might be bedded in the barn on the hay, or on the floor of the stable, or even the lounge. Those with more money or of greater prominence were better cared for, but they could secure little privacy, for rooms were few, and with from one to three double beds to a room it was the usual practice for strangers to share the same room and bed. Those who did not appreciate strangers as bedfellows were looked upon as obnoxious or fastidious and were not humored in their preference for privacy.

The principal source of revenue in these taverns was the great quantity of liquor sold to local folk. Here the poor mingled freely with their well-to-do neighbors, for social lines in Waldoboro at this time had not become tightly drawn. Along with much drinking there were late hours, card playing, and gambling engaged in by all social levels, yeomanry, merchants, doctors, and even clergymen. Doctor Schaeffer and Parson Kroner were frequent tavern guests and heavy drinkers. Schaeffer was wealthy and

⁴Lincoln County Register of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 20, p. 148.

at this time had no reputation left to lose, but Kroner was a younger man, and the social life at McGuyers in the end definitely got the better of such spiritual promptings as he may at one time have felt.

Liquor on the whole was so cheap that everyone could drink and drink inordinately. In the 1780's rum sold for eight pence a quart, and molasses was twelve pence a gallon. The drinks most favored in these days are now no longer popular and in some cases not even known. They were blackstrap, cider, toddy, rum and flip. The blackstrap, a combination of rum and molasses, was characterized by Josiah Quincy as "truly the most outrageous of all the detestable American drinks." Casks of it stood on tap in every country store and tavern, and hanging close by was the salt cod, a quick stimulator of additional thirst. Flip was a lighter and more aristocratic beverage. It was mixed in great pewter mugs or earthen pitchers. Its base was mostly cider, sweetened with sugar, molasses, or sometimes pumpkin, and flavored with a gill or more of New England rum. Into this mixture was plunged a red hot poker, which made it foam or sizzle and imparted to it the burnt flavor which was its characteristic taste and one that was universally approved. The old handless flip bowls would hold two or three quarts and to this day bear mute testimony of the thirst of these old tavern habitués.

The poker was an institution variously called a loggerhead, flip-dog, or hottle, and was as much a part of the fireplace equipment as the andirons or bellows. In fact, in most taverns it lay quite constantly amid the embers in readiness for instant use. Doctor Schaeffer and his friends in the younger set were great flip lovers, but after all is said, hard cider and rum and molasses were the real Waldoboro staples. They were frequently drunk at funerals and weddings and always at launchings, military musters, barn raisings, and chopping bees. Mulled cider at night was a universally favorite drink. Older men began their day with a quart of hard cider or more before breakfast. In fact, a large part of the produce of local orchards was diverted to cider. This ancient practice lingered on in Waldoboro, and it is related of the Honorable Isaac Reed that down close to the end of his years in the 1880's he had every night before retiring his popcorn, his apples, and his pitcher of cider.

In retrospect these old tavern days in the early town wear the filmy mantle of romance and charm, and indeed they did serve to soften the asperities of an existence wrung from a grudging soil with hoe and mattock served by manpower. But there were shadows, too, for the tavern was the primrose path to hopeless intemperance, that Goliath among the vices of those days, which piti-

lessly dragged its victims to degradation, poverty, and the ruin that ended behind the door of the village squire with the freshly penned mortgage deed on the table awaiting signature. Herein the tavern was not the sole sinner. It was amply aided and abetted by that almost equally old institution, the general store.

By 1800 there was a nucleus of a village at the head of tide with general stores kept by Payne Elwell, William Thompson, the Head brothers, and Captain George Smouse. These establishments were augmented by a few small stores in the more remote sections of the town. All of them were licensed to sell liquor and have it drunk on the premises. Such places were not merely sales centers, but also loafing and lounging centers on stormy days and in the evenings. Here the nail-keg and cracker-box politicians of the neighborhood gathered, swapped stories, passed on the gossip of the town, argued endlessly on politics, and consumed ravenously the keeper's stock of cider, molasses, and rum. This was the beginning of a long Waldoboro tradition, and for over one hundred years and long after the sale of liquor in such places ceased, the stores were gathering places and miniature forums.

In my boyhood the whole of lower Friendship Road would trek to the village on Saturday nights and sometimes during the week. Each had his own favorite hangout where cronies would gather from other sections of the town and the evenings would be whiled away in old style. Such loafers did little more for the keeper than to smoke or chew his tobacco or munch his peanuts. They were none the less welcome. I remember the news and the talk gathered from around the paunch-bellied stoves in the stores of Tyler Gay or "Wash" Levensaler were always a pleasant diversion when my uncle or father returned from such scenes and narrated the evening's talk to the family just before the bed hour. This practice of using the store as the neighborhood gathering center has persisted down to the present day, not in the village where the stores began closing at 6:00 P.M. over twenty-five years ago, but certainly at Genthners and Kalers in West Waldoboro, at Scofields in South Waldoboro, and in other sections of the town.

But changes came. A bridge was built across the river at head of tide; a new county road was laid over Willett's Hill to Warren and over Benner's Hill to the westward. It became the main thoroughfare of traffic. Travel over the old routes ceased, and the Sampson and McGuyer taverns were of the past. Charles Sampson turned to the tillage of his ample acres and became the village postmaster, while Thomas McGuyer on September 9, 1809, sold to William McKean of Boston for the sum of \$950.00 his farm and inn at the north corner of the Old County Road, and retired to the home of his second wife in Bristol. The old tavern days in Waldoboro were no more.

Around the turn of the century the present-day village was in the course of becoming the center of population. In 1796 David Doane had sold the Ulmer holdings, which embraced a considerable portion of the present village site, to William Sproul and Ezekiel Barnard. When the new County Road had been completed, Barnard built a tavern on the hillside just north of the road, on the present site of the new parking area. This tavern was managed by Barnard's enterprising wife, Mary, until her death in 1852, and it became the main village hostelry. It was a more important mart of travel than the older taverns; through traffic was heavier than in the older tavern period, and as the town waxed in economic importance it became the headquarters of visiting businessmen. There was lounging and loafing as of yore, but this village inn was a gathering place for the local folk of degree and importance. To a greater extent the poor and unimportant folk took their blackstrap, flip, and rum at the village stores. There was, to be sure, no diminution in drinking at the tavern, but there the liquor consumed was largely by the gentry.

The Barnard Tavern was the terminal of the Georges River Stage from the eastward. Here the passenger shifted to the local coach which continued the relay to Damariscotta, and there received passengers eastbound, which on its return trip it relayed to the waiting Georges River Line for continuation of the trip eastward. The Waldoboro mail driver was Eliphalet Hale, who had the mail contract as early as 1813, and drove it at this time over the Old County Road by McGuyer's Tavern. It was in this decade, however, that the new road was put through over Benner's Hill, and in 1813 Eliphalet Hale, "mail contractor," bought of Joseph Kidder, "joiner," a lot in the village on the north of the County Road, "it being the same land on which said Kidder built a house and barn, which he has agreed to convey to said Hale."⁵ Here in what was doubtless his livery stable, Hale kept four horses, using a fresh pair on his route every other day.

The early New England stage drivers were of an interesting and dignified class of men. Like the innholders they were people of importance, and this was clearly the role of Eliphalet Hale in Waldoboro. The mail was driven in all weathers. In winter there was the tall bearskin cap, the great coat of the driver, and in rainy weather the oil coat or the poncho. Eight mails came in each week.⁶ The arrival and departure of mail was usually an animated scene before the Barnard Tavern. The stage would come dashing down the hill from the eastward to where Hale's coach was waiting before the tavern. There would be a quick transfer of mail and

⁵Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 78, p. 221.

⁶Town Clerk's Record, Jan. 8, 1821.

passengers. A little group of waiting people would be saying their good-byes to departing friends; there would also be those entrusting the driver with little commissions along the route, a message to be shouted or a package to be tossed to some friend living on the road. The drivers were usually kindly or beloved figures, who carried messages to all along their route and who grew to be on terms of helpful intimacy with all the people living along the road. On the outskirts and forming the framework of this scene would be the village loafers, whose lineal descendants still haunt the Four Corners down to the present day.

In the early nineteenth century there were two other taverns in Waldoboro of lesser note. The present Dyer house at Feyler's Corner stood at the junction of the roads leading to Washington and Union. In 1815 the road from this corner to Union had been laid out, a fact which made this point a logical location for a tavern. Since Charles Feyler owned and occupied the house at this time it would follow that he, too, was the innholder. By 1832 his son, Samuel, was running the inn. The selectmen's licensing records for that year contain the following entry: "Samuel Feyler was licensed as an Innholder with permission to sell wine, rum, and other spirituous liquors in his house." This was a neighborhood gathering center, where much liquor and gossip was dispensed, and it was a convenient overnight stopping place for the traveller proceeding on horseback or afoot to either Washington or Union.

The second tavern was "Aunt Lydia's" still standing and doing business. Its location was in East Waldoboro on the Post Road. John Trowbridge and his wife, Sarah, seem to have been the first of this well-known family in Waldoboro and to have settled in the Slaigo district on the farm now owned by Mrs. Russell Cooney. On August 8, 1816, John, Jr., and his brother, James, sons of John Senior, purchased of Matthias Waltz and Henry Burkett fifty-seven acres of land "in the eastwardly part of Waldoboro on the northwardly side of the County Road."⁷ Here the tavern was built which was patronized by the people in that section and by the foot or horse travellers passing east and west. As in the village, the innkeeper was a woman, and it was Sarah's name which appeared on the license list of 1818. After her demise, her son, James, took over management. His name appears on the license list of 1832. After his death his wife, Lydia, ran the tavern. Without doubt she was a vigorous and picturesque personality, famed for her cookery, her gossip, and her mixed beverages. Otherwise this lonely outpost of hospitality would never have operated for so many years and the name would not have lingered as a town tradition.

⁷Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 92, p. 83.

Despite the allure of these old days with their romantic tavern atmosphere, the ugly fact remains that the misuse of strong liquors had become the most common vice in New England towns. Its human wastage had become generally and enormously ruinous, and as we have said, the general store and the tavern had in a large measure slowly developed this condition because of the large profits accruing from the traffic. By 1820 nearly everyone in Maine took his liquor, and as Neal Dow observed: "Many of them were regular attendants upon the ordinances of the church; some were foremost in good words and works. Elders, deacons, sabbath schoolteachers competed with each other for customers for liquor as for dry goods and other family supplies, and cheerfully donated generously of the profits thus obtained."⁸

Dow's evaluation of the state condition is a fair and accurate appraisal of conditions in Waldoboro. The ledger⁹ of Charles Bruce, who kept a general store in the town with a license to sell liquor, shows all too clearly the extent to which rum had established itself. Of the names of the many town worthies appearing in the ledger those who did not purchase liquor regularly were the exceptions. In many cases such purchases were a daily occurrence. Typical entries with names omitted follow: "½ pint of rum, .20; 1 mug of flip, .10; 1 gill rum, .10; ½ mug of flip, .13; 1 cordial, rum, .15; 1 brandy, .10; 1 qt. of wine, .37; 2½ gals. of rum, \$3.12." Sales of rum far far outran tea and coffee, while the sales of tobacco were surprisingly occasional.

Dow was also correct on the participation of churchmen in this profitable but demoralizing business. The license lists for the year 1818 show licenses granted to Mary Barnard and Sarah Trowbridge, innholders, and to the following storekeepers or retailers: Henry Flagg, Payne Elwell, George Demuth, Avery Rawson, Charles Kaler, Thomas Appleton, Horace Rawson, John Hale, and Benjamin Arnold. Many of these men were pillars, and Payne Elwell was the number one deacon of the Established Church. The license list of 1832 is even more revealing. It contains the names of William and J. R. Groton, George D. Smouse, Henry Flagg, Henry Kennedy, Sproul and Haskell, Joseph Clark, Frederic Castner, Thomas Appleton, William R. Webb, Charles K. Miller, William H. Barnard, Demuth and Smouse, Francis S. Sproul, Charles Sampson, Samuel Feyler, and George Kaler. This is an impressive list, recording as it does the town's leading citizens and businessmen, many of whom were staunch churchmen, while General Henry Kennedy was shortly to become the number one Baptist of the town. Clearly the large Waldoboro fortunes were supple-

⁸Louis C. Hatch, *A History of Maine*, I, 296-297.

⁹Ledger for years 1816-17, in possession of Mrs. Warren W. Creamer, Waldoboro, Me.

mented from sources other than shipbuilding. It is also significant that the name of Reed appears on none of these lists.

With drinking in the town well-nigh universal, with drunkenness common and with pauperism due thereto becoming an increasing public burden, a reaction was inevitable. Public opinion was slowly marshalling itself against the liquor evil; a new morality was becoming resurgent and it was led by some of the very men who had been beneficiaries of the traffic. It started first as a temperance movement, its objective being the saner, more moderate, and more restricted use of liquor. When it became clear that such goals were not attainable, the issue was then joined for prohibition, and the century-long battle started that reached its climax in the Volstead Act and National Prohibition in our own times.

In Waldoboro the first faint rumblings of a resurgent morality began in the first decades of the century. It was felt in small but unmistakable ways, a public conscience awakening as it were in protest against godlessness and lawlessness. It was but a feeble gesture in 1809, when a Town Meeting authorized a committee to wait on the Reverend Mr. Cutting and to request him to invoke the guidance of God on the meeting.¹⁰ By 1813 the spirit of protest had become stronger and those guilty of disturbing the peace by drunken rioting and profanity were indirectly threatened with the displeasure of the law, when "an act to prevent routs, riots, etc., and also an act to prevent cursing and swearing" were read in Town Meeting by the town clerk "as the law directs." Isaac G. Reed was now in town, and the Colonel was a lawyer who knew the Massachusetts statutes. In such moves we may possibly detect his suggestive touch. By 1817 public opinion in the town had crystallized in sufficient strength to come to grips with the liquor power, and at a meeting of May 12th, on a motion of Deacon Elwell, the following resolution was passed, by what margin of votes we do not know:

Resolved as the sense of the town of Waldoboro that the vice of Intoxication hath in this town attained to an extent ruinous to morals, destructive to health, and injurious to those addicted to it. Resolved that a speedy and decisive check must be given to this alarming vice to prevent exorbitant expenses and merited disgrace from coming on our town. Resolved that the Selectmen be directed to use all legal means in their power to prevent the vending of rum and other spirituous liquors in small quantities contrary to law, and endeavor to put a stop to intoxication in any other way that seems to them advisable. Resolved that all magistrates and public officers of every kind be requested to aid and assist the Selectmen in their endeavors to check this great and growing evil.¹¹

¹⁰Records of the Town Clerk, Feb. 15, 1809.

¹¹Records of Town Clerk, May 12, 1817.

This was not a prohibition but a temperance move made on the part of one who had been himself a vendor of liquor. The only legal step that could be taken under Massachusetts law was to apprehend those selling liquor in small quantities without a license, namely, the bootleggers. But this would only divert their business to the licensed operators and mean larger profits for the legal traffic. Did the Deacon offer this resolution with his tongue in his cheek? We shall not presume to say, but there were results. The selectmen did something, not everything, but something. They did not, however, strike the liquor ration from the account of laborers working for the town, for when the fishways were built on the upper falls "one gallon of rum at Boardman's" at \$1.34 was allowed to the workmen. They did clamp down on the poor toppers, however, whose drinking was heading them and their families in the direction of the poorhouse. This was done by enjoining all vendors in a formal writ not to serve any liquor to the near pauper. Many such writs were served and the following is typical of the form used:

To all persons who are licensed to sell spirituous liquors in the town of Waldoboro.

Whereas J— B— of said town, as it hath been made to appear to us, doth by excessive drinking of spirituous liquors, so misspend, waste or lessen his estate, as thereby to expose himself and family to want or indigent circumstances, or the town to a charge and expense for his maintenance, or the support of his family:

We therefore the Selectmen of said town, agreeably to a law of the Commonwealth in such cases made and provided, do hereby forbid you to sell to him, the said J— B—, any wine, beer, ale, cider, brandy, rum or other strong liquors, for the space of one year from the date hereof.

Given under our hands this 1st day of May, A.D. 1819.

Charles Miller	}	Selectmen of Waldoboro
Henry Flagg		
Jacob Ludwig, Jr.		

Such measures exercised only a slightly deterrent effect. But the anti-liquor crusade was on the march, and on March 20, 1821, the Legislature of the new state passed a license law to regulate further the sale of liquor. The fee for such a license was \$6.00, and the penalty for selling without a license was a fine of not over \$50.00, for common illegal selling, and not over \$10.00, for a single unauthorized sale. The law sought further to limit unlicensed sales by providing that licenses were to be granted to those "of sober life and conversation." The half of all fines under \$20.00 was to go to the informers of illegal sales, and sheriffs, their deputies, constables, and tithingmen were directed to furnish the selectmen with the names of all those who used liquor to excess, and "all good citizens in the state" were exhorted to do the same. Such measures

only proved themselves ineffective, and further legislative acts were passed in rapid sequence. In 1829 a local option ordinance was made effective forbidding victuallers and retailers to sell liquor to be drunk on the premises, taverners excepted. There was a provision in the law, however, to the effect that any town at its annual meeting might allow its licensing board to authorize the drinking of liquor on the premises on such conditions as might be prescribed by the selectmen.

Waldoboro made use of this latter provision. In 1832 it granted licenses to three innholders and fifteen individuals or firms. In the meantime there was a new inn in the town. William and James R. Groton had acquired the northwesterly of the four village corners and had put up a building on this site which housed their store and inn. In 1833 a new state law made it mandatory for the selectmen to insert an article in the annual warrant which would leave to the voters to settle whether or not licenses should be granted for the sale of liquor to be drunk on the premises. The voters promptly acquiesced and this same year such licenses were granted to four innholders and ten retailers.

Meanwhile a strong temperance movement was developing in the state. In 1818 the first church in the state went on record as holding the use of intoxicating liquors by members a cause of church discipline. In Waldoboro the rising Baptist and Methodist sects early took a militant stand on the liquor issue. The Established Church, having so many of its most influential members engaged in the traffic, was somewhat slower in falling into line, but on the whole, the churches were strongly backing the struggle against the drink-evil, and were active in calling the first State Conference of Temperance Societies in 1834, which ended in the setting up of a state organization. Colonel Isaac G. Reed was president of the society in Lincoln County. This included the out-and-out prohibitionists along with those supporting the cause of temperance who did not advocate total abstinence. Thomas D. Currier was the secretary for Waldoboro. The second annual report of the Maine Temperance Society furnishes a picture of conditions in Waldoboro, which is interesting, albeit somewhat overdrawn. A condensation of it follows:

Waldoborough. There were two deaths by intemperance in 1833, "each leaving a widow and four destitute children." Several have commenced a reform in 1834, and those who had previously commenced generally persevere. There are two or three who have returned to "their cups." Several vessels were built in 1833 without ardent spirits, and it is said with considerable less expense for labor than those where rum was used, and also in a better manner with much more comfort to all concerned. "Three or four profes-

sors of religion refuse to join the society and one keeps a tippling shop."

This report then offers certain statistics, those on Waldoboro being here excerpted:

"The number of retailers and taverners who have become intemperate . . . Waldoborough, 23," the largest by far in the county. "In 1833, cases of delirium tremens" . . . Waldoborough, 2; deaths, 2; divorces, 1. . . . Temperance papers subscribed to in Waldoborough, 10 *Advocates*, and 2 *Genius of Temperance*. . . . Licenses granted to sell spirits to be drunk in shops by vote of the town . . . Waldoborough, yes. Buildings are raised, vessels built, launched and navigated, and highway taxes wrought without ardent spirits generally, Waldoborough, yes. Military officers treat their soldiers with ardent spirits? . . . in Waldoborough, yes. Mechanics are not furnished with spirits at 11:00 and 4:00 o'clock as formerly in Waldoborough. Ardent spirits and wine are generally used at social parties? . . . in Waldoborough, yes. The consumption of wine, cider and strong beer has increased during the year 1833? . . . in Waldoborough, no."¹²

It may be noted that the query on the use of liquors omits any reference to rum, Waldoboro's favorite drink. Possibly the report was able to assume a more roseate hue in consequence.

The active and influential members in the temperance movement in the town during these years were George Allen, Payne Elwell, James P. Pond, and Isaac G. Reed. Colonel Reed, the leader, was in no sense a total abstainer himself, but he did see the human wastage in the liquor traffic, and he hated it and fought it with something of the same fanaticism that he felt in religion and politics.

The tenor of the Temperance Society reports does not receive the full confirmation of other sources. For instance, on March 6, 1837, the town's budget committee speaks out in the following language:

Your committee views with alarm the rapid increase of Pauperism and are aware that it is unusual for the Committee on Accounts to report the expenses incurred for the support of Paupers and the cause of Pauperism, yet your Committee consider it their duty and the duty of every taxpayer to inquire in what way it may be diminished.

The expense incurred this year in the support of paupers was \$884.04; the expense for the five-year period from 1832 to 1837, computed with interest, was \$4067.04, and then comes the following significant comment: "Pauperism, your committee after an examination, find in nine cases out of ten to be caused by Intemperance."¹³

¹²Published in Ellsworth, Me., 1834.

¹³Clerk's Records of March 6, 1837.

During the 30's the liquor issue was becoming increasingly acute. It was the theme of an annual battle in Town Meeting, and the temperance forces, waxing stronger each year, fell into the practice of using the same lawless means employed by the upholders of the liquor traffic. For instance, throughout the state it was a common practice in the mid-hours of the night to saw down the trees in orchards where it was known that the fruit was largely diverted to cider. In Waldoboro the exponents of temperance were neither so quiet, secretive or subtle, for here the mob resorted to riot tactics and vented its wrath and disapproval ruthlessly on the community's extreme and unregenerate tipplers. Jane Ann in her correspondence furnishes an account of two such riots taking place in Waldoboro on successive nights. To her sister, Mary, on a visit in Bangor she writes:

Last Tuesday night a mob took Jimmy Adams and his wife out of bed and ducked them in the river, and another Irishman who was in the house, drunk with them. Wednesday evening between 10 and 12 o'clock, a mob of upwards of a hundred persons collected and tore McGarrett's house¹⁴ almost to the ground, all the windows are broken out, the roof partly off, one end and the backside torn down. They also gave Adams and his wife a second ducking. McGarretts are trying to get someone to prosecute the rioters, have been to Warren for the purpose. I could hear them strike their fire hooks into the house, (they had them made purposely) and hear them tear off the boards. There was a terrible noise. . . . I felt glad Gorham was not at home, as he might have been among the rioters if he had. Bela Haskell came near getting his arm broken by a stone thrown by some of the McGarrett's crew.¹⁵

In view of such happenings it may be said that the rising morality of the town was truly insurgent, and the crusade against liquor was giving small heed to the niceties of law. The McGarretts sought justice in vain, for the town did nothing more than abate the schoolhouse tax on their property in 1841, and pay the collector his cost on the same.

It can be easily imagined in view of such riotous action how bitterly the battle waged in the Town Meetings between the two opposing forces. The temperance faction won its first signal victory in the meeting of April 15, 1839, when it was voted for "the current year" not to license the "storekeepers to have ardent spirits drunk in their stores or shops." The even balance of power between the opposing factions is revealed in the fact that this article was passed by a margin of only six votes. The mandate of the voters, however, received scant consideration from the retailers, who continued to violate the ordinance. In consequence they were arrested in due season, brought to trial, and the town was authorized

¹⁴At Kaler's Corner. A hangout for the tough and foreign element in the town.

¹⁵Letter written at Waldoboro, June 13, 1835. In possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Dallas, Texas.

to collect the fines imposed, but in this matter the voters relented and at the meeting of January 30, 1843, it was "voted to remit the fines to the retailers on whom fines were imposed at the last court, by their giving a written pledge that they will sell no more ardent spirits in violation of the law or until they are duly licensed."¹⁶ At the March meeting of the same year the town, in view of the restrictions placed on the sale of liquor, authorized the town treasurer to keep a stock of all kinds of spirituous liquors and wines for "medicinal and mechanical purposes," and "to keep a list of all persons purchasing with respective quantities and prices to each."

The noose was getting tighter all the time both in the town and state. In 1846 a prohibition law was passed by wide margins in both the house and senate, a law which forbade the use of spirituous liquors except for "medicinal and mechanical purposes," and for such sales the towns were authorized to appoint a limited number of agents. That such a restriction was on the way had been clearly realized for some time, and the issue became a bitter one in town politics for the election of local officers who would be sympathetic to, and enforce such a law. The very briefest glimpse of conditions in Waldoboro in the year 1845 is furnished by a letter of Colonel Reed to his son Charles in Boston. "Old Mr. Groton" provides the text for the Colonel's observations. He apparently had little love for Mr. Groton, James R., to be exact. Mr. Groton was one of those Universalists who had worsted the Colonel's "pulpit guard" in their religious joust fifteen years before, and who subsequently owned and operated the tavern on Gay's Corner, which in the Colonel's judgment was a veritable sink of iniquity. Colonel Reed himself now at the end of his own life offers the following observation:

Old Mr. Groton appears to be near the close of his life. Even balls and a dancing school in his house probably will not save him from the shafts of the King of terrors many days — nor will the drunken kept by his wife in the same house. Rum and temperance are waging a great strife here for town officers. The battle is to be fought here at the next town meeting. I hope the ghosts of poor Sproul and Kuhn will be as disheartening to the rummies on this occasion as was that of Caesar at the Battle of Pharsalia.¹⁷

Here the Colonel slipped a little on his Shakespeare, but only for a moment, for in his letter of March 31, he located the famous battle correctly as having been fought at Phillipi.

The town now had prohibition, but the liquor issue was not solved. The problem had become one not of the passage of laws, but of the enforcement of a law, and such attempts encountered

¹⁶Clerk's Record, Jan. 30, 1843.

¹⁷Col. Isaac G. Reed to Charles Reed, Mar. 29, 1845.

sturdy opposition. Out of the clash of these two factions a long period of lawlessness followed in the town. The temperance party endeavored to enforce its will as represented in the law, and those opposed defended by force what they regarded as their individual rights. The existing factionalism and chaos is briefly glimpsed in a letter of Jane Ann to her brother, Gardner K., under the date of April 25, 1849. She observes:

I dare not venture out alone for Waldoboro has become so notorious that it is not safe. People can be shot down in the streets and the perpetrators or perpetrator walks abroad with perfect liberty. Waldoboro has changed sadly within a year or two. Virtue is put down and vice exalted. . . . I could fill sheets full of the low, depraved state of things here.¹⁸

Jane Ann undoubtedly saw through a glass darkly, but in general her thesis was true, for all the evidence available is corroborative. The law was resisted by force, and the more aggressive the resisters, the tighter the voters made the law. They had the votes to pass local ordinances making of prohibition an "all-out" law, but they did not have the power to enforce it. In 1852 the voters refused to designate and license an agent to "sell spirits and wines for medicinal and mechanical purposes," thus making the town bone dry, but only so in a legal sense.

Through the sixth decade of the century the town did not miss a single chance to support prohibition at the polls. In 1858, when it voted on an option of prohibition or license, it went all out for prohibition, and then came the Civil War, during which period the issue of slavery transcended that of prohibition, and such enforcement as there had been previously lagged. The war projected a new and powerful element of factionalism into the life of the community, for there was a strong and influential group of Copperheads in the town, and the two factions, both outlawed, made for more lawlessness than had been the case with one alone. In 1861 the town provided for its first "lock-up," after having had no need of such an institution in the first hundred and twenty-five years of its history. Even the children, aping the lawless attitudes of some of their elders, had to be brought under the curb of the law, and on April 13, 1863, the town authorized the selectmen to appoint suitable men for police "to prohibit and bring to justice such boys as make unnecessary noise in public buildings and in the streets, as requested by Luther Webb and twenty-four others."

When the war had ended, the slavery issue was decided but not so the liquor issue. The old struggle of enforcement began again with the temperance mantle of Colonel Reed (now dead) falling on the shoulders of General Henry Kennedy. Over the

¹⁸In possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Dallas, Texas.

years Deacon Kennedy had been becoming increasingly sensitive to moral issues. He had already imposed his code of Blue Laws on the Baptist brethren and sisters. The growth of a more flexible and dynamic morality had given this Baptist pope a bad case of spiritual jitters, with the result that cardplaying, dancing, drinking, walking, or visiting friends on the Sabbath had been banned for members of his church. Having set his own house in order, he turned to the uncontrolled sale of liquor in the town and the lawlessness ensuing therefrom. At the Town Meeting of April 23, 1866, he secured the passage of two resolutions. The first was worded as follows:

Voted on motion of Deacon Kennedy that no persons shall sell spirituous or intoxicating liquors in this town in violation of the laws of the State, and that it shall be the duty of the Selectmen, and that they shall be authorized and directed by the town to prosecute before a trial justice or otherwise, either in person or by their agents appointed thereunto, all and every person who shall offer for sale any liquors as aforesaid.

This mandatory legislation of Deacon Kennedy's shows all too clearly to what extent prohibition was faltering in Waldoboro in the 1860's, and it made clear to the selectmen the voters' intentions on the issue.

The Deacon went further and put teeth in his ordinance. His second resolution directed that "the Selectmen be authorized to appoint five policemen to keep order in the streets of the village and that they be sworn, and supported and backed up by the town in their doings." This enlargement of the police force provides a clue to the character and tone of village life after twenty years of prohibition. Conditions did not change as the result of the law. Neither Colonel Reed, nor Neal Dow, nor Henry Kennedy, nor the prohibitory law nor policemen ever made Waldoboro a dry town, but all these were manifestations of a growing public morality. From the individualism of the frontier days with its laissez-faire morality, from the roistering, drinking tavern days of the Puritans, from the unconscionable appetite of the retailers for profits, a reaction came, a resurgence of morality that sought to cudgel a strong and growing town into a condition of decency, but the desired end did not come in this way. It came rather as a result of a slowly developing moral awareness which in the fullness of time led men to outlaw voluntarily conditions which were repellent to their own conscience and judgment.

THE GREAT DAYS

They were more than things of wood and hemp — those old ships. They were at once the flower and symbol of all that was true and great and fine in a passing civilization.

CARL C. CUTLER

THE GREAT DAYS IN THE HISTORY of Waldoboro fall between the years 1830 and 1860. In this period the town reached the peak of its development in activity, business, and population, and in the wealth and caliber of its citizens. It was a time of bold and unrestrained action in shipbuilding and supporting industries, a time of able and dynamic leadership, and of the building of beautiful and stately homes which were furnished with the treasures of distant lands, brought back by roving Waldoboro captains from the great trading centers of the world.

In these years the town was one of the most active business centers of the state. Its population of 4569 reached in 1860 ranked it as one of the most populous communities in Maine, surpassed in size only by Brunswick, Camden, and thirteen cities. It was larger than Auburn and Waterville and was only a handful smaller than Brunswick, Camden, Ellsworth, and Gardiner.

The unwonted activity of the town, its great prosperity, and the wealth of its major men were due only in part to the virile enterprise of its leaders. To a great degree these men were favored by a world-wide economic trend which played in with conditions already existing in the town. These supporting trends were the China and Oriental trade, in full swing in these decades; coastwise and European shipping grew as the fruits of an expanding industry and developing continent were piled high in the warehouses of eastern seaports waiting shipping consignment to distant lands. Later in this era the discovery of gold in California and Australia led to the movement of great masses of men and goods. The demand for ships was the greatest in the history of sailing vessels, and the eastern seaboard possessed the artisans, the raw material, and the enterprise necessary to wrest the lion's share of the world car-

rying trade from the British. In this, the greatest era of sail, Waldoboro was not just one more shipbuilding town, but its output of vessels ranked it as one of the greatest shipbuilding centers in the United States.

For upwards of half a century economic conditions in Waldoboro had been pointing to the climax of the Great Days. Everything needed was present for the development of its major industry. White oak, red oak, white pine, spruce, beech, rock maple, and hackmatack were to be had in easy proximity to the yards, and here was a good supply of efficient and relatively inexpensive artisans, qualified to turn from fishing or farming to seasonal employment in the yards. These men had a background of experience in the shipbuilding trade. In 1820, 14,248 tons of shipping had been built in the state, numbering most probably between ninety and one hundred vessels of all types. By 1834, the tonnage constructed in the state had risen to 34,558, or a fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels. Lastly and of greatest importance, there had come into being over these years a new class of shipbuilding and ship-owning families, with a large experience in the industry, who were in the main responsible for American maritime supremacy in the great days of sail. These men had started modestly with a few small vessels under the command of competent and resourceful young captains. As their resources increased they built ever larger and finer ships, and kept them only during their most productive years. After a dozen or twenty years they were frequently sold to German and Italian buyers, and replaced by new vessels constructed in their own yards.

It was the families of this class that provided the capital and the enterprise which ushered in this town's great period. In the 1830's they were well on their way. The range and scope of their success is furnished by the ship figures of 1839. In this year the tonnage constructed in the United States was 118,309 tons. Of this total 38,936 tons were built in Maine, with no other state approaching this amount. This was a fleet of fifty ships, fifty-six brigs, and seventy-five schooners. Of this total Maine tonnage nearly one third, or 12,173 tons, were constructed in Waldoboro. In other words, more than a tenth of the total American tonnage for this year was built on the shores of the Medomak River.¹ Even with this excellent showing it may be added that 1839 was not a year in which the Waldoboro industry outdid itself.

During the three decades of the Great Days the demand for ships ebbed and flowed, but in Waldoboro there seems to have been little abatement in the mania for building. Yard after yard was opened up, until there were twenty yards, still known, and

¹Louis C. Hatch, *A History of Maine* (New York, 1919), III, 678.

highly probable other yards whose identity can no longer be established. Wherever there was a little guzzle into which tiny brooks drained the water from the surrounding hills and wore out a little channel to the main channel of the river when its tides were down, the chances are old bed logs, some now deeply buried, will reveal the presence of a shipyard.

These yards were about evenly divided between the east and west banks of the river. On the west side below the first bridge was the yard of William Fish. Here a level run was built on the sloping bank and the ships were launched down into the river in a south-southeasterly direction. Next south of Fish, at Smouse's wharf, was one of the most famous and longest surviving of Waldoboro yards, that of Reed, Welt & Company. Just south of this was the third yard, probably used by Edwin Achorn, where in a later day ships were built by MacIntire and Flanders.² The fourth yard, next south of Achorn, was in the run due east of the house now occupied by Harold Winchenbach. The fifth yard just south of this was in the run due east of the house of Guy Waltz. The next yard south was in the run just north of the house of Charles Morse, from whose truck patch old bed logs have been dug out. One of the last vessels to be built in this yard was the *J. Manchester Haynes*, constructed by Alfred and Leavitt Storer in 1885. Here it was common practice to launch a vessel, let her bed in the flats, and then work her out to the channel on high tides.

The yard next south, and the seventh in order, was in line with the run due east of Charles Morse's house. The eighth yard was just south of Storer's Point. This was by nature one of the finest sites on the river, as the channel was close to the shore and connected with it by a sizable guzzle. Here the old bed pieces are still visible and here it was that William F. Storer with Captain Charles Comery and other collaborators built some of the largest and finest ships of this era. The old McFarland house, a landmark until very recently, was originally the cookhouse for the Storer yard. The ninth yard on the west bank was south of the Storer yard and was operated by Wilbur Newhall who came from Union and leased this land from Henry Newbert. South of Newhall on the shore of the present Burgess farm was the Hall yard where building was carried on by members of the family of Deacon Allen Hall.³ The last known yard on the west bank of the river was that of Stahl & Co.; the builder was Captain John Stahl, my great grandfather, and the location of his yard was on the shore of the farm now owned by the heirs of Hudson Stahl. Here, in accordance with the practice of many builders, the carpenters were boarded by Mrs.

²Oral tradition of Louis Kaler.

³Oral tradition of Elmer Eugley and Louis Kaler.

Aaron Stahl in her home,⁴ and from these days the saying received its vogue in the family, when a great quantity of food was cooked, that it was enough to feed a ship carpenter crew.

On the east side of the river the roll of shipyards was nearly as impressive. Below the bridge and the old town landing, in the little cove just north of Alfred Storer's Coal and Lumber Yard, was the miracle yard of Joseph Clark, one of the greatest of the Waldoboro builders. The miracle of this yard lay in the fact that vessels so large could be launched with such safety in such a tight and rocky little body of water. The second yard on the east side was that of William Matthews, just south of the Storer coalyard and immediately back of the stable of Jesse Benner. Here to this day the little guzzle makes out to the channel and the old bed logs are still in evidence. Matthews built in the 30's, and thereafter the yard was used by numerous other builders. The third yard was on the site of the present Button Factory. This site at that time had not been filled in and was the scene of construction by builders now beyond identification.⁵ The old bed logs of this yard were unearthed years later by Walter Matthews while clearing the land.⁶ Below this yard, where the old *Henry A.* now rots by its rotting pier, was the yard of Henry Kennedy, the birth scene of some of the noblest Waldoboro ships.

A bit farther down the river there were more minor yards, the first on the shore of the land now owned by Solomon David; the second on the shore of the old Demuth farm directly opposite the William Storer yard; the third on the shore of the old Marble farm on the site of Carroll Cooney's boathouse, which when built in recent years disclosed the old bed logs of a shipyard;⁷ the fourth on the Castner farm on the site of the old Light Ferry; and a mile or more farther down the river, a yard at Schenck's Point. All these run into a total of twenty yards, and it is highly probable that this enumeration does not exhaust the list of yards active in the Great Days.

Apart from the main yards it is now most difficult to say who built what and where. Builders of the early period such as William Matthews, Charles Miller, and others, died or retired, and their yards were taken over by new hands. Partnerships, too, changed frequently, and a builder would shift the scene of his activity to another yard, or a new partner would join a firm for the building of a single ship, for which he would furnish most of the capital, or the command of which he would assume when the vessel was completed. It was also practice for a builder to lease a yard when

⁴Letter of Linda Stahl Lord, granddaughter of Capt. John Stahl.

⁵Map of 1857 and oral tradition of Alden Gleason.

⁶Oral tradition of Fred Matthews and Jane Brummitt, children of Walter Matthews.

⁷Oral tradition, Elmer Eugley.

he wanted to build an especially large ship where greater yard facilities and deeper water off the launching ways were imperative. Joseph Clark, as an example, built some of his largest vessels in the yard of William Storer. With such a variety of arrangements and changes, and with the scene shifting so rapidly, the picture is confused and the location of the yards of some of the minor builders is now impossible to determine.

The major builders in these years and later were Joseph Clark, Henry Kennedy, William Fish, Isaac Reed, George Smouse, Augustus Welt, Edwin Achorn, and William and Alfred Storer. The list of builders, regular and occasional, was impressive. Among them were John Kaler, Jr., Samuel Nash, Reuben Miller, William and James R. Groton, William Matthews, B — Eugley, Jacob Eugley, — Kaler, — Burkett, John Lash, Edward Benner, Joseph Miller, James Cook, Charles Miller, Bela B. Haskell, Christian Schweier, — Benner, — Schwartz, George Sproul, Frederick Castner, — Schuman, George Kaler, John Achorn, Benjamin L. Harriman, Justin Kennedy, John Kaler, Thomas Genthner, Samuel Morse, Francis Geyer, Thomas Gay, John A. Benner, Charles Vannah, — Hall, Solomon Mink, Reuben Orff, Meaubec Rawson, Robert Miller, Charles Comery, William Achorn, William Welt, Jacob Hahn, John Stahl, John A. Levensaler, Alexander Young, Daniel Castner, James Hovey, Aaron Kaler, Rufus Achorn, George W. Caldwell, — Roberts and — McIntyre. In summation, it may be said that in these thirty years more than sixty of the town's leading citizens built ships.

In these decades while shipbuilding had its ups and downs in the cycle of prosperity and depression, it continued in Waldoboro with unabated fervor. The year 1842 seems to have been the sole exception, for in this year for some reason unknown there is a record of only one vessel having been built in the town. Normally there were a dozen or more on the ways at one time. In the year 1846 twenty-one vessels were launched in Medomak waters; in 1847, eleven; in 1848, twenty-five; in 1849, twenty-six; in 1850, twenty-two, and in 1851 and 1854, nineteen each. These were brave days, and the builders were audacious men. Today as one surveys the scenes of their labors, it is unbelievable that sizable ships could be launched from some of the sites where they were constructed, and it seems almost mythical in these times that in the year 1843 a thirty-three ton schooner was built in the dooryard of Jackson Russell in East Waldoboro and hauled overland by forty yoke of oxen to Sampson's landing⁸ where she was rigged and launched in the spring of 1844. The material and capital for this dubious experiment were furnished by Ellis Wade and William Russell. It is

⁸Shore of the farm now owned by S. E. Patrick.

most probable that schooners of similar tonnage were built at different points along the lower river, but all trace of such has long since vanished.

For some time after 1812 the bulk of the American Merchant Marine was made up of vessels under two hundred tons, and this fact was true of the Waldoboro vessels of the 1830's. The first of the shipbuilders to break with this early tradition was Joseph Clark, who was one of the greatest as well as one of the most venturesome and unconventional of the Waldoboro builders. He took pride in doing what others said could not be done. Mr. Clark had come along the hard way, and while basically kind of heart and generous in his human and civic relations, he was as a businessman hard, resourceful, exacting, and fearless. In Jefferson, his birthplace, his parents had died young, and as a boy he had gone to live with his uncle, Henry Kennedy, in the old Kennedy house on the hill on Wagner Road, where until he was sixteen he worked on the farm with his cousin, later General Henry Kennedy. After establishing himself in Waldoboro he erected a brick home on the site of the present Clark house. The basement of the long ell of this brick structure was used as a dining room for his carpenters, and in his early period his young wife, Mary Ann King Clark, did most of the cooking for the hungry workmen. Later this home was magnificently furnished with mahogany, chinaware, rugs, and other embellishments brought by Mr. Clark's captains from distant lands.

The character of Joseph Clark is brought out in many episodes which still form a part of local legend. One of these has to do with the ship *Caroline and Mary*, named after two of his daughters. Built in 1849 and of 814 tons burden, she struck high and dry on the "Narrows Rock" while leaving the river. This was a possible heavy loss of capital, and the good village folk dropped into Mr. Clark's office to talk and sympathize. Some of the prophecies uttered were rather dire: "Too bad, too bad! You'll never get her off; she'll lay there and go to pieces." At length losing his patience, Mr. Clark roared: "Let her go! Let her go! I'll build another just like her." This spirit was characteristic of Mr. Clark and most of his shipbuilding colleagues. It was the spirit that transcended shipwreck and fire; the spirit that in 1854 rebuilt a town which had been laid in ashes in a few hours; the spirit that made the Great Days great.

On the hillside southwest of the old Parker Feyler house on Friendship Road was "Clark's lookout," as it was known a century ago. This site commanded a view of the lower river, the entire bay, and the waters beyond the "Narrows Rock." Mr. Clark and other shipbuilders stationed their lookouts when incoming ships were

expected in the river, and from this point the first appearance of an inbound ship was reported to the builders in their offices in the village. Such news would spread rapidly around the town, for such ships frequently brought back husbands, sweethearts, friends, money at the end of a long trip, and presents along with lovely things from distant lands. And many ships came to the river in those days. Robert P. T. Coffin in one of his books states that Waldoboro in the forties was the seventh largest port in the United States. I have not been able to verify this statement and believe that Mr. Coffin may have had the customs district in mind rather than the port, but be that as it may, the river offered a busy scene. Ships were returning for repairs, in and outbound with cargoes, and the coasting trade with Boston was a most active one.

There was as yet no overland trade route, and all the raw material necessary to feed the great shipbuilding industry and its many supplementary industries was imported. The oak came from Virginia in Waldoboro vessels, and all the rigging, gear, metal, and other accouterments used in getting a ship ready for sea came from Boston, also in Waldoboro vessels. This carrying trade was handled in this period by a fleet of more than a dozen coasters plying between Waldoboro and Boston from early spring until the ice closed the river, feeding the shipbuilding industry and transporting all supplies for local trade and for a large back-country consumption. The magnitude of the major industry with its multifarious needs, the rapid increase in consumer wealth requiring goods for itself and for the back-country which fed from it, made Waldoboro not only a shipbuilding center but a port of considerable size and volume of trade.

In these years the economic life of the town followed the pattern of the earlier decades of the century. There were still the back-districts with their poor folk sharing in a very limited way in the prosperity of the river valley people. Along the Medomak farms flourished. Their owners were nearly all shipyard artisans. To a large extent their land furnished them food, fuel, clothing, and shelter, and it was worked with the help of wives and children after hours. Shipyard wages were an additional source of income, and from it family nest eggs were laid by providing workers with good dwellings and security in their old age. In fact, it was in these years of assured incomes that the residential section of the village and adjacent country was built up. In a very real sense residential Waldoboro rose out of its shipyards. Surplus capital was also invested in ships and with large returns from this source nest eggs as well as larger fortunes grew apace. The figures of the aggregate tonnage of the shipping owned in the different customs districts of the state furnish a fair index to the prosperity and wealth of the town.

In the Great Days the local customs district embraced the territory from Nobleboro eastward to the Penobscot where the Belfast district began. In the year 1838, 46,661 tons of shipping were owned in the Waldoboro district. This was second in tonnage to the Portland district with its 56,191 tons, the largest in the state. By 1842 the Waldoboro district had surpassed Portland. This tonnage continued to rise each year and by 1852 had reached a total of 112,707 tons, the largest in the state. The top figure was reached in 1856, the year before the great depression when the tonnage had risen to 155,783, a figure surpassed in New England only by Boston, with a tonnage of 193,320.⁹ This ownership was widely held in the district. There were large and small investors, each adding to his own fortune according to his capital available for investment. The largest fortune in the area, that of Joseph Clark, came from the courage and enterprise of a man who started with no capital and built the major part of his fleet in a yard so small, and in a tidal area so unpromising, that many questioned his judgment and sanity, but Mr. Clark never doubted and at his death left an estate valued upwards of three quarters of a million dollars.

All this increase in comfort and wealth did not come easily to artisans or builders. By the latter great risks were incurred and great losses met, and for the workmen there were long days of toil that can hardly be imagined in our own time. The working day was twelve hours, and at certain seasons of the year this meant "from sun to sun." There was no machinery to lighten the heavy work of the building process, save such crude mechanical devices as the men might prepare and set up themselves. The hundreds of Waldoboro ships that went from the ways into the water in these years were literally the product of hand tools manipulated by human power. Building was a test of brains as well as brawn, for skill and know-how alone could ease the task for muscles and make the labor endurable. These prodigies of skilled toil were performed for scant pay: a dollar per day was top wage for a master workman, and for the young and unskilled learner five cents an hour was normal pay.¹⁰ These rates applied to the boom years. In times of depression when building slackened and there was little to do except repair jobs on vessels returning to the home port, perhaps for a layover to await better times, the carpenter would work for as little as fifty cents a day. In addition to the men who built the ships in Waldoboro yards there was a great host of local men who captained and manned them. The wages of these men, too, were on a level which made the operation of ships profitable. A mate

⁹Figures compiled by Wm. H. Rowe, from *American State Papers*.

¹⁰Ledgers of Wm. Coggins of Surry, Me., *Portland Press Herald*, Oct. 19, 1941.

received from forty to fifty dollars a month; a cook fifteen to twenty dollars, and seamen eight to ten dollars per month.¹¹

The captains received considerably higher wages and in most cases were part owners of their ships, which gave them a proportionate share of the profits of the vessels. These captains were among the most prosperous of Waldoboro citizens, enjoying a great prestige in the town. They lived the part and acted the part with such characteristic accessories of dress as tall hats, cut-a-way coats, and canes. They lived on a scale commensurate with the great shipbuilders and erected some of the most pretentious homes in the town. Among such were the following: Captain Herman Kopperholdt (residence of Stephen Patrick); Captain Thomas Wade (recent residence of Enoch Robertson); Captain Isaac W. Comery (former home of Captain A. F. Stahl); Captain Andrew Storer (former home of C. H. Lilly); Captain Harvey Lovell (residence of Harry Brown).

The youthfulness of the ship captains was almost a tradition of the American Merchant Marine in the days of its ascendancy. A classic example is that of the nineteen-year-old Zachariah F. Silsbee, who took command of the Bryant and Sturgis ship *Herald* in 1803, and sailed for Batavia. Such men were usually drawn to the sea as boys and in their early teens were found on ships as cabin boys or apprentice seamen. They were ambitious and utilized every opportunity for advancement, and sometimes through the interest of a friendly officer received some training in navigation.

The annals of Waldoboro shipping are not without examples of such youthful shipmasters. My father as a boy of seventeen years went to Havana and brought his father's ship on to New York while the latter lay ill in the Cuban port with a case of yellow fever. Captain Isaac W. Comery was another Waldoboro boy who took early to the sea. At the age of thirteen he shipped on a coaster in the Waldoboro-Boston trade. With the experience thus gained after two years, he walked to Camden and shipped in the schooner *Wanderer*, Captain Silas Clark, for a trip to New Orleans. He stayed with Clark for seven years in the *Wanderer*, *Republic*, and *Lancet*, and in his last voyage in the *Lancet* to Antwerp and Portugal, went as first officer at the age of twenty-two. In these days, after speed had become a matter of supreme importance, as much speed was due to the skill and energy of the captains as to the structure of their vessels. Sail was shortened or taken in only as a last resort; chances were invariably taken, and it was the spirit of youth with its love of hazard and chance that met the requirements of this new mania for speed.

¹¹Letter of Capt. Thomas Trott, master of ship *Alfred Storer*, in possession of Alfred Storer, Waldoboro, Me.

During the heyday of shipbuilding Gardner Kinsell Reed, a son of Colonel Isaac, acted unofficially as the agent of many of the Waldoboro builders in Boston. On order he purchased stores and gear, acted as agent in the sale of vessels or parts of vessels, and was instrumental in securing cargoes for local ships. Evidence of such activity is to be found in the letters of Isaac Reed to his brother, from which a few excerpts are listed here: Frederick Castner's bark *Oberon*, was sold on February 19, 1849, and Mr. Reed comments: "This was the greatest sale that has been made for sometime in these parts. The owners can well afford to pay you full commissions." Then he adds: "Reuben Miller would like to sell the John Dutton, if the Captain will agree to sell her. You can talk to Captain Burkett. . . . Miller says he will furnish Burkett with another vessel."¹²

In another letter Isaac Reed notes:

I should be glad to find someone in Boston who would take a small part [of a ship Reed was constructing] so that she may hail from Boston, as in that case we could save taxes. Captain Bentley is a first rate shipmaster. Mr. J. R. Groton says that there is no man in this section before him, he (Groton) will own $\frac{1}{4}$ of the vessel, — he has been in his employ a number of years.¹³

In a letter to Gardner under date of June 22, 1849, Mr. Reed observes that Mr. B. B. Haskell wants a coal freight for his schooner *Braganza*, \$2.75 per ton, and he then adds a note which throws light on some of the old Waldoboro portrait paintings: "See Mr. Badger and have a little talk with him about coming down. We should like to have him paint mother, and I think I can find some other jobs for him." In a letter of August 30, 1847, Mr. Reed notes: "By the loss of the schooner, *Osceola* we lose at least one years profits and we feel poor." He then adds an observation which throws some light on the mania for making money years before in land: "Father lost all his property in land speculations and Dr. Brown almost swamped George [Smouse] in the same business."

Ships were built, launched, and put to sea with great dispatch in these Waldoboro yards. It often happened that "shares" in them were not sold until after they were launched and were engaged in trade. Such matters were not allowed to deter the speed with which ships were put in the water. On such matters the Reed correspondence throws additional light. Isaac Reed in a letter of July 23, 1846, observes that during this year one of the vessels launched from the yard of Reed & Welt was in the water in thirteen weeks after the keel was laid. The bark *Antoleon*, built by Achorn, Reed & Haskell in 1839, was built, launched, rigged, and sailed for Appalachicola with only three sixteenths of the vessel sold.¹⁴

¹²Letter of Isaac Reed to Gardner K. Reed, Feb. 19, 1849.

¹³Isaac Reed, letter to Gardner in Boston, Sept. 5, 1839.

¹⁴Isaac Reed, letter to Gardner Reed in Boston, Dec. 14, 1839.

In these years ships were built in such numbers that the local lumber supply soon became insufficient and cargoes were brought in from the South. Ofttimes it was the practice of the builder to send out a company of his ship carpenters to Virginia in the late fall to cut timber and prepare it for shipment in the early spring when the ice had cleared in the Medomak. On April 7, 1850, Isaac Reed writes to Gardner the following reference to this problem: "We are in expectation of a cargo long due from Virginia, white oak. A few days since we were notified that a cargo of hard pine would be shipped from Wilmington, N. C." And again on December 5, 1849, he writes:

William F. Storer wrote home that he had bought a timber lot. Today he writes that O'Brien of Thomaston has taken the trade from him by giving \$30.00 more than he was to give. He is now going to look at a 1000 acre lot which he thinks can be had for \$3000.00. . . . We should like a part of a lot at a good bargain, if it can be had. Timber is getting scarce in this country, also in Virginia, and must always bear a good price.

The Reed correspondence as well as the advertisements and the marine notices in the county papers afford a glimpse of the scenes in the busy port in the Great Days. For instance, Colonel Reed, writing to his son Gardner in Boston under date of November 2, 1837, notes: "Gorham [Smouse] you know has gone to the West Indies in the brig, Benjamin, Captain Benjamin Creamer, Master. . . . They have as part of the freight 43 horses on deck for Jamaica. We have not heard from the vessel since she left our river." In the *Lincoln Patriot* for April 2, 1839, the following typical advertisement appeared: "For Boston. To sail this week — The Schooner, Medomak, Isaac Winchenbach, Master, having good accommodations for passengers, will sail as of above, and takes freight on moderate terms. Apply to Haskell & Reed, or Master on board at Brown's Wharf." So active was contact and trade with Boston that on April 9th of this year three vessels sailed on the same day for the Massachusetts port: Schooner *Forest*, Winchenbach; *Medomak*, Winchenbach, and *Columbia*, Kaler, all for Boston. In these years the schooner *Mexican*, with Captain Lewis Winchenbach as Master was regularly and profitably active on this route. She was owned in part by Colonel Reed and in consequence carried the major share of the goods for Reed's store and the Reed & Welt yard.

During the Great Days, along with fortunes made in the shipyards and on the high seas, there was loss and tragedy as well. Many a good ship never returned to her home port, and there were vacant chairs by the firesides and silent endings to many a romance.

The following brief reports are drawn from the Wiscasset *Lincoln Intelligencer*, and the *Lincoln Patriot* of Waldoboro:

March 1, 1831. At Wilmington, N. C. Schooner Amaranth of Waldoboro from New York for Charleston with loss of foremast.

Sept. 2, 1831. Captain McIntyre and mate of schooner William of Waldoboro, lost near Trinidad, came as passengers on schooner Lucy and Margaret to New York. Vessel and cargo lost, crew saved.

March 10, 1837. Schooner Warsaw, Deane from Boston to Bangor was entirely lost on Fisherman's Island on the 13th in gale. The crew was saved. About two thirds of the cargo was saved in a damaged state. The Hull broke in two and was saved for \$14.00.

1839 Gale. Many vessels wrecked on Norman's Woe. Columbia of Waldoboro. Captain Kaler and his brother drowned.

1845. Vessel seen afire 26th of June was Ten Brothers, Crawford of Waldoboro. Was from Galveston to Antwerp. Cargo of cotton. Crew was taken off by a French vessel and carried into Havre.

1854. Bark Averon foundered on the coast of Spain. Value \$10,000.

These brief reports tell little of the strain, the agony, and the peril which were met by Waldoboro captains and crews on all the seven oceans in these days of men against the sea. Much of it that was typical and characteristic may be told in the tale of a single ship on a single voyage. It was in October of the year 1856. The ship *Alfred Storer* was tight, staunch, and well and sufficiently manned. The *Storer* sailed from Liverpool for Bombay under the command of a Waldoboro skipper, Captain Isaac W. Comery, with a cargo of railroad iron and machinery. All went well until the 26th, when strong breezes from the northwest with heavy squalls were encountered. On the 27th the gale increased, blowing from the W.S.W., with a tremendous sea running. The Captain close-reefed the topsail, reefed and furled the mainsail and spanker, and furled the jib.

At four in the afternoon the fore-topsail burst, and before it could be clewed up it blew to pieces. With the gale increasing everything was made as snug as possible in order to ride out the storm. At 6:00 P.M. a heavy sea struck the ship, throwing her far over on her beam ends. Its impact caused the main-topgallant mast to snap off at the cap, which with the yards attached fell across the main-topsail yard and split the main-topsail which soon slat itself into shreds and blew away. A reefed spanker was set to keep the ship to the wind, and the crew worked at clearing the wreckage. In such terrific weather the men found it impossible to cut away the rigging on the broken spars, and the wreckage continued beating and chafing the main-topsail yard and rigging. At ten that night the mizzen-topgallant broke at the sheave hole, bringing down the royal mast and yard with rigging attached and lodging them across the mizzen-topmast stay and the starboard main-

topsail brace. The crew was housed in the poop for the night to insure greater safety. In the meantime the ship was making some water and the pumps had to be regularly manned.

At daybreak the wind had not abated one jot, but with daylight as an aid the crew again went at the job of clearing up the wreckage of spars and torn sails. By noon they had succeeded in clearing only a part of the debris caused by the fall of the main-topgallant mast. On the 28th the wind was still of hurricane force and the sea running to fearful heights. On this day the crew was still at the task of clearing the wreck of the main-topgallant mast and yards. As the broken mast came down it struck the mainsail and tore it badly, and before the masts could be cleared the mainsail was rendered useless. At 3:00 P.M. the fore-topgallant sail and foreroyals blew from their gaskets and went to pieces. At 4:00 P.M. the spanker gaff broke and the spanker blew to shreds. A close-reefed mizzen-topsail was set and tarpaulins were got into the mizzen rigging to keep the ship to the wind. At midnight the wind veered to the northwest bringing the ship into the trough of the sea, causing her to roll and labor fearfully. By this time she was making more water than in the earlier part of the storm. In order to get the ship off before the wind they prepared to wear and set a reefed foresail, but when coming to on the starboard tack the foresail burst and to save the foreyard the torn sail had to be cut.

The 29th commenced with a strong gale and a very bad sea. All hands were at work clearing the wreck of the mizzen-topgallant mast, when suddenly the ship gave a tremendous lurch. The starboard main-topsail brace had parted, letting the mizzen-royal mast and yard down by the run and lodging them across the cross-jackyard. When the storm had moderated so that an inventory of damage could be taken, it was found that an entire set of sails were gone; two topgallant masts and two royal masts with yards were broken; main and mizzen-topmast crosstrees broken; main-topsail yard chafed so badly as to render it unsafe; fore and main-topmast caps broken, and the greater part of the running rigging broken, cut, or washed away. To top this all, a great part of the cargo consisting of heavy machinery had broken adrift in the hold, threatening in case of recurrence of heavy weather to batter the interior of the hull and open the seams. In view of all these facts it was deemed wise to make for the nearest convenient port for needed repairs. The course was accordingly set and at 8:00 A.M. on the 30th the ship came to anchor in Vigo Bay, Spain.¹⁵

This struggle of a fine Waldoboro ship for survival for four days and nights is both typical and characteristic of the common

¹⁵Based on a written report of Capt. Comery in possession of Alfred Storer, Esq., Waldoboro, Me.

hazards faced at sea in these days and of the courage and skill with which the men who manned and officered these ships met the grim and ruthless onslaught of the sea.

In the three decades treated in this chapter the American Merchant Marine underwent a phenomenal growth. In the period from 1830 to 1860 our foreign commerce had expanded from 537,563 tons to 2,496,894 tons, and the coastal trade had risen in the same period from 516,979 tons to 2,704,544 tons. In the building of this great fleet New England held a consistent pre-eminence, outbuilding in each year the whole Atlantic seaboard from New York to the Mexican border. For example, in 1855, the year of greatest construction, New England built 326,437 tons to 176,901 tons for the rest of the United States.¹⁶ The period of greatest activity in the industry, in New England and elsewhere, began around 1847 and continued in rapidly increasing volume through 1855. It is no accident that this twelve-year period coincided with the final burst of glory of sail, when the great clipper ships, the most beautiful creations ever to sail the seas, made records of speed that were not to be exceeded by steam for a quarter of a century.

These clipper ships had a long ancestry which began with the mania for speed following the War of 1812, when the "packet" lines were inaugurated. The ships sailing set routes were called packets because they were commissioned to carry the monthly or periodical packets of mail and papers as well as passengers to and from Europe. In the interests of business such connections demanded considerably more speed than the old crossing of two months, and to meet this need a group of New York businessmen in 1817 established the first line of regular sailing packet ships between the United States and Europe, the famous Black Ball Line.

These — the world's first ocean liners — sailed from New York for Liverpool on a set day each month. The fastest ships available were sought for this run, and then the aim was to build still faster ships for this service. The average passage in the first six years of this line was twenty-three days east and forty days west. These vessels were the immediate ancestors of the clippers. At all times on their runs they were driven to the extremes of safety, until it was said that "they carried sail till it was worth man's life to go aloft." With their ever-increasing demands for speed these lines gave the impetus to new concepts in lines, structure, and rig.

It is true in the greatest days of sail the largest and fastest ships were built in New York and Massachusetts. All Black Ballers were built in New York with two exceptions, and these exceptions do honor to the reputation for quality of the Waldoboro yards,

¹⁶Merchant Marine Statistics, Bulletin No. 5, Dept. of Commerce, 1928.

for the only two Black Ballers ever built outside of New York State were the two sister ships, *William F. Storer* and *Hamilton Fish*. Both ships were built in the decade when the packets reached their peak in size and speed. Both were built by William F. Storer and Charles Comery in the Bill Storer yard on the west side just below Storer's Point. These ships were three-deckers with white oak frames and of 1628 tons. They had a length of 200' and a beam of 40' 2" and a depth of 28'. They were built in 1856; the *Storer* ran the Black Ball schedules until 1875 and the *Fish* to 1878.¹⁷ Both ships must have been fast sailers to hold their own on the route so long, at a time when the competition with steam was becoming rather formidable.

The clipper ships were a response to the economic needs of the 40's and 50's. The need for speed in maintaining connections with Europe was one factor; another was the developing China trade, where size and speed were essential to conserve highly valuable and perishable cargoes and to escape the lurking Chinese pirates. "Speed to China" had become a slogan and stood as a challenge to American shipbuilders to improve the instruments of transportation. This trend in naval architecture received new impetus with the discovery of gold in California in 1848, and in Australia in 1851. In these years there was a mighty rush to the gold fields of the Pacific state. Seldom has such a mighty migration found a parallel. People rushed thither by land and sea from every quarter of the globe. In the year 1849 alone seven hundred and seventy-five vessels cleared from Atlantic ports for San Francisco. From nearly every seaport on the Atlantic side they sailed, all filled with passengers and freight.

At this time California was a great undeveloped area unable to provide the food to feed this vast deluge of humans and the material to develop new projects. Everything had to be imported, and such goods sold at fabulous prices. For instance, beef sold from \$45.00 to \$60.00 per barrel; boots were \$45.00 per pair; shovels were \$5.00 to \$15.00 a piece; tea, coffee, and sugar went for \$4.00 per pound. Such prices made freights high, and vessels in a single trip often made more than their original costs. The demand was for ships of large carrying capacity and extremes of speed to capture the maximum of profit in this lucrative trade.

These profits were so fabulous that the mania for ships knew no bounds. This left the builders free to exercise their best skill with little concern for costs, for they could get their own price for any superior ship built. Out of such a condition grew the great fleet of clippers, "the stateliest and the speediest creations

¹⁷Robt. G. Albion, *Square Riggers on Schedule* (Princeton University Press, 1938), p. 296.

ever driven by sail," and they came in swift succession, all in a period of ten years. The first was the *Rainbow*, launched in New York in 1845, the fastest ship at this time in the world. Following this, ship construction of the new type was rapid and in the early 1850's the most famous names went off the ways, mostly in New York and Boston yards. The year 1849 was the greatest in shipbuilding. Maine led all other states with an aggregate construction of 82,256 tons. New York was second, with 44,104 tons, but New York and Massachusetts led easily in the size and quality of the new clipper type. After 1854 no more of these extreme clippers were built for the California trade. They were followed by a fine class of vessels known as the "medium clippers."

The extreme clipper was a ship with sharp, concave water lines at the bow and the greatest breadth of beam considerably farther aft than the conventional type. Such a hull laid more emphasis on speed than on cargo space, and to attain this end it was heavily sparred to carry a great load of canvas. For example, the famous *Flying Cloud* had a mainmast of eighty-eight feet, not to mention the topmast and the topgallant which topped it. Athwart this "stick" was a main yard eighty-two feet in length. In 1851 the load of canvas supported by such spars drove her from New York to San Francisco in eighty-nine days. At times speeds reached twenty-five miles an hour, and averages were maintained by the fact that sail was shortened only when the wind started ripping the canvas from the yards. The clipper *Surprise* was said to have reefed topsails but twice in a 16,000-mile trip from New York to San Francisco. This all suggests that the speed of the clippers was due as much to the skill and daring of the skippers as it was to the architecture of the ship. The conjunction of all these factors, shape, rig, sailing skill, and economic demand, made the years between 1849 and 1856 the most prosperous shipowners had ever known.

The shipbuilders of Waldoboro were slow indeed to appreciate these new conditions and the demands it placed upon their business. For the most part they were the heirs of the old Tory tradition, as adverse to experimentation in shipbuilding as in politics. Nevertheless the new style came to Maine. Metcalf & Norris in Damariscotta built the *Alert*, the *Queen of the East*, and the *Flying Scud*. In Rockland Deacon George Thomas built the *Rattler* and the famous *Red Jacket*, which in 1854 crossed the Atlantic to Liverpool in thirteen days, a record which has stood for sail for all time. Yet there is little indication that the Waldoboro builders were greatly moved even by the changes taking place a dozen miles away. They were as resolutely conservative in their business as in their political philosophy, but they were not equally so by

any means. In some ways Joseph Clark broke with this conservative tendency. As early as 1835 he proved himself a deviationist and built the *Mary Ann*, the first full-rigged ship to be constructed in the town. Again in 1865 he built the *American Eagle*, the first new-type three-masted schooner built in the United States, a type which enjoyed great popularity through all the days of sail. In addition, he was iconoclastic enough to build a large part of his great fleet in a yard in which his more conventional colleagues affirmed that it just could not be done.

An interesting note on Mr. Clark's so-called recklessness is furnished us in a letter of Colonel Reed to his son, Charles, in Boston under the date of November 2, 1837. The Colonel writes:

Yesterday Mr. Clark's ship Avon of about 500 T was launched from the yard adjoining Sproul's Wharf. When it went off the launching ways, it occupied almost the whole width of the channel. The slope was gentle and the descent so gradual that the vessel acquired but little momentum, and was easily prevented from dashing violently up the opposite shore. Many thought she could not be launched without sustaining great injury from the rocky bottom of the river, and many others supposed if she got safely into the water, that the river was so narrow that she could not be turned down stream, but would remain across the channel. . . . But none of these fears were realized and the Avon now lies at Smouse's Wharf, "looming up" almost as high as the store, safe and uninjured.

Then Mr. Reed adds another bit of local news, which though irrelevant, is too human to be omitted: "Immediately after the launch Mr. Henry Demuth was buried. How quick the change from gay to grave! Many, who but a few moments before shouted at the launch, now wept at the funeral."¹⁸

Mr. Clark clearly was not a traditionalist. He seldom hesitated to break with the views and prejudices in his town, but yet there are no grounds for believing that he ever built a clipper ship. This he could not have done in his own yard, and in these years of maximum rush in ship construction, he would have found it difficult indeed to lease a yard from a colleague where he could have gotten a clipper into the water.

Of other Waldoboro builders we can be more certain. They were too hostile to innovations in any shape to adapt themselves to new and radical structural patterns. These were of the same tradition as those gentlemen who remained Federalists long after the Federalist Party had died, and who then became Whigs and never heard of the death of the Whig Party until years after its final demise. There were only a few unconventional enough to gravitate toward the clipper type and build some smart ships which

¹⁸Letter in possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Dallas, Texas.

won recognition for their speed on the high seas. Henry Kennedy's *Toulon*, of 744 tons, built in 1852, sailed in 1853-1854 for the New Orleans, Louisiana and New York Line as one of its fastest ships, with an average westbound passage of seventeen and one-half days. Charles Vannah's *Moonlight*, a ship of 806 tons, built in 1854, made the New York-California run in one hundred and fifty days, which was hardly clipper speed. These vessels were of the medium clipper type, not so sharp at the bow, bearing a far lighter load of canvas, more cargo space, a ship that could be handled by fewer men, hence a type more profitable to operate when the demand for speed and high freight rates had declined. In this same class must be placed the ships *Hamilton Fish* and *William F. Storer*, which sailed for the Black Ball Line in Civil War days, and had to be smart enough at sea to outrun the Confederate privateers.

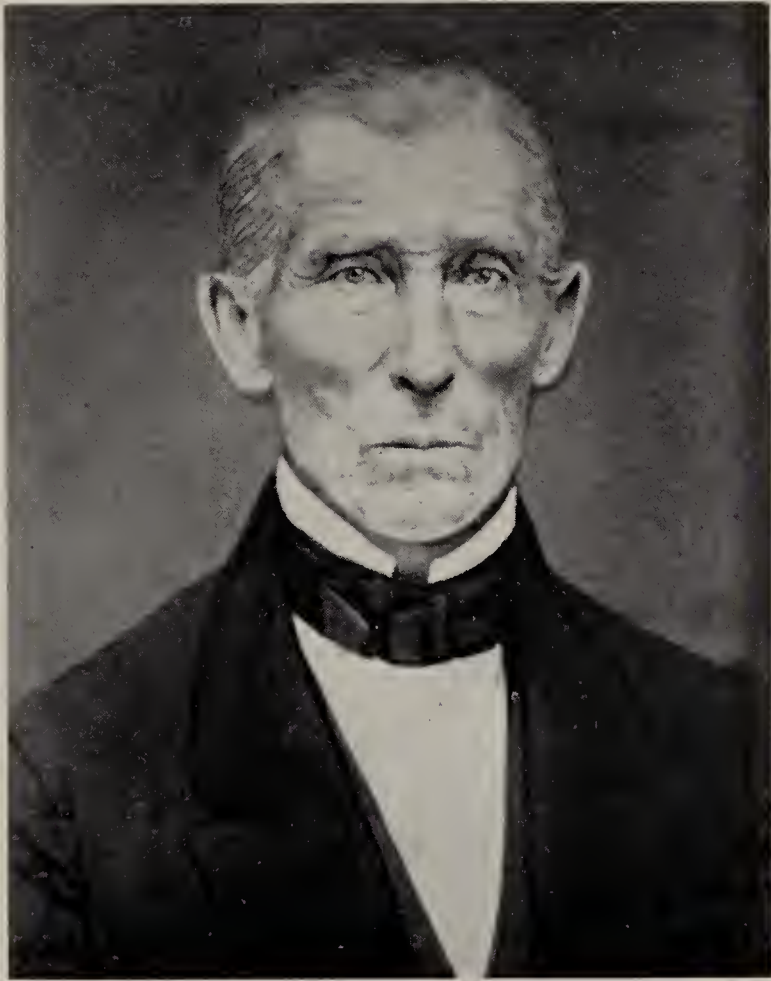
The question whether any extreme clippers were ever built in Waldoboro yards presents a problem which will never be solved with certainty unless the builders' prints for certain ships are discovered. If such were ever built they came from the yard of Edwin Achorn (1809-1887), clearly the least conventional of local builders. At the age of twenty-five Edwin Achorn was building small vessels at Waldoboro, an index to his ingenuity, his initiative, and his originality. In those days boys started out early on their own, and it is possible that he had already served a ten-year novitiate in some shipyard, possibly that of John Lash whose daughter, Elmira, he married. In his later years Edwin Achorn lived on Medomak Terrace in a home since destroyed by fire, which stood on the site where recently Peleg Levensaler built his home.

Achorn's yard, or at least the one where his best ships were built, seems to have been in the run due east of the present home of Guy Waltz.¹⁹ Here a small fleet of clippers or near clippers were launched, to be exact, four in all: *Woodcock*, 1852, 1091 tons; *Wings of the Morning*, 1853, 916 tons; *Spark of the Ocean*, 1853, 895 tons, and largest of all, the *Achorn*, 1854, 1250 tons. Were these clipper ships? There are grounds favorable to such a presumption. Carl C. Cutler, an American authority on the clippers, includes all four in his list of "clippers and reputed clippers" built in the 1850's. Concerning the "reputed clippers" he comments as follows: "They appear to have been heavily rigged in characteristic clipper style, and when loaded could only be distinguished from the true clipper by the expert."²⁰

In so far as the customhouse records furnish us dimensional data on these Waldoboro clippers it is clear that their dimensions follow closely and favorably those ships for similar tonnage which

¹⁹Louis Levensaler, born 1859, a contemporary of Edwin Achorn for nearly thirty years.

²⁰Carl C. Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea* (New York, 1930), pp. 389, 390ff.



GENERAL HENRY KENNEDY



JOSEPH CLARK
(—1875)

were indisputably clippers. For example, the Waldoboro *Wings of the Morning* and the Boston Clipper, *Southern Cross*, were near sister ships. The latter vessel, built in Boston in 1851, had a tonnage of 938.48, a length of 168.6', a beam of 34.9', and a draft of 21'.

The *Wings of the Morning* was just a trifle smaller, with a tonnage of 915.64, a length of 166.10' and a beam of 34.6'. Allowing for a small difference in tonnage, the dimensions of the two ships offer a very close parallel. Or we may compare the Waldoboro *Woodcock* with the Boston *Northern Light*, clearly a clipper, whose run from San Francisco to Boston in seventy-six days and six hours set a record for sail between these two ports for all time. The *Northern Light*, built at South Boston in 1851, was of 1021 tons, with a length of 171.4', a breadth of 36', and a depth of 21.9'. The Waldoboro *Woodcock* built in 1853 was a trifle larger, with a tonnage of 1091.17, a length of 187.1', and a breadth of 35.4'. Thus the Waldoboro ship, larger by seventy tons, had a disproportionately greater length and a disproportionately lesser beam, from which may be inferred a sharper, more rakish type of ship conforming to the clipper structural characteristics. Or again, the Waldoboro *Spark of the Ocean*, forty-three tons smaller than the *Southern Cross* exceeded the latter's length by three feet and was less in breadth at the beam by more than a foot. Such comparisons, of course, are not conclusive, but they do build up a strong presumption in favor of a Waldoboro claim to clipper ships.

These locally built clippers had varied careers. The *Wings of the Morning* was commanded by Captain Harvey A. Lovell of Waldoboro and owned by Talbot and Olyphant of New York. Immediately after her fitting for sea she was put into the California trade. On her maiden voyage she sailed from New York on January 21, 1853, and on March 18th put into Rio with a loss of topmasts, having apparently had her difficulties in the wintry Atlantic. She made San Francisco in one hundred and sixty-five days, a long passage for a clipper, but quite in line with the achievements of many of them. In 1855 she made the same trip, clearing from Philadelphia, and reached the Golden Gate in one hundred and forty-six days, which was respectable sailing. The following year the ship was sold to the French and prior to her last listing in 1868 she made a record from San Francisco to Shanghai which has stood as an all-time record for sail. The other Waldoboro clippers had honorable but inconspicuous careers.

The largest and last of Edwin Achorn's clippers was launched at Waldoboro in 1854, the ship *Achorn*, of 1250 tons. She made but one short voyage. In order to get out of the Medomak before the river closed for the winter, she proceeded to Muscongus, there to complete her fitting out. But on the morning of January

3, 1855, in some unaccountable manner the *Achorn* took fire and was entirely destroyed, an incident that was perhaps providential for the major owners, for the days when such ships could make money on freights or cargoes were nearly over. The material in this ship and the excellence of her finish and equipment is attested to by the fact that she was valued at \$85,000, a top figure in the clipper era for a ship of her size. Her main owners in New York had their shares insured for \$65,000,²¹ and since she was about ready for sea, they in all probability recovered the full value of their investment, but it was different with the small owners. They were not insured, and one of them, her master builder, Alexander Young, was compelled to mortgage his fine brick home on Dog Lane to meet the loss he sustained in this ship.

By the year 1854 the glory of the clipper era was near its end. These stately greyhounds continued for a brief period their swift sweep of the seas, but after 1854 no more extreme clippers were built for the California trade.²² As the territory increased in population it turned to other pursuits as well as the mining of gold, and in consequence it became more self-sufficient, producing the food and many other commodities needed for the support of its heterogeneous population. Its demand for eastern supplies tapered off, and speed in rushing goods there lost much of its old importance. In shipbuilding the medium clippers, costing less to build and less to operate, became the vogue in ship construction. The old Waldoboro mossbacks saw their conservatism being vindicated, when in a flash the bottom seemed to drop from everything, and one of the severest depressions in American history was on them. Shipping and shipbuilding were severely affected. Rates fell from sixty to ten dollars a ton, and ships lay at wharves for weeks and months awaiting cargoes. Builders everywhere experienced the shock and proceeded by droves into bankruptcy.

Either through accident or their conservatism the Waldoboro builders weathered the storm better than those in most building centers. Their capital was not tied up in expensive ships of heavy tonnage requiring a large force of officers and seamen to operate them. Consequently they were not affected so adversely by a smaller volume of freight and lower rates. But even Waldoboro felt the crash, for the County Map of 1857 showed only eight shipyards still operating in the town, but building did continue every year through the depression down to 1860. George Smouse, Augustus Welt, Isaac Reed, Joseph Clark, Charles Comery, William F. Storer, Alfred Storer, Henry Kennedy, and Schwartz & Castner, either singly or as partners, continued to build and

²¹Contemporary newspaper report cited by George Rice, *Shipping Days of Old Boothbay*.

²²Arthur H. Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era* (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1911).

launch. The volume was not so great, but from three to six ships were launched yearly down to the end of the decade.

Edwin Achorn, who had built the most beautiful and famous ships of this era, fared not so well. His fortunes and his career seem to have been broken by the abrupt ending of the clipper era and the cataclysmic depression which followed. Not until 1870 was he able to return to shipbuilding. Between that year and 1874 he built four small schooners, the largest being the *Tannhauser*, of 279 tons. His greatest creation had been the stately clipper, *Achorn*, of 1250 tons; his last was the little schooner, *Achorn*, of 87 tons, owned at Waldoboro and commanded by Isaac W. Comery. *Sic transit gloria mundi*.

Noon had passed. The Great Days were over, but few in Waldoboro knew it. Shipbuilding continued seemingly on a major scale. The town had known prosperity so long; so much well-being had been achieved in the middle class, and so much wealth continued to accumulate in the hands of the few, that things did not seem different to a prosperous and complaisant citizenry, but they were different. Steam and steel had begun their slow conspiracy, and the seal of doom was already on wooden ships. The Great Days were ending, and it was only a matter of time when everyone would know that things were different.

XL

ANNALS OF THE GREAT DAYS

Get thee up into this mountain . . . and behold the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children for a possession.

DEUT. 32:39

THE GREAT DAYS WERE THE YEARS of the most rapid growth in the town's history. Population leaped from 3661 in 1840 to its maximum of 4569 in 1860. The list of qualified voters of the year 1843,¹ "males of twenty-one years and upwards," furnishes some insight into the racial balance of the local society. In a population of more than 3600 there were one hundred and eighty-eight family names. Of these, one hundred and twenty-one were English and sixty-seven were of German origin. It did not follow, however, that the population had become predominantly English. To be sure, the number of German family names was only a third of what it had been seventy-five years before, but those remaining on the scene had maintained the Teutonic tradition of prodigious fertility, and in 1843 twenty-eight of these sixty-seven German families represented well over one half of the eight hundred and nine qualified voters in the town, or to draw the dividing line more sharply, the German stock cast six hundred and eighty-eight ballots and the Puritans one hundred and twenty-one.

To infer from such data that the Germans ran the town would have been wide of the truth, for aggressive leadership, social, economic, and political, was in the hands of the English, or of those of German descent who thought of themselves only as Americans. The great mass of German underdogs still carried on in the tradition of feudal docility, pretty much as they had a hundred years earlier. This was the unchanging factor in Waldo-boro Germanism. Its political and social overlords changed from time to time, but its feudal loyalty was always transferred to the next in line, and in these decades the mantle of overlordship, still continuing in the Reed family, had fallen on the shoulders of

¹In my possession.

the Honorable Isaac Reed, who maintained for decades a complete and tight control of the suburban vote on all matters except those affecting taxes, and here as ever, the Germans knew no control except that of their own poverty or thrift.

On the local scene, the Benner family still held numerical ascendancy, with a total of forty qualified voters. The Minks had stolen second place with twenty-nine family heads, and the Creamers and Kalers were close behind with twenty-seven and twenty-six family heads respectively. In order, there followed the Millers, with twenty family heads; the Storer, with nineteen; the Winchenbachs, with sixteen; the Achorns and Ludwigs, with fifteen; the Genthners, Hoffses, and Newberts, with fourteen; the Eugleys, Levensalers, and Shumans, with thirteen; the Grosses and Burketts, with eleven each, and the Welts, Seidlingers, Overlocks, Lashes, and Feylers, with ten each. Among the Puritans the Wallis family had twenty qualified voters, but the German Walch had already become corrupted to the English Wallis, later Wallace, and in this name the German and Puritan are no longer distinguishable. The Simmons family mustered thirteen heads; the Pitchers, twelve; the Flanders, ten; the Nash family, nine; the Howards, seven, and the Sampsons and Soules, six each.

English was the language of the village, even though many villagers still understood German and others spoke it — Mr. Starman to perfection. In the back-districts German was common, for there were those still alive, including Charles Razor and Conrad Heyer, who in childhood had known no other tongue. German culture was in retreat, but had not disappeared. In the village as well as in the back-districts old Teuton folkways and superstitions were still strongly entrenched, for the educational setup was just not strong enough to modify markedly or to eradicate what was handed down in the home from generation to generation.

A few new German families had filtered in, in these later decades — the Pfozters, known only from a few letters in German script; the Schweier family, made up of Christian and his two sisters, Elizabeth and Mary, who came from Germany, first to Canada then to Waldoboro and settled on the Athearn Daggett place. Elizabeth married a Turner and her daughter married into the Weaver family, while Christian married Lucy Bornemann (Pub. May 10, 1823). There was also Meier Untermeyer, a German Jew, who located in Waldoboro and carried on a butcher business. From him is descended the well-known contemporary American poet, Louis Untermeyer, who remarks of his ancestor: "My paternal grandfather, who proudly bore the redundant name of Meyer Untermeyer, had emigrated from Bavaria

and had been a butcher in the town of Waldoboro, Maine, before he bought out a larger Market in Boston."²

The infiltration of English stock during these decades was a steady one. The Tarrs, Abraham, born in Whitefield, Maine, with his two children, Edward, born April 6, 1839, and Elizabeth, born February 25, 1841, occupied the old Waterman Thomas mansion in lower Slaigo. The brook running by the house is sometimes referred to, to this day, as Tarr's Brook. The Philbrook was a new village family and became an honored one. Its founder in America was Thomas who came from England in 1630 and by 1636 was settled in Watertown, Massachusetts. The first in Waldoboro was Ezekiel Virgil of Brunswick, Maine. He was born November 11, 1824. His second wife was Sarah H., daughter of John Tibbetts of Lisbon, Maine, born June 26, 1827.³ In Waldoboro Mr. Philbrook engaged in the shoe and leather trade. He built the block on Friendship Road now owned by Elsie Mank. His home on School Street is now owned by Ethel Ludwig.

The ranks of the village squires were augmented by the coming of Samuel Jackson, who moved into town from Jefferson in 1853 to take over the collectorship of customs, a post which he held for eight years. Following his removal from the custom-house by President Lincoln he became president of the Medomak Bank in 1864, served in the Legislature, also in various town offices, and was active in the investment field. For many years he resided in the house now occupied by Ralph Glidden, where he died in 1896. His one daughter, Ellen, became the wife of George Sproul, Jr.

Among other perpetuators of the great citizen tradition who came to the town in these years was Alden Jackson. Active in town affairs, he served his community as assessor and as superintendent of schools. He also served as Secretary of State in Augusta in 1854, 1855, and 1857, and was Secretary of the Electoral College of Maine in 1856 and 1872. He married Caroline, the oldest daughter of Joseph Clark, and died in Waldoboro in 1877, at the age of sixty-seven.

Albion P. Oakes was a native of Sangerville, Maine, and a graduate of Colby College. He came to Waldoboro in 1847, and became a leader in the town's educational and business life. He married Ella A., daughter of Joseph Clark, in 1853, and for some time prior to his death in 1859 he was the law partner in town of the Honorable S. S. Marble.

In the Great Days two of the future governors of Maine resided in Waldoboro. The first of these was Dr. Frederick Robie,

²Louis Untermeyer, *From Another World* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939), Preface.

³Reverend Jacob Chapman, *Genealogy of the Philbrick and Philbrook Family* (Exeter, N. H., 1886).

who after his graduation from Bowdoin in 1841 and the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, resided and practiced medicine in Waldoboro for three years in the 1840's. In the Civil War he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and later in the politics of the state was Speaker of the House in 1872 and 1876, a member of the Executive Council, and governor in 1882.

The second governor was Sebastian S. Marble. Born in Dixfield in 1817, Mr. Marble came to Waldoboro in 1851 and established a law practice. He was Collector of the Port, 1863-1866; United States Marshal for Maine, 1870-1878; a member of the Maine Senate in 1882, 1884, and 1886, and as President of the Senate succeeded to the governorship on the death of Governor Bodwell. This brief comment on a few personalities who settled in Waldoboro in the Great Days does not exhaust the steady accretion to the English stock in the town. It merely places in the records a few new names which carried on the great tradition in the town, and in some cases in the state.

In these great years it was the local political tradition to place control of affairs in the hands of the ablest citizens. Among these Jacob Ludwig, Jr., Captain James Cook, Charles Miller, James R. Groton, Alfred Storer, and Augustus Welt each served two terms as first selectman, while Isaac Reed, the dominating figure politically, served seven terms. Representing the town in the Legislature were such prominent men as John Balch, Isaac Reed, Charles Miller, John H. Kennedy, and General William S. Cochran. Politically such figures measured up in all respects to the businessmen who handled affairs in the town as well as in the state and nation.

Local affairs in these days often represented a curious intermingling of progress and superstition. This is illustrated in the vacillating stand taken by the town on the old question of vaccination. Late in 1839, smallpox broke out in a neighboring town and its terror spread through the county. At a Town Meeting in October 1839, an article to have the citizens vaccinated was dismissed from the warrant. In March 1840 the town reversed itself and voted to have the inhabitants vaccinated, and "the vaccination to be sold to the lowest bidder among the doctors." Within a month the town voted a reconsideration of this question.

The old tradition of electing all newlyweds to the office of hog reeve was still a theme of civic humor in Town Meetings. Only in these days the function of the reeves had broadened, and they were known as "field drivers" and were elected en masse. At the meeting of April 28, 1845, it was voted that "all persons married in town last year be field drivers." There were twenty-eight in all, and among them were some of the town's leading citizens including the prominent shipbuilder, Alfred Storer. In the

meeting of March 15, 1846, among those thus honored were Miles T. Castner, Meaubec M. Rawson, Gorham P. Castner, Hiram Brown, and James A. Sampson. This office was discontinued in 1856.

In its period of greatest prosperity the town still had the ever-pressing problem of the paupers, and over these years the question of a poor farm was repeatedly before the voters. On this issue the great mass of poor folk in the town rebelled and voted the article down again and again. Haunted as so many of them were by the fear of becoming some day public charges, they clearly preferred being "boarded out," as for example in 1839, when it was voted "to sell the paupers separately," which meant that they were cared for as individuals in separate homes and treated in a manner similar to the town's more respected poor, such as Mrs. Ritz who in this same year was provided with "partial support," or the Reverend Mr. Starman who received a gift of \$50.00 from the town. Such a practice, however, was not always followed. In some years one citizen would contract to handle all the poor, as in 1841, when Ezekiel Winslow took all the paupers for one year for \$560.00, "covering all expenses." It was also in 1839 that the town authorized the last indenture of children by authorizing the selectmen "to bind Joseph Flanders to Christian Wallice until he be 21 years of age and give said Wallice \$10.00 per year for the first three years."

In these years military musters still furnished some of the most colorful episodes in the life of the town. Waldoboro was invariably the rallying place for such gatherings, probably with some justice, since the town mustered three companies of infantry. The first of these, Company A, was recruited from the citizenry on the west side of the river; Company F was drawn from the area beginning at the lower bridge on the east side and running north to the Washington and Union line "and then south to the County Road by William Fish's"; the third, Company G, was drawn from the east side south of the County Road.

To the lasting chagrin of those in the regiment from neighboring towns, the top posts always went to Waldoboro men among whom were two who were elevated to the rank of General, Henry Kennedy, a name still familiar in the town, and William S. Cochran, a prosperous sailmaker in the village. Little is known of General Cochran's origin, but he was very prominent in the town in its great period, serving as its representative in the legislature for five terms between 1847 and 1856. He lived on Main Street in the house now occupied by Leroy Miller. At the beginning of his political career he was a "regular," but amid the changing alignments of the 50's he broke with the local junta, and his career ended in a bitter controversy with the local political overlord.

Due to the rapid population growth in the mid decades the town found itself outgrowing some of its old clothes. The old town house was a case in question. Since the beginning of the century it had served as a town house and long prior to that as a courthouse on "Kinsell's Hill." The old Coolidge slogan of: "Use it up! Wear it out!" was a basic article of faith with the Waldoboro Germans from their very beginning, and their town house was the long-standing exemplar of this creed. Nearly half a century had passed and they had not laid out a penny on it in repairs, thanks to the black ash and pumpkin pine of their once virgin forests. But at last the fateful hour came, and on June 1, 1844, sheer necessity compelled them to vote: "to repair or rebuild the townhouse." A committee of five was elected to investigate and report. The report came four days later, and its promptness was most revealing. In a word it stated that the building was "defective in some respects and in an unfit state to repair. . . . We therefore recommend that the town build a new house 40' x 45' on the same ground . . . to be completed on the 1st day of August 1845."

As usual the building was awarded to the lowest bidder and "the same was awarded to Gardner Feyler, he being the lowest bidder, for \$533.00." William Cole, Edward Benner, and George Kaler were chosen "to superintend the building." Thus it was that the new town house came into being, and it remained in service for nearly one hundred years. Beginning in 1938 it was used as a garage by Merton Winchenbach until its destruction by fire in the late 1940's. One of its very earliest services after completion was to house the small Methodist congregation in the village in its Sunday worship.

It is both interesting and amazing to compare the town's finances in its period of greatest prosperity with its expenditures in the present day. In the 1840's the town allowed about \$1.00 per capita for the education of its children. The selectmen received \$25.00 for their services; support of the poor averaged \$400.00, while from \$4,000 to \$6,000 dollars was laid out annually on roads, the largest item in the budget, for the town had not yet entirely recovered from the spree of building new roads upon which it started immediately after the Revolution. In 1849 the town had a debt of \$949.66 and a total expenditure that year of \$9383.40. In 1856 the tax bills totalled \$11370.00, and at no time in the 1850's did the expenditures exceed this figure. The contrast of such figures with those of over \$100,000 in the present day is an illuminating index to the change in social conditions as well as the standard of living then and now. In those times the wealth of the town was concentrated in the hands of a score of old village dons, and to a much lesser degree, in those of a larger class of artisans who provided the skilled labor in the shipbuilding

industry, and in the hands of the captains who sailed the ships. The great mass of the population was poor to a degree that is utterly foreign to social conditions in the present day, where the total wealth is far greater and more widely diffused.

On July 2, 1849, the town organized its first Board of Health, a decidedly forward step considering the incidence of deadly contagions. Prior to this time the citizens always assembled in Town Meetings and collectively formulated their programs for handling epidemics. Due to the dominance of superstition their methods were oftentimes humorously grotesque, and their shift to a new procedure was not made voluntarily in any sense, but the inevitable was accepted and it was voted to comply with state law and organize such a board. It was made up of John Sides, "Mobbick" M. Rawson and the three physicians, William Ludwig, Hiram Bliss, and Elijah Daggett.

By the mid 1850's the last of the religious sects had firmly established itself in the village, and all citizens were now worshipping in their own parish churches. Jealousies were still marked, but the sects now were on speaking terms, and each had its own sizable group of partisans among the voters, so that at the polls no one group was powerful enough to secure any advantage for itself alone. With this balance of power whatever one got could be had only in case equal preference was accorded all. Thus it came to pass on April 13, 1857, that the several parish houses in the town occupied by the ministers of the Gospel were exempted from taxation.

In these decades, however, all was not serene among the sects. They were plagued by heresies from within. Spiritualism was a cult commonly practiced within the Waldoboro churches, and the strange doctrines of the end-of-the-world Adventists was a potent heresy. In fact, the year 1843 or 1844 witnessed one of the strangest religious phenomena in the history of the United States. For a number of years Advent doctrine had been making a strong appeal to the more imaginative, devout, and credulous believers within the Evangelical Churches of the northeastern United States. Several of its leaders came from Maine and great excitement reigned when William Miller, a Vermont pastor, arrived at the year, based on biblical interpretations, when the end of the world would come, and the faithful would not taste of death, but be caught directly up in the sky from their earthly home. The time fixed was "the tenth day of the seventh month of the year Jubilee." This was sometime in late March of the year 1843 or 1844.

Expectation was at a high pitch and full preparation was made. Many disposed of all property, made ascension gowns and

assembled in open spaces or on hilltops, and even housetops — anywhere where they would not be caught and tangled in trees as they moved skyward at the signal of the trumpet.

In Waldoboro there were those who disposed of their goods against the day and donned their ascension robes; there were others who while unbelieving, quaked with fear that the event might happen and blanched before the serene confidence of the believers. The great majority scoffed, but all gathered on the appointed day at the place previously decided upon. This was the river bank north of Clark's shipyard and on the west bank opposite the home of Augustus Welt. The banks "were lined with people, who brought their food for the day and waited for the end. Many had sold their farms and cattle." It was a tense day in the town and as it waned hope dimmed in the breasts of the believers, while the jests of the scornful became louder until under the kindly cover of darkness the faithful stole away to their earthly shelters.⁴ In the village it was the great joke of the decades. I dimly recall in my boyhood hearing old folks retell these events and laugh merrily over the year of the great delusion.

It will be remembered that in 1760 there were but two counties in the "Province of Maine," York and Lincoln, and that from their great areas the other fourteen counties were carved out over the years. In 1854 Sagadahoc had been constituted by detaching it from the western territory of Lincoln. This amputation left Wiscasset, the shire town, on the very western edge of the county, no longer central, and only inconveniently accessible to such towns as Thomaston, Rockland, and Camden, located as they were on the eastern boundaries of the county. The real center of the county was Waldoboro, eighteen miles removed from Wiscasset and Camden at the western and eastern ends of the county, and clearly of top importance from the standpoint of industry and wealth. The citizens of Waldoboro had strong convictions on this question. A good bit of undercover work was done and there was considerable support in the eastern towns for making Waldoboro the county seat. At a Town Meeting, March 9, 1857, it was modestly voted

that the selectmen⁵ together with the Hon. R. C. Webb of the Senate and Edgar Day⁶ of the House be a Committee to make the necessary arrangements for the town to appear before a Committee of the Legislature, who have under consideration the question of making Waldoboro the shire town of the County, and that the Selectmen be authorized to draw from the Treasury funds to meet the expenses.⁷

⁴Oral narrative of Augustus Welt to his granddaughter, Rose Welt Davis.

⁵Alfred Storer, Augustus Welt, George Eugley.

⁶The town's representatives in the Legislature, 1857.

⁷Data drawn from the Town Clerk's Records.

This movement had in reality come to a head in 1856, when petitions were presented to the Legislature signed by Albion P. Oakes, Bela B. Haskell, and others of Waldoboro, as well as prominent citizens of Union, Washington, Warren, Friendship, Bremen, Nobleboro, Bristol, Damariscotta, Jefferson, and Newcastle. In 1857 Isaac Reed promoted the idea and drew up a petition with ninety-two signatures including all the prominent citizens of Waldoboro and representative men of the other towns mentioned. In this document the position was taken that the county was now in its final geographical limits, that

the Business of the County at its southwestern extremity creates general dissatisfaction. . . . Since no further division of the County is feasible . . . therefore your petitioners would represent to and ask your honorable body as the only and best way to settle this vexed question is to make Waldoboro the Shire town of the County of Lincoln, giving ample time for the erection, removal and disposal of the County building and property of the County.

This petition was referred to the committees on Division of Counties of the House and Senate, and it was ordered published in the county newspapers before the 22nd of February in order that all interested persons might "appear and show cause why the Prayer of said Petition should not be granted." At this point state records are inadequate, but hearings were apparently held and the movement blocked, for in 1858, the committee of both houses reported "the same under consideration," and asked "leave to report that the Petitioners have leave to withdraw."⁸ In reality it was not the influence of a vigorously protesting Wiscasset that blocked the execution of this plan, but rather influences emanating from Thomaston, Rockland, Rockport, and Camden, where plans were already being put forward to slice the eastern section from Lincoln and convert it into Knox County. This plan was consummated in 1860, and it left Waldoboro's aspiration on an untenable footing, since all the grounds originally alleged against Wiscasset applied with equal force to itself, now on the extreme eastern fringe of the county.

There is perhaps nothing in the annals of the Great Days that so completely and strongly reflects the courage, faith, and initiative of the town's business leaders as their unswerving will in facing tragic emergencies, for the Great Days were days of adversity as well as prosperity. Twice in these two decades the village was literally wiped out by fire. Fire was always a menace, for the early town was built of wood, and fire protection was most inadequate. The only brick building devoted to business was the property of George Sproul. In 1835 he had moved the old Sproul

⁸Maine State Library: Legal Paper 12, 1858.

mansion back from the corner now occupied by the shoe store of Clarence Benner and erected a brick building extending part way along the street front to Dog Lane. Fire protection consisted of a single engine, the little old Water Witch, purchased in 1838, and a small local fire company organized in 1839. This was all that stood between the town and catastrophe.

The summer of 1846 had been both hot and dry. In July and August the mercury in the shade hovered in the nineties, and a calamitous drought lasted into October. In the neighboring town of Rockland water was sold on the street by the gallon.⁹ Everything was as dry as tinder and the only need was someone to strike the spark. This came on October 10, 1846, when two small children playing with matches in the barn of Andrew Sides on Shady Avenue, communicated the flame to a pile of shavings. The wind was blowing strong from the north, and in a short time the Sides property and the buildings of T. D. Currier, next adjoining on the west (the site of the present Baptist parsonage) were wrapped in flames. The sparks jumped the new home of Isaac Reed (site of the Waldo Theater) and ignited William Sproul's barn directly across the street.

From Sproul's the fire spread to Dog Lane and moving eastward cleaned up both sides of this street to Main and then westward on Main Street toward the bridge. The efforts of the one small engine in the town were futile to check the blaze. In two hours a substantial portion of the village was in ruins. With darkness, the lawless element in the town broke loose, and fired by rum it spent a good part of the night in fighting and rioting. The fire broke out again Sunday morning when an incendiary set fire to the house of Doctor William Ludwig on the site of the present Public Library, which together with Gay's Store adjoining were destroyed.

The following contemporary account was published in a Thomaston paper. The details differ slightly from the local tradition, but in the main outline the two accounts are the same:

The most melancholy and destructive conflagration which has visited this section within our remembrance occurred in Waldoboro on Saturday and Sunday last. The fire broke out at 3 o'clock P.M. on Saturday; and originated from some small boys who were at play in a barn belonging to Mr. Andrew Sides. It appears that one of them was smoking a straw, which accidentally dropped among the hay; in an instant the barn was in flames which soon communicated to the dwelling houses of Mr. Sides and Mr. T. D. Currier; the wind was blowing quite fresh, and from there the flames spread to other buildings in the vicinity. Although every exertion was used on the part of the citizens, the fire was not subdued until nearly the whole business section of the village was

⁹Press clipping in my possession.

reduced to ashes. Within the burnt district were 16 or 20 stores, the Medomak Bank, four lawyers' and three doctors' offices, the Odd Fellows and Masonic Halls, two Harness Shops, one Tailor and two Milliners' shops, the Post Office, and various other offices and shops, together with several dwelling houses. The amount of loss is not yet ascertained, but it must be considerably over \$50,000; \$3000.00 of which was insured at the Georges office in this town.

The principal sufferers are Col. George Sproul, H. Bliss, Wm. H. Manning, J. Hovey, B. B. Haskell, E. Benner, A. T. Moses, A. Hovey, C. S. & W. S. Brown, J. A. Levensaler, J. B. Humphrey, T. Hemenway, Capt. C. Sampson, Genthner & Morse, J. Sides, Dr. Wm. Ludwig, Isaac G. Reed, J. Brown, J. Clark, J. H. Kennedy and Moses Young.

We understand that Col. Sproul was by far the greatest loser; his loss being about \$25,000, with little or no insurance.

One of the Thomaston engines arrived at the scene of disaster about half past ten Saturday evening, and succeeded in saving several buildings, and a new brig on the stocks.

We regret to learn that a Mr. Miller was so badly injured that his life is now despaired of. Several other individuals sustained slight injuries in their endeavors to rescue property.

Following this devastating fire Waldoboro was rebuilt with a speed that was characteristic of the unflagging vitality of these years, but it was rebuilt of wood with the exception of a fine brick block erected in 1850 by Joseph Clark on the street front just west of Clark's Hall. The fire hazard was still present, and it was a nightmare for the businessmen. Do what they could to secure the needed protection of the village property their efforts were always blocked by the vote of the back-district folk. These people had been consistently exploited by some of the wealthy village vultures, and in consequence a deep-seated suspicion and enmity prevailed. To them it was a matter for rejoicing when certain village squires were struck by the avenging hand of flame. They just refused to be taxed for the protection of their enemies. In 1846 they declined to allow the purchase of an additional engine, whereupon the funds were raised by subscription in the village, and Captain Benjamin Roberts was sent to Boston to negotiate for a new engine. A secondhand Hanneman tub was secured and brought down on the last trip of one of the coasters. In fact, it had to be landed on the ice and hauled to the village. It was dubbed the Medomak and rendered its inadequate service for many years.

In 1849 the village was again threatened with destruction. Somewhat better fire protection and the early discovery of the blaze alone saved the town. Jane Ann in one of her newsy letters comments on this episode and affords a peek at the local scene in the 1840's:

On Friday night or rather Saturday morn' about one o'clock as a man was putting water on board of a vessel, he saw a light, which he supposed to be fire, in Russell's Barber Shop. By the time the alarm

could be given the flames had burst out, and the whole building was one mass of fire. The wind was blowing almost a gale from the northwest; in a very short time Mr. Clark's large store and the house of Gorham's¹⁰ were on fire. The efforts of the few persons there, were first directed to save Gorham's building, but from the direction of the wind which was blowing the fire into the thickest part of the village, they abandoned that and bent all their efforts to save Clark's, for if that had burned, and it was pretty well on fire, the whole corner must have been laid a second time in ashes. It is said if Clark's had burned, the whole square from the Baptist meeting house to Mr. Schenck's must have gone. The post office, which stood west of Gorham's building was torn down. Jerry Sidelinger's store which stood behind Gorham's was burned. I felt badly when I saw that once well finished store and house wrapped in flames. I could bring Gorham distinctly before my mind as he used to look when at work planning and overseeing its construction, yet I rejoice too that the fire was discovered in season for the inmates to escape with their effects.¹¹

These fires produced an ugly situation in the village. The voters had refused in 1848 to purchase another engine, and the village property owners seemed left to the mercy of chance, for even insurance companies were unwilling to give coverage to village property. The situation is revealed in a paragraph of Jane Ann's letter:

Edward wrote you last evening to have his library insured. I hope you will attend to it immediately, as there is great danger of fire in this village, and only one little engine. It is said that it will be impossible to get buildings insured in the village after present policies expire, because there is no fire department or organization. The Thomaston office refused Gorham's building but the Gorham office took it.

For many years the village folk had been longing for release from the tyranny of the back-district voters, and had been figuring out ways to free themselves from the relentless veto power of the poor. The fires in the forties clearly rendered this need more acute. The village people had good legal brains in their midst and were not lacking in resourcefulness. Furthermore, for three successive terms beginning in 1847, General William Cochran was the town's representative in the Legislature, and it was through legislative fiat that a road to freedom was charted. On August 20, 1850, an Act to Incorporate the Waldoboro Village Corporation was passed by the House and Senate and signed by the Governor. In this act the area of the Corporation comprised a "territory beginning at the northeast corner of Captain Charles Sampson's brick building¹² in the village and extending one mile in distance there from in all directions." Under the terms of this Charter the voters of the Corporation were "authorized to raise

¹⁰Gorham Smouse, half-brother of Jane Ann, at this time deceased.

¹¹Jane Ann Reed to her brother Charles in Boston, Dec. 9, 1849.

¹²Balch's Corner.

money to defray the expenses of a night watch, of a police to maintain security, good order and quiet within its limits, for the purchase of one or more fire engines and all other necessary fire apparatus, and for the construction of reservoirs." The officers of the Corporation were a clerk, a treasurer, collector, and three assessors to be chosen by ballot and sworn each January. Assessments were to be made on polls and real estate of residents and nonresidents. John H. Kennedy or John Balch were authorized to have a meeting called, and the Charter was to become operative as soon as accepted by the voters of the Corporation.

Little more is known of the village Magna Charta, for the whereabouts of its records, if still in existence, are unknown. Such action, however, may have mollified the intransigence of the back-district folk by placing in the hands of the village people a sledge which on short notice could be used to shatter the tyranny of the back-district vote. If so it could have served its purpose by maintaining a balance of power and by forcing a more mutual and equitable recognition of group needs. On the other hand, the Charter may never have been accepted by the Corporation voters and in consequence may never have become operative. In the light of subsequent events this last inference seems the most probable.

These checkered years passed, marked by rapid contrasts of unparalleled prosperity and crushing disaster. At the very peak of the greatest era of shipbuilding in American history, and this town was one of the great centers, the whole business community in a few short hours became nonexistent. It was in 1854, a year of freaky weather, with snow five and six feet deep on April first. Thereafter came a long period of warm weather, so warm that the corn spindled by July 3rd, and then in midsummer, long, hot, and rainless days. By mid-August all vegetation was dry and parched, and huge forest fires raged at one time in nine different localities in Knox and Lincoln counties. A mere spark in the right spot was all that was needed in the wooden village on the Medomak to terminate its existence.

The catastrophe came at one o'clock in the afternoon of August 25th, when fire started in the stable connected with the Tavern, on the site of the present Municipal parking lot. The blaze ripped through the wooden structures with the speed of the wind and the whole block east to Jefferson Street was ablaze at one time.

From this area it leaped the street in a southeasterly direction and laid everything in ashes on both sides of Friendship Road. It spread east, south and west. To the westward it stopped only at the river, destroying one bark and one ship on the stocks as well as the lumber for another large ship. On the south it seems to have gone down Friendship Road at least as far as the site of

the present brick schoolhouse. To the east it burned Dog Lane to the Benner house, where it was checked by "Fire Fly No. 3 Company," an organization of young men and boys formed in 1853. A small engine had been bought in Warren for \$25.00, and George Sproul had furnished a supply of hose. In this conflagration the Fly Company checked the fire burning northward at Aaron Kaler's home (the Poor House), saving this residence as well as that of Sam Jackson (present Glidden home) and probably the house and the Baptist Church just across the street. In the burned area were both banks (contents saved), the Post Office, the Custom House, the hotel and several livery stables.

The awful destructiveness of this fire may be in part inferred from a contemporary document issued by a group of village leaders shortly after the blaze had done its work:

On Friday, the 25th of August, inst., at about 1 o'clock P.M. this once flourishing village was visited by one of the most destructive fires on record.

So extensive was the conflagration that not a store, workshop, Public House or Office is left. Nearly all the furniture in the houses, the tools in the workshops, the libraries in the offices, and the goods in the stores (thirty-seven in number) were destroyed, and consequently no articles of Provisions, Clothing, Furniture or Medicine, can be purchased. Portions of goods and furniture which were taken to places of apparent security were burned.

More than seventy families are now homeless, and would be suffering for the common necessities of life, but for the unexampled liberality of the citizens of neighboring towns in supplying the destitute with food and raiment, but few having been able to save even a change of clothing.

The fire spread with such fearful rapidity, that in less than forty minutes from its discovery every portion of the village, which is now a heap of smouldering ruins, was enveloped in one sheet of flame. The destruction was at once awful and appalling.

The magnitude of the loss may be conceived when we state, that if these quarters of the business portion of any town or city in this country should be burnt at once, with all the goods, furniture and clothing, it would not be a greater calamity than has befallen us.

At a meeting of the citizens holden the following evening, the undersigned were chosen a Committee to appeal to the sympathies of a generous public, and we now make this appeal in behalf of our destitute fellow citizens, many of whom barely escaped with their lives.

The whole amount of the property destroyed from the best estimate we are able to make, will not fall short of a half million dollars, not more than one third of which is covered by insurance.

Isaac Reed
B. B. Haskell
Henry Kennedy
George Allen
James Cook
Alfred Hovey
A. W. Clark
John Balch

Alfred Storer
John Bulfinch
James Schwartz, 2nd
William S. Cochran
John H. Kennedy
M. M. Rawson
William A. Schenck
D. W. Seiders

The wealth and vitality of the town in these days is nowhere manifested more vividly than in its reaction to this disaster. The people of other towns responded most generously to the needs of the first few hours when money could buy nothing because there was nothing to buy. Food and clothing were accepted; beyond that the town took care of its own needs. How? One episode will answer this question. At the time of the fire, Athearn Clark and his young bride, Mary, lived in the little house just south of the Baptist Church, and their little home housed twenty-one of the homeless victims of the conflagration. On the Sunday following the disaster, great crowds from neighboring towns visited the scene out of curiosity and sympathy, but all was not selflessness. Other towns and other interests sought to attract some of the abler Waldoboro businessmen, such as Joseph Clark, into their own fold, but these men remained on the old scene to a man.

Temporary accommodations for business and trade were raised at once, and following this the town like the fabled Phoenix rose miracle-like from its own ashes. It was a wooden town that burned to the ground and a brick village that rose in its place. If the destroyed village of wood represented an uninsured loss of \$400,000, the new brick village with all replacements of goods and equipment represented a new capital investment of well over half a million dollars, which in itself was an herculean feat for a town of four thousand-odd people, and a living testimonial of the courage and wealth of the villagers of those days.

By the summer of 1855 the new village, essentially the same as we know it today, had come into being. Thomas Gay built the Gay residential block now owned by Ashley Walter; John Willett constructed the adjoining block, now the home of the Public Library; the present wooden building now owned by Elsa Mank was put up by E. V. Philbrook; William F. Storer built the brick block now occupied by Eaton's store; Francis and Edward Hahn built the "Arch" Kaler block next adjoining, and as is the case today this was a jewelry store operated by Francis Hahn; the present Crowell block was erected by General Henry Kennedy, and Weston's block by Otis Miller; James Schwartz and Daniel Castner built the Ida Stahl block and were in business on this site for many years; the large corner block was rebuilt, it is believed, by Charles Sampson, and for decades this corner was known as Balch's Corner.

On the east side of the street a single block was raised running south from Main Street to Dog Lane. This was the largest village unit at the time and was erected by George Sproul. The Kuhn block on the corner of Dog Lane was put up at a somewhat later date by George Kuhn and Otis Benner of Nobleboro; the old

hotel just south of this corner was also built later, by Alexander Wiley. The present Duane residence was built for Harlan Winslow by Mrs. John H. Kennedy. On the south side of Dog Lane, Joseph Clark rebuilt the present Floyd Benner property on the site of his brick house and the two houses due east, the one now burned, occupied for many years by his daughter, Celeste, and the brick house next east built for his son, Joseph Webster Clark; the present Benner homestead was rebuilt after the fire by Edward Benner.¹³

On the north side of Main Street the present Stahl Tavern, built by Dr. John G. Brown, had survived the fire as had the residence of Isaac Reed (site of the Waldo Theater). The Honorable Isaac Reed had built this house in 1841, at least we may so infer from a letter of Colonel I. G. Reed under date of August 11, 1841, to his son, Charles M., in Boston which states that "Isaac's house is raised, the window frames in, and it is partly boarded. The work is going on rapidly." At the time of this fire Isaac Reed was representing this district in the thirty-second Congress. Through his influence an appropriation was secured to purchase a site and build a Post Office and Custom House. The site was an orchard on the Isaac Reed property, and the building was the present Post Office which was erected in 1855, and enlarged and improved in 1908. On the south side of Main Street running to the river west of the Four Corners, the property was owned by Joseph Clark. Here he built the house, now occupied by Medora A. Perry, for his daughter, Celeste, and also a wooden block (site of present Floyd Benner block), and Clark's Hall, now known as the Star Theater. This he built primarily to please his daughters who were intensely interested in amateur dramatics. It was the scene of many local plays and operas with Ella directing, Mary furnishing the music, and Caroline and Celeste designing the costumes.

Across the street on the north side of Main west of Jefferson Street, a new hotel, the Medomak House, went up on the site of the present parking lot, and on the corner, the finest block in town, known as the Union block, owned in later years by Gay & Matthews. Thus gradually over the years following 1854, the village of the present came into being. Not least among the town's new architectural feats was the new Brick School House. After the fire of 1854 the village's older pupils had schooling in the vestry of the Baptist Church, while the citizens of old District No. 6 girded their loins for the educational triumph of the century, the erection of the old High School, which was completed in 1857, not the work of the town, but of the single village district.

¹³For this data I am indebted to Archibald Kaler, born 1856.

The bell tower and the bell were later additions and were dedicated in 1888. Their cost of about \$300 was paid from funds raised under the direction of Dora Howard York.

In these years Waldoboro was by no means a mere self-contained local unit. For decades now its ships and their captains and crews, visiting the most distant and strangest parts of the earth, had made all Waldoboro economically and geographically minded, and quick to evaluate new developments arising in any part of the world, since they were bound to affect for better or for worse the fortunes of a community whose life was trade.

On the 24th of January, 1848, James W. Marshall discovered several bits of shining metal in the earth taken from Colonel Sutter's mill race in Colomo, California. Swift clippers bore the news to distant parts and the race to El Dorado was on. Strong tremors of excitement ran the length of the northeastern seaboard and set off a great migration. Over the plains and the Cordilleras, across the Isthmus and around Cape Horn, gold hunters thronged to California. By November 1849 more than eighty thousand immigrants, "the forty-niners," reached the land of promise. There was a great stirring in all the little seaport towns, the fitting out of ships, the hasty assembling of cargoes needed in a great new community that had sprung into being so suddenly that it could not provide for its own needs, and then the hosts of forty-niners setting their houses in order against a hasty departure. In the town of Warren thirty-one natives left for California. In Waldoboro there were considerably more.

From North Waldoboro went John Burnheimer, Silas Storer, Parker Newbert, and George Sidelinger. The journey was around Cape Horn, a six months' trip. Before they reached their destination, they were obliged to eat moulded bread, and even that was rationed. Coming home they crossed the Isthmus where the route was strewn with the bones of those who had failed to reach the Atlantic side. Newbert and Sidelinger never returned, but Burnheimer and Storer enjoyed some success. On his return the former built the most elaborate stand of buildings ever erected in North Waldoboro, which were destroyed by fire *circa* 1938. Silas Storer married Burnheimer's sister, Sarah, and moved to Morrill, Maine, where he set himself up in trade and enjoyed much prosperity. A story of those days as told by John Burnheimer still passes currency among the old people in North Waldoboro. It concerned some Chinamen who visited Mr. Burnheimer's mine every day for some time. After a lapse of days with no visits, Mr. Burnheimer paid a call on the Chinamen to see what they were doing and found they had made a machine exactly like the one the Maine men were using to hoist debris from the mine, and that

where they had broken and repaired their machine the Chinamen had done likewise.¹⁴

The data available do not furnish us with a consecutive story of the impact of the discovery of gold on the life in the village. I recall from my boyhood some of our early neighbors who were in the gold rush, William Castner, brother of Gorham, Alexander Wiley, and Byron Castner. The latter's preparations for departure were hasty and certainly rather picturesque, for of him it was related that he converted his property into cash, placed it in a chamber mug, and buried it under the dirt floor of his cellar (the present Lawrence Davis homestead). Such a tale is too inadequate, even though it may be entirely characteristic, to furnish more than a clue to the rush and excitement in the village as the movement to the gold fields got under way. The fullest account of these years is furnished by the correspondence of the Reed family which provides us with a series of glimpses of the Waldoboro scene, of the men going, their financing of the trip, the excitement and bustle among the local capitalists, of plans materializing and falling through, of handbills and of competition for passengers among the shipping men. This kaleidoscopic view offered by excerpts from the letters follows: Isaac Reed in a letter of September 5th, 1849, to his brother, Gardner K., in Boston comments on his having paid part of the passage of Robert Sidelinger, "a middling ship carpenter," and then he adds: "Bateman wants to go very much. I am willing to pay one half of his passage, and premiums on his life insurance policy for 2 or 3 years . . . and also furnish him with the necessary outfit. He would be willing to go in the forecastle." Bateman went and brother Gardner K. in Boston made the arrangements there for the passage.

Under date of December 3rd, 1849, Isaac Reed wrote to his brother, Gardner K. in Boston:

Mr. Austin Kaler of this place who had made arrangements to go to California in Gay's Bark, wished me to ask you, if he should come to Boston and bring with him two house frames and put them on board your ship and pay half his passage before starting, if you would take a lien on the frames for the balance of his passage and freight of frames. If Gay's vessel does not go I think you will have several passengers from here and some freight. Hovey [James] has written to New York and if he has a favorable answer will send the bark there for the balance of cargo.

Under date of December 6th, Isaac Reed continues to brother Gardner K.:

J. Hovey and other owners of Gay's Bark have concluded not to send her to California. Several persons who were expecting to go on

¹⁴Based on data furnished me by Willie R. Walter.

her are now talking about going in your ship. I shall do all I can to induce them to do it. There are here several house frames, say ten or more, which they would send if they were sure you would take them . . . They will go by Mr. Vannah's new brig which will be ready to sail this week . . . Charles Currier says that he shall come up and five or six more with him.

On December 9th, 1849, Jane Ann wrote to her brother, Gardner K. in Boston, the following:

William [Reed] says Gay's or Hovey's vessel is not going to California; he talked with the two Webbs, Hahns, Charles Currier, Samuel M. Morse and one other person from Bristol, who talked of going. They would not secure a passage, but said they would call upon you and see the ship before engaging passage. They are on board of Vannah's vessel, Capt. Farnsworth. There is on board of Vannah's vessel also a Kaler with two house frames. Sam'l Morse, I believe is on board of Newbit, who is going down the channel this eve. Vannah's went down the river this morning. There was ice in the channel which detained Newbit. They removed it to-day. The persons named told or promised William that if the ship was as represented on the hand bills, and they could get passage as cheap as in any other vessel, they would go in your ship; they said perhaps as there were so many going from one place, they might get a reduction on price of passage.

On the last day of the year 1849 Isaac wrote to brother Gardner in Boston: "Your ship is long in getting away. If all the boys from this place go in her, you should give William a present, say a good overcoat. He used a considerable influence with them and worked hard to induce them to go."

In his letter to Gardner K. of January 19, 1850, Isaac notes: "I received a letter from Bateman dated at Rio. He complains of the Captain, says all the passengers dislike him, and that he has written you asking you to cancel his contract."

On the 27th of January, 1850, Isaac wrote to Gardner K. concerning the California plans and activities of his father-in-law, Judge Redington, whom he notes

has been doing considerable in the California business with a prospect of making money. He shipped about 90 M of lumber from Bath on September last in ship Hampton, Capt. Davis. This he has been offered \$100.00 per M in advance over all expenses. He and General Redington bought the brig, Ceres, of Portland and loaded her with lumber and including a steamboat of about the same size that Moore put on your ship. Judge Redington says that Moore in some way put the soft over you. He says you should have had at least \$2500 freight on their steamer instead of \$1000 and thinks it will spoil the profits of the voyage.

In the early months of 1850 Gardner K. began to think of going to California. In March Isaac wrote to him as follows:

We were sorry to hear that you were sick and therefore disappointed in going to California. Perhaps it is all for the best. Shall you

go if you get well? I cannot find a ticket for sale here. All that have them will go. You probably have seen what the newspapers say that are not bought of the proper parties but of speculators, that the persons holding them are not furnished with a passage on the other side of the Isthmus.

Again on April 7, 1850, Isaac inquires of Gardner: "Shall you go to California? You will probably remember that someone said: Never go clamming at high water, so I said to you three months since. . . . Thomas Genthner, Atwell, Harriman and Goldsmith leave this week."

Gardner K. went to California in 1850. His letters to his family reveal a story of hardship, fluctuating fortunes, and disappointments. They are filled with comments on the death of his mother, on old familiar scenes, the happy episodes of his childhood, references to other Waldoboro men in this new land, and they afford a picture of the varied life in the gold fields. A few excerpts follow:

"The tunnel that was commenced by an English Company and myself was completed and a quartz mill erected upon the head, but it did not pay. . . . They lost about \$20,000, I, my time. The things mother and you sent by the ship *Wings of the Morning* I never got, but did not like to inform you of it, as I knew you would feel sorry."¹⁵

On March 2, 1857, Gardner writes to Jane Ann the following:

Now as regards myself — last December on the 11th I mounted my horse and took a turn through the Sacramento City and called to see Judge Redington a short time before the boat left, found him well although looking considerably older.

At Sacramento I took the boat . . . to San Francisco. Great was the change there, for almost five years had elapsed since I had seen that place, and during this time the improvements were beyond my expectations . . . buildings erected without regard to costs. . . . The women looked like walking dry goods shops, and the men vying with each other in their ostentatious way of life. . . . I saw a man there who came to California in the same boat that I did. He told me at one time he considered his property worth \$370,000. Now it is doubtful if it would sell for enough to pay his debts — so with many others.

I intend to start for the mountains tomorrow, provided it does not storm. I am just making a decent living, but hope this spring to do better.

Thomas W. Farnsworth is now at work on Sand Hill, about 16 miles below here. . . . I frequently see John Turner, wife and child, saw him yesterday in town. They are all well.

On November 3rd, 1857, back in Nevada County, he wrote again: "I wrote to the public administrator of Amador County, but have received no answers. I believe you did not state the name

¹⁵Gardner K. to Jane Ann, Nevada County, March 15, 1855.

of the place, only the county in which your neighbor's brother¹⁶ was killed. . . . The name of the place should have been mentioned. In your next letter mention place, date etc."

On February 19, 1859, Gardner K. wrote from Relief Hill, Nevada County, California, to his young nephew, Redington, in Waldoboro:

I now own two sets of diggings consisting of nine claims in one body, and have staked my judgment against all of the others. If they turn out well I shall make some money, if not then I shall in California parlance be "broke," and even worse than that as I am in debt. Should these claims turn out badly, I shall pack up my "dudds" and try another place, although this would be rather hard as I am the only one left here now on this Hill of the many old miners that have mined here, their places being supplied by new ones.

When I shall be able to start for home I hardly know. . . . If good luck should attend me perhaps in a year or so. If bad perhaps never. I have contended against fate for eight long years, and am neither conquered or subdued. . . . By "friends" and a confiding disposition I got swindled out of my property. I mean to accumulate property again and to do it fairly and honestly.

In regards to California the climate is delightful, society bad. The inhabitants generally selfish, unprincipled, vulgar, dishonest, low-minded, intemperate set of men. The women ditto. I speak of them as a class, the exceptions few. . . . I do not fret or worry much. I ceased to do that sometime ago, but keep struggling on . . . and I think I enjoy myself about as well, living as I do in my little Log Cabin, as I did when in Boston, surrounded by comfort, style and luxury. I have never seen or heard of Martin Harriman in this state except in your letters. Expect he is in the southern mines.¹⁷

California had meant little gold for many of the forty-niners, some of whom never returned. Others brought back modest gains, including the North Waldoboro men and Alex Wiley in the Slaigo district. Gardner K. returned, but it was to have his remains laid in the family lot in the Main Street Cemetery.

Death is no respecter of social status and in these middle decades it made many inroads among the gentry as well as the more humble. One by one the great figures, who early in the new century had laid the foundations of the town's greatness, withdrew to the realm of shade. On April 18, 1840, William Sproul, the town's leading industrialist and realtor, was laid in the new family tomb which he had built in the Main Street Cemetery against the day. He was followed on August 21st by Payne Elwell, merchant, civic leader, and the first deacon of the Established Church. On August 3rd, one year later, Joshua Head died at the home of his daughter in Warren. As a merchant, land speculator, capitalist, and

¹⁶Possibly Charles Currier.

¹⁷Waldoboro men in the California migration other than those mentioned were: Wm. Davis, Wm. Prince, Job K. West and Rob. Brown, who sailed from Boston on the *Rob Roy*, Jan. 29, 1850. (*Eastern Argus* [Portland] of this date and year.)

Federalist candidate for Congress he had lived on through the years to see his incorrigible Toryism die, disappear, and be forgotten.

In 1845 John Currier, gentleman and highly respected citizen, departed from the scene. On November 26th of the following year Captain Charles Miller died in his brick home on Jefferson Street. As merchant, shipbuilder, and legislator he had achieved wealth and died representing the topmark reached by the Miller family in the town. By his first marriage he was a brother-in-law of Colonel Reed, which assured him social standing and political preferment. Later after the death of his first wife and the post office episode, this relationship cooled, but for some reason, innate clannishness perhaps, Jane Ann and her mother were with him much in his last days.

On January 26, 1847, the town's first citizen, Colonel Isaac G. Reed, breathed his last in his lovely Georgian mansion. His part in the development of the community had been great and varied. As a lawyer, financier, military leader, politician, legislator, and town officer, he had touched the growing town vitally at every point and led in every field and phase of its growth. He was in reality the founder of its greatness. With him there came to the town the Harvard tradition and the beginnings of the genteel way of life. Surviving him were six children and three stepchildren. The Colonel's mantle fell to the shoulders of his son, Isaac, and his was one of the few great families of the town where the great qualities of the first generation showed no diminution in a scion of the second.

A familiar figure in the town and a leader among the Germans was George Demuth. Born back in 1771, and a cousin of Captain George Smouse, he had acted as his local agent in the latter's West Indies ventures and had accumulated a comfortable competence. With the advent of the Puritan leaders his influence had waned, but due to his Reed-Smouse connections he occupied a privileged social position up to the time of his death in these middle decades.

In 1852 Mary Barnard died. The name of Barnard is closely linked with that of Sproul in village history. After the death of her husband, Ezekiel, in 1816, Mary became the town's first business woman, managing a rather difficult estate and presiding genially for decades over the town's social center, the Barnard Tavern.

There was no more tragic village episode than the last years of the Reverend John W. Starman. Since 1812 he had presided courageously over a dying cause. One by one his supporters had died or deserted the old church and as the parish sank to neglect

and poverty, its leader underwent the same fate. Beset by disappointment, defeat, and disease, his end came in 1854, when, although not a town charge, he was supported to a considerable degree by the generosity of the town's charitably minded citizens.

One year later death came to James Hovey, one of the town's most energetic and competent businessmen. His role in the town's great days was a large and respected one, and in his two decades in the community as merchant, shipbuilder, and shipowner, he had accumulated and left an estate appraised at \$81,597.31, a measure of the man's ability as well as of the town's prosperity in these times.

In 1857 Captain John Stahl, a second-generation German, went to his final rest in the little cemetery on Dutch Neck. He was an ardent Lutheran and one of the last supporters of Mr. Starman. He had been one of the town's Committee of Security in the War of 1812. Thereafter a long period as a successful shipmaster netted him ample means, and he bought up farms on Dutch Neck in the old German fashion for his four sons, and rounded out his career by building a fleet of vessels on the shore of the present Herbert Stahl farm on the Neck.

On March 19th of the same year Charles Heavener, a Revolutionary soldier, died at his home on the very tip end of Dutch Neck at the age of ninety-nine years. He was a second-generation German, was bilingual and had an excellent military record, having fought under the dashing Arnold at Saratoga, in the Rhode Island campaign, and at the battle of Monmouth. As was fitting he was laid in his last resting place in the Dutch Neck Cemetery, with military honors provided by the Conrad Guards.

Two years later, in 1859, still another of the second-generation Germans, Charles Reiser (Razor), came to the end of his days. Born back in 1762 in the closing years of the French and Indian War, the son of an original settler, old "Major" John Martin Reiser, Charles had enjoyed the prestige associated with an influential father, but had lived by disposing bit by bit of a sizable and desirably located landed estate. His fortunes had waned steadily, and at the time of his death the Reiser holdings in the town had practically vanished.

On June 21, 1859, the town lost one of its most promising younger citizens, Albion P. Oakes. He had come to the town as a schoolteacher and within a short time had infused new life into the village educational system. In the meantime he was reading law and became associated with the law firm of the Honorable S. S. Marble. In 1853 he strengthened his position in the community by marrying Ella, a daughter of Joseph Clark. His influence and leadership increased steadily, and a large usefulness was terminated by his early death.

The most momentous death of these years was that of Conrad Heyer on February 19th, at the age of one hundred and seven. Mr. Heyer had long since ceased to be an individual; he had become a landmark and a monument commemorating the beginnings of the town. His hardihood and longevity had become a myth throughout the state. He was born in a log cabin on the banks of the Medomak; he had endured the privations of cold and



JAMES HOVEY

hunger in the early days of the settlement; he had known the terrors of Indian raids; he had fought through the Revolution undergoing the sufferings of Valley Forge, and at the age of one hundred, read without glasses and rounded out the century mark by hand mowing all the morning in his field. He had participated as chorister in the first service held in the new Lutheran Church at Meetinghouse Cove; and in the last Lutheran service ever held

in Waldoboro, he had at the age of ninety led the singing, taking the high notes of the hymn without a single tremor or quaver of voice.

He was a source of wonderment to his fellow townsmen, who regarded him as timeless. At last he died at his home on the North Waldoboro road, now the "Evie Teague place," and was buried in the little Heyer Cemetery on his farm. When spring came preparations were made by the town to honor its old patriarch. The old church was put in order; a lot was purchased in the Lutheran Cemetery and a monument was bought by public subscription. June 17th was the day set; the body of the old centenarian was exhumed and the remains were brought to Farrington's Corner where they were "viewed" in line with the old German custom. The Rockland and Bath bands were on hand, as well as the Rockland City Guards. From far and near thousands of people flocked to the town, the largest human concourse ever to assemble in the village.

At one o'clock the procession was formed at Farrington's Corner. The Rockland band was in the van followed by the City Guards in bright uniforms with big bearskin hats, headed by the Marshal, Colonel Atherton W. Clark, on horseback. Then came the hearse draped in American flags; the Conrad Guards followed in black frocked coats faced with green and gold, grey trousers with green stripes, and army caps with green fountain plumes. At the grave a dirge was played and prayer offered by the Reverend Harvey M. Stone. Following a second dirge three volleys of musketry were fired over the grave by the Rockland Guards.

At the old church the forty-sixth Psalm was read by the Reverend Kalloch, and outside a large choir sang "Landing of the Pilgrims." Prayer was then offered, followed by a hymn in German sung by Christian Schweier and his two sisters. Doctor Frederick Robie, later Governor of Maine, presided and introduced the Reverend John Dodge who delivered "an eloquent eulogy." The choir sang again, prayer was offered by the Reverend Mr. Byrne of North Waldoboro, and the benediction was pronounced by the Reverend Enos Trask of Nobleboro. The program seemed to follow the pattern set by the early German funeral customs of the town, even to the collation provided at 5:00 P.M. by the Conrad Guards for the assisting companies from out of town and for a few invited guests. In the evening the Bath Band and the Conrad Guards were finely entertained by General Cochran at his home (Leroy Miller residence) on Main Street.

In 1848 the Maine Telegraph Company ran its lines through the town to Rockland, and a local office was set up in 1849 in the westerly store of the Clark Building with Thomas D. Carrier

as operator. Mr. Joseph Clark was one of the directors of the company, and during the last twenty years of its existence, before it was absorbed by the Western Union, more of its stock was owned in Waldoboro than in any place in the state outside of Bangor.

The war with Mexico passed, causing little excitement in the town. The only local man in the service was William H. Stahl who was a marine with the fleet at Vera Cruz.

The Iron Foundry on Main Street owned and operated by Rufus Rich was sold to C. C. Atwell and M. B. Harriman. These men erected a new foundry by the river near the Sproul mill and in 1855 sold it to Isaac Boyd and Samuel Vance. Three years later this partnership was dissolved, and Mr. Boyd continued the business alone until his death in 1868. He was succeeded by his son James P., who carried on until the foundry was destroyed by fire in 1893.

In 1854 steam made its first appearance on the river. A new company, The Waldoboro-Thomaston Steam Navigation Company, had a two hundred, fifty-nine ton steamer, the *General Knox*, built in Philadelphia. In August 1854 she started on a regular run from Boston to Waldoboro and Thomaston alternately. She was commanded by an old Waldoboro sail packet skipper, Lewis Winchenbach. For some reason the *Knox* was shifted to a Penobscot route the following year and continued on this run for only a few months. She was then sold to Boston interests and finally came to her end in the Crimean War. This advent of steam on Medomak waters was an ominous portent for Waldoboro shipbuilders, but so strong was their conservatism that few if any sensed its ultimate significance for the town.

In September 1856 the last of the military musters was held on Prock's field. A considerable display of color was made by the Rockland City Grays, the Rockland Guards, the Conrad Guards and an artillery company from Damariscotta Mills. Uniforms were showy and with each unit in its own individual dress the muster proved a most colorful spectacle. The battalion was commanded by Colonel Burns of Rockland. The division commander, General William S. Cochran of Waldoboro, along with his staff was escorted to the field where he reviewed the troops. On the last day and as if presaging the end of this ancient practice, a company of old-time militiamen arrayed in the uniform of former times marched upon the field under the command of Major Thurston Vinal and in reality stole the show.

In the 1850's the volume of business in the town had become so large that there seemed to be ample room for two banks. Furthermore the Reed-Welt interests had become so extensive that

to have their own bank to handle their own financing would be smart business. Accordingly the Waldoboro Bank was organized in 1853 with the following officers and board of directors: President, Isaac Reed; Cashier, Bela B. Haskell; Directors: Isaac Reed, John Sides, L. L. Kennedy, George Farrington, and Augustus Welt. The bank prospered for a period, but when the decline of the town set in with the rising ascendancy of steam over sail, this second bank became superfluous, and it closed its business in September 1884, with the same officers and directors.

A fair idea of the growth and prosperity of Waldoboro in these decades, the range of its business activities, and its rating with other towns in the state and county is furnished by the *Maine Register*. The data follow: Damariscotta, polls 277, valuation \$377,242; Lewiston, polls 495, valuation \$580,420; Rockland, polls 982, valuation \$1,039,599; Thomaston, polls 495, valuation \$737,511; Warren, polls 494, valuation \$707,730; Wiscasset, polls 448, valuation \$605,096; Waldoboro, polls 837, valuation \$941,088.¹⁸

Further data provided by the *Register* furnish interesting comparative statistics with other towns. In the year 1860 when Waldoboro reached its population peak of 4569, Boothbay showed a population of 2857, Damariscotta 1336, and Wiscasset 2318. The state valuation in 1860 for Waldoboro was \$1,010,447. The town in the county closest to this figure was Wiscasset, with a valuation of \$806,749. For 1854 the ship tonnage built in the nearby towns was as follows: Wiscasset, 4000 tons; Boothbay, 2237 tons; Warren, 1651 tons; Thomaston, 6067 tons; Damariscotta, 2530 tons; Waldoboro, 8284 tons. These data from the *Register* reveal the ascendancy of the town throughout the middle area between the Kennebec and the Penobscot rivers, as well as a community producing from its own fields, ships, and forests most of what was needed to make it a self-contained economic unit.

This chapter is being concluded with an offering of miscellaneous data which provide us with glimpses of the life, practices, outlooks, viewpoints, and beliefs of our forebears a century ago. Some of these facts appear trivial and insignificant, when actually they furnish insight into modes of living now vanished forever, which, could they be recaptured in their entirety would provide for our hungry curiosity the most precious and savory essence of history. Actually there is in history no fact that is insignificant, for here if anywhere it is often the little that reveals the most.

The time when the ice leaves the river is a date which still grips our imagination, for it is a harbinger of the advent of spring.

¹⁸*Maine Register*, Hallowell, 1852.

To the forebears it was this and more, for it marked the time when the little community became again a part of the larger world. For thirty years, 1815 to 1845, Colonel Isaac G. Reed kept records of the dates when the ice packs went out with the tide. The earliest date was February 14, 1842, and the latest April 17, 1816.¹⁹

Tuberculosis and poor teeth were the major and most acute sources of suffering visited on the mid-century town folk. The good people knew nothing of dental hygiene, and there were few dentists short of Boston. The results are easily imaginable and a toothless middle and old age was a common prospect. George Smouse told the whole story when on January 11, 1849, he wrote to his half-brother in Boston as follows:

Charles — I wish you to get for me of some Dentist some gold leaf. I have two teeth in trouble and we have no dentist here. Doct. Daggett says he will do it if I get the gold. You can send it in a letter.

Uncle Demuth is quite sick and can live a short time only.

Our family all well.

Your Brother

George [Smouse]

Medically the people were still in a superstitious state, the poorer folk believing strongly in the efficacy of their old nostrums and folk ways of healing, and the more enlightened and wealthier, in the relatively new patent remedies of the quacks. This attitude is revealed in the following note of George Smouse to his half-brother in Boston under date of November 27, 1843:

Dear Brother — Enclosed, I send you Five dollars which was subscribed for James Comery. He wishes you to purchase for him the amount in Schenck's Syrup, the bottles hold near a pint and are worth 5 to 6 shillings each.

You will find it in Washington Street, No. 300 or something. He is sick, I think in consumption, and poor. Get it as cheap as you can.

In these years the good church folk were morbidly conscious of the problems of salvation, eternal damnation, and all the other human alternatives of medieval theology so sedulously propagated by the local churches. The Reverend D. W. Mitchell had recently left for other fields after a pastorate of twenty-six years in the Established Church, but his influence was to hover for decades over the religious thought of the town, like a funeral pall. His stern, rigid Calvinism made no halfway stops between eternal bliss and brimstone, and at every death of a nonchurch member a flutter of concerned curiosity ran through the village as to whether or not the individual had died redeemed or unredeemed. The two main village skeptics were John H. Kennedy and George Smouse.

¹⁹Col. Reed's letter to Gardner K. in Boston, March 29, 1845. In possession of Mrs. Warren W. Creamer.

For two such prominent men to continue living in such a precarious state was a matter of standing concern. The following excerpts from Reed letters furnish a quick glimpse of the prevailing village psychology on such matters:

Joseph Rawson was buried yesterday. Died of consumption. If he experienced religion or not I am unable to say; some think he did, others are doubtful. He found it very difficult to fix his mind on the concern of the soul, and warned all he saw not to defer a preparation for death until a sick bed.²⁰ [And in an earlier letter] Helen Dutton died this morning, . . . said she had a strong desire for the conversion of John H. Kennedy and George Smouse. Her desire for Mr. Kennedy was so great that she sent for him and conversed with him.²¹

The Waldoboro folk of the mid-century went to extremes in their affections, and as we shall see later, also in their feuds. Mutual aid was the established social practice due in part to the strong German tradition surviving from earlier days of hardship. In poverty and sickness none were left unhelped or alone, that is not in the village, which was in reality one big single neighborhood. This spirit is reflected in the following epistolary excerpts:

Her mother [Jane Ann's] and she have been much engaged, sometimes by night as well as by day, at Mr. Miller's [Capt. Charles]. Your aunt died on the 23 ult., aged 66 years. You may, if you please procure it to be inserted in some paper, wife of Charles Miller, Esq., etc., John M. Kinsell died Nov. 5, aged 21 yrs. This you might put in the paper too. . . . Your Uncle Miller is very low. It is supposed he cannot continue much longer. He may linger along sometime, but I should not be surprised to hear of his death any moment.²²

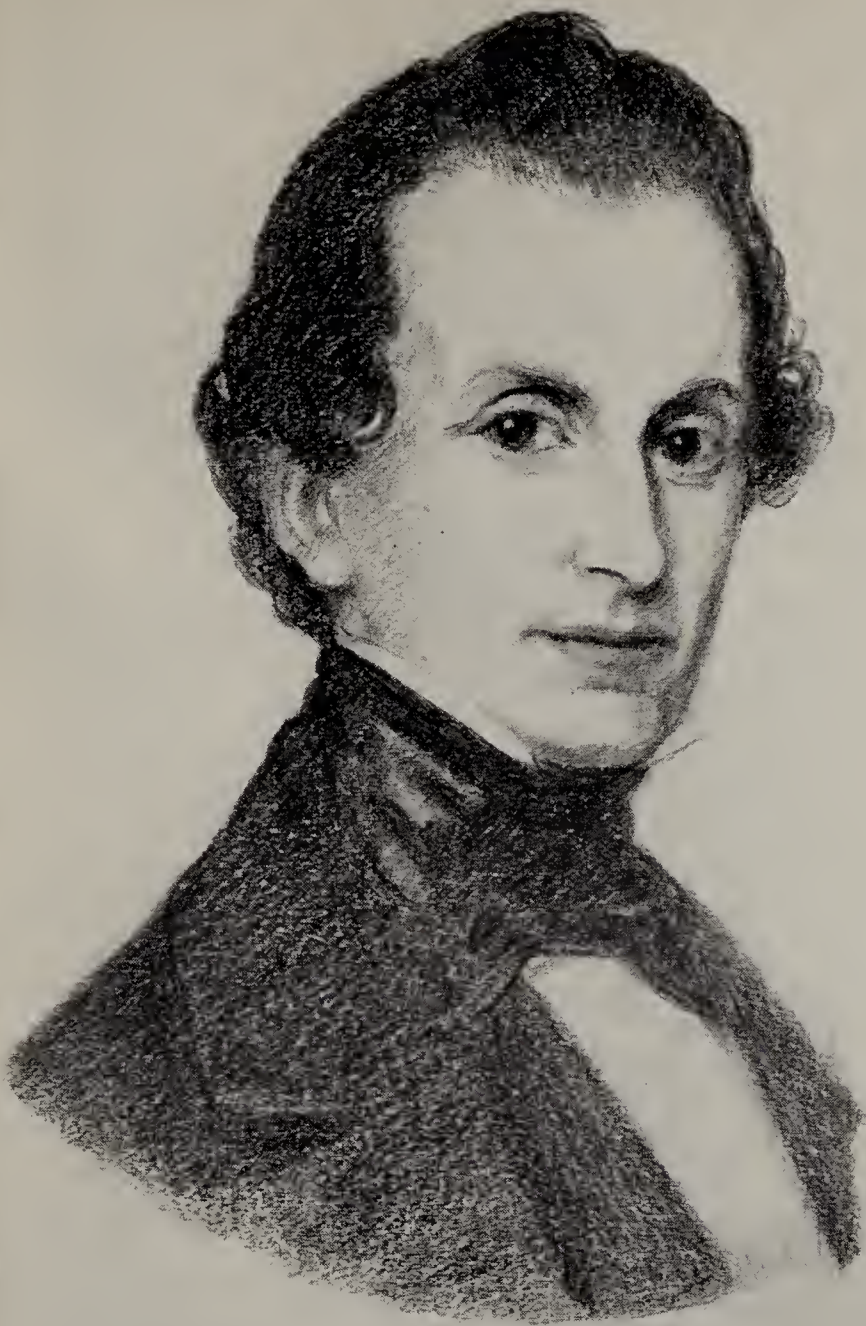
Mr. Starman was now old, sick, and needy. It was only the voluntary charity of the village folk that kept him from becoming a town charge. This was accomplished in a variety of ways, one of which is suggested in a letter of Jane Ann to Gardner K. in Boston under date of February 3, 1848: "I shall have time to write only a few lines, as there is to be a 'donation party' at Rev. Mr. Starman's this afternoon and evening. I of course must be on hand."

Mr. Starman's last years were years of defeat, labor, and suffering. He had married late and had two sons in his old age. The elder, Francis, had died in early boyhood; the second, Isaac, was a spoiled child, and was what was known as a typical minister's son without reverence for his father. A little story greatly relished in those days is still told by some of the very old people. The boy had never known his father other than as one who moved only with great difficulty. Once when threatened with punish-

²⁰Jane Ann to her sister, Mary, Waldoboro, April 19, 1843.

²¹Jane Ann to Gardner K. in Boston, June 1840.

²²Isaac Reed to Gardner K. in Boston, June 1840.



The Honorable ISAAC REED, Died Sept. 19th.
1882 Aet. 78 yrs.



Augustus Welt
1809-1892

ment by his senior for his misdeeds, he rejoined: "To catch me you'll have to move a G— D— sight faster than I have ever seen you move." After Mr. Starman's death, his widow sold her house to Otis Waltz and moved to Rockland with her son. As a man he was a ne'er-do-well and ended his days as a city charge.²³

In September of the year 1845 the local bank paid a dividend of \$10.15 per share.

On March 5, 1847, Gardner Reed wrote to his mother in Waldoboro describing his first trip on a train. The journey from Portland to Boston, covering one hundred and fifteen miles, took five hours.

The roistering lawless rays of the 40's in the town seem to have led to some sort of a curfew and restrictions on late lights, as may be inferred from a letter of Jane Ann to Gardner in June, 1845. Writing late she adds: "The watch will hail me if my light is not put out soon."

In a letter to his brother, Gardner, in Boston under date of July 1, 1848, Isaac Reed complains of the hard times. This was a favorite theme of Isaac's and seems to have been so in this case since the real depression struck six years later. Isaac's words, however, do throw an interesting light on the local business situation. He writes: "Times are very hard and appear to be growing harder. We never have known anything like it before. There will be failures here. I cannot see how they are to be avoided. The business of the place is overdone. . . . Money can be loaned on good security for 12 per cent, which is not usual for this place."

A brief but sharply drawn picture of the social life of the men of the town is given by Jane Ann in a letter to her brother, Gardner, of April 25, 1849. Apparently in a bored humor she writes:

I long to get away from here. Why is it that I must live in a place and manner so uncongenial to my tastes and feelings? My brothers [Isaac, William, Edward, and George Smouse] only have something good to eat, a warm room, a spitton, and a good light, that is all they care for except a good, well-made bed to sleep in, for society, that they find enough at the stores, such as can sit on the counters and nail casks, tell a long yarn, or talk politics.

To which we might add, that the time of such has not died out even to this day.

The slow drift of population from the town to the westward had in reality begun with the gold rush of 1849-1850. After the great depression of 1854 and the opening of the West and rise of industrialism in the more populous sections of southern New England, the trend became more marked. In reality the advent

²³As related to me by a cousin, Mr. Archibald Kaler.

of the straw hat was a very considerable factor in this exodus. There were so many who went to Framingham that one section of that city bore for a time the name of Waldoboro, and another section, the name of Dutch Neck. Sarah Ramsey went in 1857 to work in "the straw shops," and she was followed by the families of Benjamin Harriman, William Gleason, the Ritzs, some Soules, Ewells, and many others. In this migration also was Justin Kennedy, a brother of General Henry H., and a Waldoboro shipbuilder. He first built a house in Framingham and later went to Laramie, Wyoming, where he had a sheep ranch. Ultimately he returned to Framingham where he died.

In history it has always been that when the peak is reached the decline sets in, but in so quiet and gradual a manner that it is only visible in retrospect. Verily the children had come into possession of the land and had prospered on its fatness, but in taking its rich heritage for granted, they lost it.

THE CLIMAX OF PARTISANSHIP

The pure conservative is fighting against the essence of the Universe.

ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD

THE POLITICAL HISTORY of Waldoboro is a tale of extreme and incurable conservatism. The facts clarifying this condition in its beginnings have already been sketched. In the main they were to be found in the docility of the early Germans, inured in their homeland to long centuries of feudal discipline and control. Such traditions fitted perfectly, so far as was possible in a democratic society, into the dominant Federalist concept of government by "the rich, the wise and the good." The longing of these Germans for an overlord who would regulate their living and order their ways *sub specie aeternitatis*, had been perfectly met by Colonel Isaac G. Reed and his Federalist lieutenants. In the hands of these astute political leaders "the Dutch," and indeed many of the English, had been welded into a cohesive political unit which without raising any questions, received and executed orders with the precision of a well-drilled militia battalion, and as such it functioned during the brief ascendancy of Federalism, and continued so to function on into the period of grass-roots Democracy led by Jefferson.

With time the town became a political anachronism in the state through its long-continued support of a movement which was dead. This condition has considerably dimmed the luster of our local history, for the espousal by local leaders of archaic political concepts pre-empted them from securing political preferment and playing more important roles on the larger stage of state and nation, for which they were qualified both by their integrity and their personal power.

In the year 1816, the Federalists nominated a candidate for the Presidency for the last time — Mr. Rufus King, a native of Maine. Thereafter the party maintained no national organization. In fact it was, as Woodrow Wilson described it, "a wreck, and it had left the title, Federalist, a name of ill repute which few any

longer chose to bear, but the Federalist spirit and the Federalist conception of politics were not dead."¹ This certainly was the condition of affairs in Waldoboro. Colonel Reed's following was now a machine with no candidates to support and in consequence there followed a period of political quiescence. The machine remained intact. Only when some ex-Federalist who had turned Democrat was running for some office, would it reveal flashes of its old power in his support; otherwise it indicated its contempt for the men and measures of the Jeffersonian period by abstaining from all activity at the polls, but it continued to exercise its power in local elections as occasion demanded.

Through the administration of Monroe (1816-1824) the Democratic Party was so completely in the ascendant that all other parties virtually ceased to exist. Not until the administration of the second Adams did "the era of good feeling" come to a close, and factions or groups begin to assume a vague outline that in some cases ultimately crystallized into political parties. The administration of the second Adams, schooled in the Federalist tradition, furnished a brief afterglow of hope to the old conservatives and landed some of them in minor offices. Among these was Colonel Isaac G. Reed, appointed to the postmastership at Waldoboro, June 9, 1828, at the very close of the Adams administration. This was something of a boon to Colonel Reed, for while still a man of some wealth he had lost sizably in land speculations, and the new office added materially to his income. There were but eight mails a week, and the position enabled him to continue his law practice on its usual scale.

There was, however, one marked consequence of this appointment. It took Colonel Reed out of politics, or at least compelled him to continue them, if at all, in an underground fashion, for nine months after his appointment, Andrew Jackson became President of the United States. Jackson was a Democrat with a vengeance, the man who introduced the spoils system into American politics, and certainly no President ever applied it more ruthlessly. Jackson, moreover, in every sense was the antithesis of every plank in the Colonel's political credo. His two terms must have been an eight-year nightmare for Mr. Reed. How the latter held the postmastership through these years of political storm is one of the mysteries of local history. It can only be explained by the fact that the Colonel must have had the backing of some Democrat in the Maine Congressional Delegation, possibly Senator Sprague of Hallowell, who in turn had Jackson's ear. But certainly the price which the Colonel paid for holding his job was political quiescence. The old machine might still function in local elections,

¹*Division and Reunion* (N.Y.: Longmans Green & Co., 1907), p. 16.

but in those of state and nation the Colonel's leadership was blocked.

Colonel Reed held the postmastership until well into the administration of Van Buren in 1838. During these ten years the Democratic Party was in power continuously, and it became clearer and clearer that the Colonel's period of political activity was at an end, for when he laid down his postmaster's duties he was within eight years of the end of his life. This forced abdication created a situation which unquestionably intrigued his eldest son, Isaac Reed. When the elder Reed took over the Post Office young Isaac was twenty years old and by far the ablest of the second generation of Reeds in the town. He was tall, handsome, courtly in manner with his peers, hard and abrupt when occasion demanded it, but ingratiating and winning with his inferiors when it served its purpose. Possessed of fine mental powers, he had fitted for college at Bloomfield Academy, but was impatient of the slow academic processes and longed for a life of action, for which he was superlatively equipped. Hence he by-passed a college education and entered the shipbuilding industry of his native town, forming around 1839, at the age of twenty-six, a partnership with Bela B. Haskell. He became one of Waldoboro's great builders and in this business achieved wealth and power.

In these early years Isaac Reed was building something other than ships. He was slowly fabricating one of the most completely subservient and closely organized political machines in the state. Down to the time of the Civil War it comprised a large part of the voting strength of the town, acted as a unit on Isaac Reed's instructions and exercised power of no mean proportions in state and national elections. From the beginning of his career young Isaac was politically ambitious and prone to take a long-range view of his future prospects. He had been reared in the Federalist creed of his father, was incurably conservative, and never relinquished the view that that people is most happily governed which is governed by "the good, the wise and the rich." He saw early the possibilities in a growing town of the machine of which his father was compelled to lay down the leadership when he became postmaster.

Young Isaac had grown up with these people. As a boy and young man he had observed them at close range in his father's law office, and now with the intent of becoming their leader he cultivated them, flattered them, befriended, advised, and gave them employment in his shipyard, and helped them to secure work in the shops of the smaller industries, subsidiary to shipbuilding. In short, in every way possible he placed them under obligation to himself and slowly became their leader and trusted friend. He was on the Board of Selectmen eight years and through

the medium of this office he was able to build up a considerable system of patronage. In line with their long feudal tradition "the Dutch" rallied to Isaac Reed and accepted him as their overlord in a completer sense than they had accepted anyone since the days of the proprietor. On election days they would throng into town from the back-districts. Among the villagers this was a standing joke and the latter would stop them and ask: "How are you going to vote today?" The answer would always be the same: "We don't know, we haven't seen Isaac Reed yet." Then would come another stock question: "He isn't running for office, is he?" And there would always be the same answer: "Oh yes, he is."²

Isaac Reed was not always running for office but he frequently did so. For nearly forty years he presided over Town Meetings and was a perennial selectman. He served three terms in the Maine House of Representatives and five terms in the Maine Senate; he was State Treasurer, member of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-second Congress, and in 1854 and 1855 was the Whig candidate for Governor of Maine.

For decades Isaac Reed was master in his own township, but like his father he conceived of human society as a static and not as an evolving organism. To them conservative principles alone were enduring. The face of American life changed; new tides set in carrying men along in the grip of their irresistible surge while the Reeds drifted in the back eddies. And so it was that in the larger life of the state and nation Isaac Reed throughout his lifetime gave his full energies to causes that in each case were to falter and die as he was reaching the peak of his political power. As a Whig he followed the party to its grave and even served it after death; as a conservative or Hunker Democrat he witnessed the destruction of that party in the cataclysm of Civil War. Thus twice in his political life he was left stranded by the ebbing tide instead of being carried onward to the larger roles which his ambition sought and for which he was highly qualified.

During the administration of the second Adams the coalescing of new groups went rapidly forward. Emerging from these years of discord came the new democracy of Andrew Jackson, a movement so positive and to the minds of many so radical as to induce a strong reaction. The conservative groups of the country countered by making common cause, and the Whig party came into being — a rather loose confederation of factions more or less conservatively minded. This was the first organization of conservatives in American political life since the defunct Federalist Party drew its last sigh in 1816. To the old politically foot-loose dons in Waldoboro it was like manna raining from Heaven. Once

²Local tradition from Miss Edna Young and others.

more Providence had vouchsafed an opportunity for a return to reason and provided the local leaders with a political creed that they could serve with hopeful hearts. To young Isaac Reed it furnished an added incentive to get voters of the town organized in large numbers and to have them vote correctly on all important issues and candidates. Thus it was that his following grew in cohesiveness and numbers with a new arena in which it could exercise and test its strength.

The conservative faction in the town's political life, however, was more than Isaac Reed and his henchmen. Apart from his machine there was a body of independent conservatives comprising practically the major part of the town's business and moneyed men. They took no instructions from young Isaac nor did they manage his machine. They were just by nature conservative, but too important to take their cue politically from a youngster. They were, in fact, like Isaac himself, survivals from the old era of Federalism and unlike his feudal following, supported the same conservative principles as he from conviction or self-interest. This fact always placed them in the same political tent with the young boss. They were blind, intolerant partisans, lacking in sportsmanship and human consideration, and not above prostituting chivalry, gentlemanliness, and decency to political expediency.

The real quality of their partisanship is rather clearly illustrated in the Cilley episode. Jonathan Cilley was a Democrat representing this district in the Federal Congress. In the winter of 1838, he was killed by Representative Graves of Kentucky in a duel which he did not initiate and in which he participated with great reluctance. The reaction in Maine was one of horror to this murderous episode. In the Town Meeting of early March, this crime was condemned and justice was demanded. Some of the local dons on a committee of resolutions were able to speak their horror in early March and later in the month condemn Mr. Cilley forthrightly in a partisan manifesto attacking the dead man as "a thorough going loco-foco Jacksonite . . ." and calling on the district to elect a Whig, "who utterly condemns the barbarous practice of thus sacrificing human life, and who will not leave the business for which we elect him, and spend his time quarreling with anybody." Signed: George D. Smouse, Henry Kennedy, James Hovey, John Currier, Jr., George Sproul, Isaac Reed, Joseph Clark, B. B. Haskell, W. H. Barnard, and others.³ In the ensuing election of April 2nd the Waldoboro Whigs gave their congressional candidate a vote of 446 to 203 for John D. McCrate, his Democratic opponent. The rest of the district went Democratic, as did Maine down to the Civil War, always faithful to Jackson. Despite the

³Reed papers in possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Dallas, Texas, Dated Mar. 24, 1838.

fact that sympathy for the murdered Cilley swelled the Democratic vote, the Reed machine in Waldoboro gave its candidate better than a two to one majority.

The 1837 gubernatorial election in Maine was an interesting one. It was one of the few occasions when the conservatives of the state were able to put their man into office in a popular election. The Whig candidate was Edward Kent of Bangor, a man with a Federalist background, and his Democratic opponent was Colonel Gorham Parks, likewise of Bangor. Colonel Parks was a former citizen of Waldoboro who had come to the town in the second decade of the century and later moved to Bangor. He had been prominent in the town as a friend and close collaborator of Colonel Isaac G. Reed. The *Lincoln Patriot* (Waldoboro) engaged in a controversy with the *Kennebec Journal* over Colonel Park's political affiliations of that period. The *Journal* sensed strong Federalist activity and alleged a speech attacking Jefferson and Madison. When challenged by the *Patriot* to quote anything from the oration it replied: "How valiant when he [the correspondent] knows that the oration was not published and that its author kept it snugly locked up in the bottom of his desk."⁴ The *Journal* was correct, for an examination of the town records reveals Colonel Parks as a Federalist during his period in Waldoboro. His earlier local connections and his friendship with the Reed family, however, netted him little. In fact, a man could not be in the opposite party and at the same time a friend of Isaac Reed. In the ensuing election the Reed machine really functioned, for in the town Kent, the Whig, polled 405 votes to 174 for Parks, the Democrat. Kent was elected in the state by a majority of 479 votes, a substantial part of which was cast by the Waldoboro Whigs.

During the period from Jackson to the Civil War, state and national elections in the state were very close, so close in fact, that Reed's feudal phalanx of voters could swing a state election and come close to deciding the issue of the state's electoral vote in a national contest. This fact made young Isaac Reed a real political force, and his support was eagerly courted, since it could mean the crucial difference between defeat and victory. This fact is plainly revealed in the state and national elections of 1840, when the Whig candidate for governor carried the state by a majority of thirty-seven votes, and the Whig presidential candidate, General William Henry Harrison, won by a margin of 411 votes. The Waldoboro vote was Edward Kent, 520, John Fairfield, 235 in the state election, and in the national election the town gave Harrison 504 votes to 247 for Van Buren. In these cases the local vote was rather decisive both on the state and national levels.

⁴*Kennebec Journal*, Aug. 16, 1837.

The consistently conservative character of the town through these decades, as from the beginning of its political life in the Republic, was entirely out of line with the other towns in the county and state. This fact could be illustrated from nearly any election. That of 1856 will serve the purpose. Here John C. Fremont was the Presidential candidate of the new Republican Party (liberal) and James Buchanan the candidate of the Democrats (conservative). The vote follows and is typical of almost any nineteenth century election in this area:⁵

	Fremont	Buchanan
Bristol	301.....	190
Damariscotta	201.....	76
Edgecomb	133.....	69
Newcastle	305.....	59
Nobleboro	183.....	90
Wiscasset	206.....	190
Waldoboro	282.....	536

Especially in those elections where Isaac Reed was himself a candidate, did the fealty of "the Dutch" manifest itself in overwhelming fashion. In 1850, for example, when Reed was a candidate for Congress, the Waldoboro vote stood 622 for Reed to 170 for his opponent, Charles Andrews. Even though Reed never got to Congress via a public election, he did possess strength in the fact that he could use his strong local majorities for bargaining purposes and thus secure preference for appointive positions. Thus it was that in 1852 he was appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States House of Representatives, and on other occasions he reached desirable public office in the same manner.

Just about the time that Isaac Reed was reaching the peak of his political power locally, large issues were being born which were destined to thwart his ever playing a larger role in the affairs of state or nation. The slavery issue, simmering for years, became acute in the 1850's. It split the Democratic Party and annihilated the Whigs. Through their entire history as a political organization the latter had been a party of expediency, never possessing nor implementing a constructive program, and interested only in capturing office. The last national election in which they figured was that of 1852, in which, as Woodrow Wilson points out, "the Whig delegates . . . put aside the statesmen of their party, as so often before, and nominated General Winfield Scott."⁶ They met a crushing defeat, polling only 42 electoral votes. In the same year Waldoboro gave its Isaac Reed 595 votes for Congress to 89 for William K. Kimball, his opponent. In the

⁵*Bath Daily Sentinel*, Nov. 5, 1856.

⁶*Division and Reunion*, p. 178.

Presidential election in November the town gave Scott 535 votes to 295 for his Democrat opponent, Franklin Pierce, again illustrating its die-hard conservatism in an election in which its candidate carried only four states.

The Whig movement was dying a lingering death, and, as so often in the past, the Reeds politically were men without a country, and Waldoboro with its feudal machine was a political anomaly in the state. But just as his father before him had stayed with Federalism so did Isaac Reed remain and function as a Whig until there was no party left. Down to 1855 the Whig Party in Maine went through the motions. It met in convention in Portland, June 29, 1854. Isaac Reed represented the conservative wing and Noah Smith of Calais, a strong anti-slavery man, represented that small portion of the party not yet dead. On the first ballot for governor each man received 210 votes. On the second ballot Reed was nominated, receiving 288 votes to 267 for Smith. In the campaign which followed Reed was described as a man of "probity and property." In the election the town responded as usual to the Reed candidacy. He received 546 votes to 81 for Albion K. Parris, and 106 for Anson P. Morrill. Since no candidate received a majority in the state the election went to the Legislature. When the House met in January it gave Reed 115 votes and Morrill 106. These two names were sent to the Senate and within ten minutes that body unanimously chose Morrill, the first Republican Governor of Maine.

The fortunes of the Whig Party continued to sink. In the state election of 1855, the remnant of the party, the Straight Whigs as they were known, held a convention and nominated Isaac Reed for governor. He polled 10,610 votes. Again there was no majority and the election went to the Legislature. The House sent up to the Senate the names of Samuel Wells of Portland, Democrat, and Isaac Reed, Whig. The Senate elected Wells with two Whig Senators voting for him. The Whigs, however, received their reward, and their candidate, Isaac Reed, was appointed State Treasurer. The town vote in this election was Isaac Reed 644, Samuel Wells 130, and Anson P. Morrill 106. Despite the near demise of this conservative party, Waldoboro, as ever, stood firm in its ancient feudal discipline.

The 1840's and 50's was a period of party break-up with a very general dissolution of old ties. National life was filled with new isms. The Whig Party died because it represented nothing, because it had constant recourse to expediency and straddled on every issue that contained dynamite. The Democratic Party split on the slavery issue, the Southern element taking a pro-slavery view, and the northern Democrats splitting into two sections: the anti-slavery faction or "Barnburners," and the laissez-faire faction

or "Hunkers." The term "barnburners," bestowed on the radical wing of the party, originated among the New York Democrats and came from a figure much used on political platforms at that time, the story of a Dutchman who burned his barn to get rid of the rats.

The term "loco-foco" was also applied to this radical wing of the party. It also originated among the New York Democrats back in the 1830's, and was first applied to a radical wing of the New York Democrats who dissented strongly from the fiscal policies of Andrew Jackson. These men, at a party caucus in New York City in 1835, had provided themselves with candles and the new "loco-foco" matches in order to thwart the conservatives who turned off their gas. Down to the Civil War the term was used to characterize the radical wing of the Democratic Party. It became a rather opprobrious label and one freely used by the Waldoboro conservatives. The term "hunker" was used with equal relish by the radicals to stigmatize the noncommittal wing of the party, or those who favored going along with the South on the slavery issue. Lastly, these years witnessed the birth of a new party, the Republican, anti-slavery in its aim, and formed largely from independent elements in the Whig and Democratic parties.

This political break-up had marked repercussions in Waldoboro, since it forced a realignment of the old village dons, even though it did not affect in any appreciable way Isaac Reed's well-disciplined horde, which had no political views or principles. It simply did what it was told to do in any given election, but for the first time in local history a deep fissure opened up in the solidly conservative class of village leaders. Joseph Clark became a Republican. General William Corcoran after long years of fealty to Isaac Reed likewise joined the "Black Legs." General Henry Kennedy, very sensitive to moral issues, became an anti-slavery Democrat or loco-foco.

Remaining faithful to Isaac Reed and willing to follow him whither he went was his half-brother, George D. Smouse, and John H. Kennedy, his first lieutenant, faithful to the end. But Isaac Reed politically was in an awkward position; his party was gone and he had nowhere to go. Under the circumstances he did exactly what anyone could predict, to wit, joined the most conservative political group in the field, the pro-slavery wing of the Democratic Party, the Hunkers. Into this new group there came with him some of the Waldoboro shipbuilders, whose vessels were the cotton-carriers and whose economic interests, as construed by them, lay with the conservative Southern Democracy.

The line of cleavage among the Waldoboro Democrats had existed for some time. The "Custom House Party" had formed the nucleus of the regulars, and the anti-slavery Democrats known

as Loco-focos made up the dissidents. Among the latter, much to Isaac Reed's chagrin, was his own brother, William, politically the black sheep of the Reed family. A glimpse of this cleavage and the struggle it engendered is furnished in a brief comment from a letter of Isaac's to his brother, Charles, in Boston, under date of August 12, 1846. "William [the brother] has gone to a Loco Convention at Wiscasset today to nominate County officers and a candidate for Member of Congress. The Locos had quite a contest for delegates; the anti-Custom House party prevailed. William, Alfred Storer and someone else were chosen."

The rise of the Republican Party in Maine was a rapid one. It was made up of anti-slavery Democrats, Whigs and Independent Democrats. Political ferment and straddling on the slavery issue had been going on in the old parties so long and had occasioned such disgust, that from the very beginning the new party in state and town secured powerful and experienced leadership from dissident Democrats and Whigs. By the time of its first presidential election the Republicans in the town were well organized and had both the vigor and boldness to decorate the town house on election day with a Fremont and Dayton flag, a symbol of opposition that had not been seen in the Reed bailiwick since anyone could remember. The Republicans in the state were successful in the national election and carried the state for Fremont with a majority in excess of 27,000.

This election had represented a short period of indecision for Isaac Reed. He realized that his Whig Party was gone and as yet he had not firmly cemented his connection with any other group. Consequently the state election of September 1856 saw him exercising reserve with reference to the greater part of the field of party candidates. In the town the last Whig candidate for governor, George S. Patten, received 424 votes, the Democrat, Samuel Wells, 240 votes and the Republican, Hannibal Hamlin, 298 votes. For Congress there were but two candidates. The Democrat, Henry Ingalls, who received the full support of the Reed machine, polled 662 votes to 296 for his Republican opponent, Nehemiah Abbott. For the office of County Attorney, Reed brought out a vote of 673 for his old and trusted lieutenant, John H. Kennedy, while his Republican opponent, Elijah Vose, polled 290 votes. For representative to the Legislature, Edgar Day, now a lukewarm Whig, received 543 votes to 113 for S. S. Marble, Democrat, and 296 for William Storer, a recent Republican. At this time of loose allegiance to any party cause there was one thing that Reed would not do, and that was to allow a single vote from his machine to go to any Republican. It was in this election that the Republican Party scored its highest vote in the town any

time prior to the 1860's. In the later elections preceding the Civil War the Reed machine really got going again and the Republican vote shrank appreciably.

This period was not only one of indecision for Isaac Reed, but one of bargaining in which he could use his power at the polls for favors to himself and friends. In the presidential election of November, 1856, it was the Democrat, Buchanan, against the Republican, Fremont, an election in which for the first time some of the village notables parted political company with Mr. Reed. Among these was General William S. Corcoran, a staunch Whig, and for years one of Reed's right bowers. The General now became a Republican and even campaigned against Buchanan, saying of him in a Bangor speech: "Long ago we Whig mechanics⁷ used to be pointed to James Buchanan as the most obnoxious man of the modern sham democracy in the eyes of the American working men, as the man who thought our wages should be reduced to the European of ten cents a day."

Reed's support for Buchanan was apparently solicited, and in view of the defection of influential men in the village to the Republican Party, he was asked if he could carry Waldoboro for Buchanan. His sure and scornful answer was: "I own them." These are significant words, for they reveal the power of his influence over the great mass of the town's voters, who placed Isaac Reed's orders before any possible personal convictions of their own. Whether this answer be real, as alleged, or apocryphal, it conforms to the facts, for the town gave Buchanan a vote of 536 to 282 for the Republican, John C. Fremont. Was there a *quid pro quo*? There seems to have been, for on his election Buchanan made but one Whig appointment in the state and this was Reed's faithful ally, John H. Kennedy, appointed to the Collector of Customs in the Waldoboro district, at this time a large, important, and remunerative post.

This election and this appointment seems to have completed the allegiance of Isaac Reed to the Hunker wing of the Democratic Party. Thereafter there was no sign of a shadow of turning, and the Democratic vote in Waldoboro elections followed a sharp crescendo down through 1860, while the Republican vote shrank correspondingly.

The year 1858 brought a distinguished visitor to the town. In late August, Jefferson Davis, then Senator from Mississippi and later President of the Confederate States, arrived in town on a tour of the northeastern states. His visit is ascribed by some local historians to presidential aspirations, but this is highly improbable, although none of his reputable biographers seem clear as to the

⁷The General had a sail loft in Waldoboro.

real motive of the northern trip. In reality, it was probably an effort on his part to assess the strength of the Abolition movement in strong anti-slavery territory, and to gauge the temper of the North with a view of calculating just how far it would go in backing the program of the Abolitionists. In Waldoboro he was certainly in friendly territory, for distinguished citizens, the later Copperheads, vied in doing him honor. Mr. Davis was dressed in the typical Southern style of that period and was voluble, persuasive, and impressive. He was entertained by Mr. John H. Kennedy in his fine brick house on Friendship Road. Mr. Kennedy's new chaise was used in driving the visitor around the town — the same chaise that a few years later in the war years, was taken from the stable and burned by the enrollees of the Twenty-first Maine regiment.

The gala event of Mr. Davis' visit was a dinner given in his honor at the home of the Honorable Isaac Reed, Mr. Reed's home being on the site of the present Waldo Theater. Mr. Davis had known Mr. Reed in Congress. The latter was now a fellow democrat and the two men saw pretty much eye to eye on all national issues. After the dinner was served the ladies withdrew and the gentlemen were left with their cigars, their wine, and their talk. After a long evening in which the wine had its effects, Mr. Davis rose to leave, and it was at this point that the Confederacy nearly lost its future President. On the south wall of the dining room there were two doors side by side, the one leading to the front hall and the front door and the other into the cellar. As Mr. Davis was bowing himself out for the night, he opened the wrong door and backed into the cellar. Just as he was about to lose his balance his host noting the situation caught his arm in a firm grip and rescued the Southern statesman from near disaster.⁸

The visit of Mr. Davis seems to have quickened the Reed machine to a more vigorous support of the conservative Democrats, for in the remaining elections before the Civil War never did the organization display more power. In each succeeding election its vote became more and more overwhelming, and reached its peak in the election of September 1860. In this contest the dangerously acute slavery issue seems to have brought the Reed vote to the zenith of its power, for never before in its history had it functioned so sweepingly and so masterfully. The total vote polled was 969, and 729 of these were cast by the Reed machine. Allowing for the defection of some of the old village supporters this was truly a remarkable record, and it illustrates in the clearest possible way the degree of control which Isaac Reed exercised over the rank and file vote of the town — a ratio very close to 7

⁸Oral tradition from Mary Clark, grandmother of Maude Clark Gay.

to 2. It is indeed doubtful if its counterpart has ever existed in any other town in the state.

The Presidential election of November 1860 in Waldoboro is something of a mystery. In a contest fraught with such terrific consequences a record vote would have been the order of things. It is surprising then that the vote in the town was the lightest in forty years, whereas the state vote was the largest in its history. There were four candidates in the field. A Constitutional Union Party, made up largely of old Whigs, nominated John Bell of Tennessee. At the Democratic Convention held in Charleston, April 23, 1860, there was a battle between Stephen A. Douglas, advocating popular sovereignty, and the extreme pro-slavery men supporting Dred-Scottism. The Convention adopted a minority report promising "to abide by any future decision of the Supreme Court as regards slavery in the territories," whereupon the delegates from seven states in the deep South left the Convention. Those remaining balloted fifty-seven times without nominating a candidate and then adjourned to Baltimore.

Here there was another bolting faction and those remaining nominated Stephen A. Douglas, while the bolting faction nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, an action that was ratified by those originally bolting from the Charleston Convention. Which way would the cat jump in the election? This was a question which plainly bothered Isaac Reed. Hence he did not commit himself. In other words, his vote did not come out. The Republican vote in the town was also at a rather low ebb, Abraham Lincoln polling 227 votes. The Democrats, however, hit a lower ebb, with nearly four hundred of Mr. Reed's henchmen remaining at home. The anti-Lincoln vote was 347, divided as follows: Stephen A. Douglas, 171, Breckenridge, 95, and Bell, 81. It is highly significant indeed that in Waldoboro there were ninety-five men voting for the candidate of the seven states deepest south. This fact throws considerable light on the strength of the Copperheads in Waldoboro during the war years, now not far off.

In our own day it is not too easy to understand the hatred, virulence, the meanness, and the petty persecution which characterized the political battles of the early and mid-nineteenth century in the town. Their like in our times cannot be found outside the environs of the Union League Clubs of New York and Philadelphia. Isaac Reed was no exception to the general rule. Flattery, courtly suasion, economic pressure, and petty persecution with him were all means to one end, namely, the attainment of political objectives. He patronized those who supported him and punished as he could those who did not. This practice can be illustrated by a specific case, that of William Ramsey, a sailmaker

who came to Waldoboro in 1855⁹ from Rockland and lived in the house now occupied by Flores Wellman, and had a sail loft on the site of that which was operated in recent years by Stephen Jones. While working on a set of sails for one of Mr. Reed's ships, Ramsey was approached by Reed, and his vote solicited in a pending election. On Mr. Ramsey's refusal the work was promptly removed and the set of sails finished out of town.¹⁰ This does not seem to have been an unusual or isolated act, but merely a part of a technique generally practiced and generally understood in these turbulent decades. Further insight into Mr. Reed's methods is furnished by a partisan attack in the *Thomaston Journal* for Thursday, September 8, 1857. This was a Republican paper, and in consequence some of its strong language may be discounted, but withal it is a revealing statement of political conditions in the town a year or two before the outbreak of the Civil War. The article under the title of "Vandalism in Waldoboro" follows:

We ask our fellow citizens irrespective of party, as they pass through the flourishing village of Waldoboro, to notice the damage, injury and outrage perpetrated upon the premises of General Corcoran¹¹ and his friend and neighbor, Mr. D. H. Levensaler, and a more honest and worthy man lives not than Mr. Levensaler. General Corcoran had been to no small expense in preparing and beautifying his lot on the side next to the county road; he prepared an ample water course, carted earth, formed an embankment and sodded it over in a neat and handsome manner, but last June the tool of the Plug Ugly clique, a man selected on purpose to do this foul wrong, proceeded to plough down the bank in front of General Corcoran's and Mr. Levensaler's dwellings, opening a deep and broad canal which remains open till the present hour, endangering the safety of persons and property on the road, especially at night, and leaving General Corcoran and his friend, Levensaler, no chance to pass to and from the road except as they have temporarily bridged over the broad ditch at their own expense. It is true there is an ample opportunity to resort to the laws of the land, which will doubtless be done, but such a fiendish outrage committed on a warmhearted, generous man cannot be compensated by mere dollars and cents, there is a laceration of feelings that money cannot heal.

At the military encampment at Waldoboro last week we understand that General Corcoran was compelled to entertain his guests, General Webster and staff at the house of a friend, for the reason that his grounds were in such bad condition owing to the damage committed, that there was no chance for his guests to mount their horses near his premises.

The *Journal* gradually swings over to a direct attack on Isaac Reed, who was the pet antipathy of the Republicans. The reason for this is clear. Waldoboro was the largest town in the county, and its vote was so frequently decisive and was so com-

⁹Mr. Reed was a candidate for Governor in 1855.

¹⁰Related by Miss Edna Young, Mr. Ramsey's granddaughter.

¹¹Gen. Corcoran lived in the Leroy Miller house on Main Street and having become a Republican, had deserted the Reed machine in the election of the preceding November.

pletely controlled by this one man, that in the town it would do a Republican as much good to smell of the ballot box as to drop a vote in it. The attack in the *Journal* continues:

General Corcoran's grounds were as fine as any in the village with the exception of the man whose hillside garden lot sold at an extra price flanked as it was by a little Custom House worth about \$6,000.00 but costing the government \$22,800. He could afford to have a substantial and splendid wall around his premises. People will be likely to notice the contrast at the present time between General Corcoran's premises and those of Isaac Reed. We wish to call public attention to the fact that this outrage has been committed from motives of political spite and personal malignity. No unbiassed man will pretend that the public good required anything of this kind. The outrage is all the more despicable because the real authors have attempted to screen themselves by using an ignoble tool for the purpose. Everyman who knows anything about affairs at Waldoboro, is aware that there was none like William S. Corcoran so long as he spent his time and money to forward the political schemes of Mr. Reed. . . .

We do not wonder that Corcoran trusted these men, for if there ever was a man with a smooth and velvet tongue which could sugar over the poison of asps, it is the gentleman who acted as the standard bearer of the Straight Whigs of Maine. General Corcoran stuck to the old Whig ship till he found the officers in command ready to sell out to the slavery propagandists and raise the Border Ruffian flag with its death's head and cross bones; then as a friend of free speech, free labor and free men, he spurned their persuasions, their bribes and their threats, and stood up unmoved as the advocate of freedom and Fremont, and for daring to express his honest sentiments, this Plug Ugly Straight Whig Hunker Junto have assailed him with the envenomed tongue of calumny and detraction; their journals have teemed with the loudest abuse, every effort made to crush him in his business relations, to ostracize and degrade him, and even the sacred name of friendship has been assumed to spread the virus of their hate. . . .

The outrage committed on General Corcoran's property is but a part of the foul conspiracy to crush and wipe out a political opponent. We appeal to those men who pride themselves on being conservative men of Maine, if it is not a duty they owe to themselves to repudiate such deeds of oppression. Well may the honest men in the Democratic party exclaim — save us from such contamination of such allies; if our leaders cannot get along without them, we can get along without such leaders. We know the old line Democrats of Waldoboro disapprove the deed. Will they not see how corrupt their party is when it is so shrunk and shrivelled as to require the aid of such men to keep the breath of life in it? Will they not turn their backs on such a mass of corruption? When Democrats last year asked Mr. Reed if he could carry Waldoboro for Buchanan, it is said he made the following reply: "I own them." The honest confiding population of that town, though they may have been deceived, are not cattle in the market. We believe they will repudiate the foul libellers of their fair fame. They are Republicans at heart and will in time vindicate their character.

In this review of political life in Waldoboro in the mid-century the reader may separate for himself the factual from the exaggerated rhetoric of the period. The incident is certainly not

unusual, it was in fact just a phase of the practices in vogue from the days when the Federalist bankers were wont to use every financial screw to strangle their political opponents, or to pinch them into political submission. I can even recall from my own boyhood days in the town when the district road surveyor would tear up a lawn to vent a spite of his own, or do it on the tip-off of someone higher up.

It may have been that General Corcoran was ultimately crushed "in his business relations," for his name now disappears from our history. By trade he was a sailmaker, and as such particularly vulnerable to economic liquidation at the hands of some of the pro-slavery Waldoboro shipbuilders.

The facts warrant no sweeping condemnation of Isaac Reed. He was simply a politico of his period — of a strong, magnetic, and masterful nature, as must be all successful political leaders. Such outlet to his high abilities as his native town afforded, he used to the fullest, but this was not enough. Frustration he experienced throughout his life, and it always met him just as he was about to reach the top. This Caesar in a Gaulic village was in no sense immune to disappointment and defeat. While the fortunes of the Whig Party, to which he had given the earliest years of his life and from which he expected something for himself, were sinking to oblivion, he wrote to his brother Charles in Boston rather revealingly of his own feelings and outlook:

When I look back upon my short life, only about thirty years, I am at least satisfied with the confidence and kindness shown me by my friends and neighbors. (If not with myself). Who of my age in this town or vicinity has been more confided in? I have held every elective office in the gift of the people in this town. I have been a member of both branches of the Legislature — one of a Committee to revise the Statute Laws of this State, selected by the representatives of the people of the whole County. I have been as successful in business as could be reasonably expected. Have been connected by marriage with one of the most respectable families in the State. What more could I have expected or deserved, and yet after all this I am not satisfied. . . . I feel lonely, if it were not for my boy and our aged parents, I would dispose of my property and leave this place, although my situation is pleasant and my house the best in town.¹²

Through these lines a thread of melancholy and frustration is apparent, even before the great frustration came in 1861, when the flood of Civil War weakened his political machine and foiled his ambitions. He stayed on in Waldoboro to the end of his days, became mellow and benign, enjoyed before retiring each evening his pitcher of cider, his pan of popcorn, and his dish of apples. Truly with all his faults he was a monument among men and one of those who has made Waldoboro worthy of a history.

¹²Letter to Charles M. Reed in Boston, May 1, 1845.

XLII

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

*Mark that now once more thou standest on fate's
fine edge.*

SOPHOCLES (Antigone)

THE SECESSION OF ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES could have been no surprise to Waldoboro people, for the issue had been in national politics since the 1830's, and the slavery issue was even more ancient. In Lincoln County the Abolition movement came to birth in the 1830's. It was promoted by the churches, especially by the Baptists and Methodists. The Congregational church, representing the power and wealth in the coastal communities, remained cool, for its membership embraced the shipbuilders and the ship captains, and the interests of these men were too closely tied economically to cotton to enable them to approve or support any movement disturbing the economy of the cotton-producing South. In Waldoboro Abolition never met with favor. The town was too entirely committed to shipbuilding, and Isaac Reed was too powerful and too canny to permit such an uneconomic movement to flourish or even to strike root very deeply in his bailiwick.

There were, however, Abolitionists in the town and enough of them to maintain an active underground for the escaped slaves passing through to Canada. The route followed by these fleeing slaves lay about a mile below the village. They would come into town through the woods on the Old County Road on the west side of the river with an escort of local men, and a man some distance ahead and one in the rear of the party on whose signal the slaves could immediately disappear in the brush. Under cover of darkness they would cross the fields to the shore where they would be ferried across the river, and from thence over the fields and up the road to the house of William Cole.¹ Here they were fed and rested up in Cole's barn at the foot of the old cow lane. From this point they would be provisioned and then escorted along the "old Cole road" through the woods to East Waldoboro and from there eastward across country in the direction of Canada.

¹My present home.

The old settlement of "Nigger Town" in the Waldoboro-Warren-Thomaston area may have been made up originally of those slaves who were fleeing toward the north when war came, and who under these circumstances felt no compulsion to move any farther northward.

Events are always stronger than men, and war came. In the early morning of April 12, 1861, General Beauregard opened fire on Fort Sumter and on the evening of the 13th the fort surrendered. On the 15th President Lincoln called for volunteers, and the North rose to save the Union. The history of this struggle in Waldoboro is a curious affair. There was much more than meets the eye. Outwardly the record is correct. It may be said that conformity was the order of things, but this cannot disguise the fact that an influential faction of the town's leading men made up a silent opposition, and to a considerable degree this attitude was imparted to and pervaded the more common social stratum. From time to time during the war years the Copperhead view voiced itself, but under the leadership of men who knew the law, always in ways that were legal and correct.

Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers found the town unprepared. By and large the old musters had been abandoned and the militia organizations had fallen into a state of decay. In 1858 the Waldoboro Rifle Company, L. L. Kennedy, Commander, reported to the Adjutant General forty-one members present for inspection. In 1859 there was no report on enrolled militia in Waldoboro on the part of its Division Advocate, John H. Kennedy. The militia had virtually ceased to exist. This lack of preparation would suggest at least that the war came as a surprise. War nearly always comes in this way. It is the most tragic chapter in man's destiny, and he can never bring himself to recognize its existence until it is a fact.

Mr. Lincoln's call for volunteers came in mid-April. The town reacted at its first meeting thereafter, that of May 11th. This interim had given the people time for thought and enabled it to effect a correct response. The affairs of the town were under the control of the Democrats, but clearly there were some Democrats who in this situation would have to be muted. The resolutions committing the town to action were sponsored jointly by a Democrat and a Republican, and at the May 11th meeting "on motion of Bela B. Haskell, Democrat," the following resolutions were read and accepted:

Whereas, rebellion and Civil War exist in several states of this Union, therefore — Resolved that we are in favor of sustaining the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the Laws and we are in favor of the enlistment of a company of volunteers in this town.

Voted that the sum of three thousand dollars be appropriated and placed at the disposal of the selectmen to be expended in part or in whole for purposes thereafter provided.



John H. Kennedy
1818 - 1863.

Voted that six dollars a month be paid to each man having a family, and four dollars per month to each single man, inhabitants of this town, who shall enlist in a company to be formed here — the time to commence

when said company shall be mustered into service and continue while absent from the state in accordance with the provisions of an act passed at the extra session of the Legislature, and if the family of any such volunteer shall on account of sickness or death, stand in need of further assistance, the selectmen may at their discretion furnish it to such family, and they are authorized to furnish conveyance to such company to such place as they may be ordered by the Governor, and the selectmen shall keep a full and accurate account of all expenditures made in accordance of the above votes and present the same at the next annual March meeting.

Voted on motion of Henry Kennedy [Republican] that the Selectmen be authorized to loan the money or any portion of it that may be needed in any contingency.²

In no subsequent war has the town found it necessary to call the citizens together in special meeting to vote on the question of "sustaining the Union, the Constitution and the enforcement of the Laws," and the fact that such action should seem necessary at this time is *prima facie* evidence of the existence of a strong sentiment in the town hostile to the struggle between the states. This resolution seems largely to have been a gesture-defining attitude, for there was no immediate response in enlistments. In fact, no company or part of a company was raised. Samuel L. Miller, a veteran of the war, observes that some men enlisted in different regiments, particularly the Fourth Maine. According to Miller's own tabulation there were five enlistments in this regiment in 1861.³ There was certainly no rush "to sustain the Union" in this first year of the war. In reality there was a good deal of anti-enlistment sentiment which does not appear in the record but which intrudes itself into the picture from time to time. The first volunteer from the town was Jacob C. Bogue who enlisted April 17, 1861, in the First Battery, Rhode Island Light Artillery. Waldoboro also lost two of her doctors to the service. Francis M. Eveleth was mustered into the Seventh Maine and George W. Colby into the First Maine Cavalry. In the meantime the state had raised six regiments, and thereafter recruiting was suspended for a while since the Federal Government was in no position to equip so many men.

In these early days the town was getting frequent glimpses of the distant war. On March 16th and again on the 19th omnibus loads of volunteers singing "John Brown's Body" passed eastward through the town to embark at Rockland for the scene of the war, but this did not seem to stimulate greatly the local war spirit. The Fourth Maine Infantry had its rendezvous at Rockland. It was mustered on June 15th and on the 17th set out for the seat of war. Soldiers in passing through received their rations in the town. The Damariscotta company of the Fourth Maine was greeted

²Town of Waldoboro, Clerk's Records.

³Samuel L. Miller, *History of Waldoboro* (Wiscasset, 1910), p. 145.

in Waldoboro with salvos of artillery. One of the cannon on Clark's wharf burst in discharge and a fragment of the bursting gun in its descent killed Gilman Kuhn instantly.

The gubernatorial election of September 1861 furnishes a very definite insight into the attitude of the citizens of the town in reference to the conflict over the slavery issue. The war had split the Democratic Party in the state into two factions, the compromisers and the anti-compromisers. The first of this group, or the regular Democrats, selected as their candidate for governor, John W. Dana, who held that "the reconstruction of the Union by force was an absurdity," and he advocated a convention of all the states for an "amicable settlement." There was in the second place a strong faction of Democrats, the Breckenridge group, who dissented from this view, holding that "there can be no neutrals in this war, there can be none but patriots or traitors." This faction put Colonel Jameson forward as its candidate. This placed the issue squarely before the voters of Waldoboro and gave them the full opportunity to register their views anonymously. The vote in the town was not heavy, but it was startling. Dana, the anti-war candidate, polled 329 votes, whereas, Jameson, the "patriot" candidate polled 95 votes. The Republican, Washburn, on a war platform received 162 votes.⁴ The town by a clear majority of seventy-two votes revealed the anti-war set of its mind. In the state Dana polled 19,801 votes, Jameson, 21,395, and the Republican, Washburn, 58,689. Thus by a vote of about four to one, the state registered its decision for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Waldoboro, with its anti-war vote, remained as usual a political pariah in the county and the state.

The existence of a strong Copperhead faction in the town is not difficult to understand. Its core was the shipbuilders, the most powerful and influential group in the community. It was they who built the vessels that carried the cotton of the South to the textile mills of England and the continent. So strong was the feeling in Southern ports in the days before the war against "Black Republican" shipowners that the latter were faced with economic discrimination unless they were known to be Southern sympathizers, and they were known as either one or the other, even those in the small coast towns of Maine. This fact is clearly set forth in the editorials of a New Orleans newspaper in reference to the ship *Webster Clark* and her part owner, Joseph Clark, a "black Republican of Waldoboro." The editorial comment runs as follows:

There are some Black Republican vessels now in port, very anxious to take cotton to Liverpool at $\frac{3}{4}$ d. In fact the owners of some of these

⁴Town of Waldoboro, Clerk's Records.

vessels illuminated their houses on the election of Mr. Lincoln. There are vessels called the *Webster Clark* and the *Naples* as standing at the head of the *black list*, though half the former ship is only owned by a Black Republican living in Waldoboro, Maine. We are asked for information. Black Republicans will continue to send their ships hither.⁵

On the following day, January 23, the newspaper continues:

Some captains and co-owners happen to have some of these Black Republicans as co-owners of which they are innocent, as in the case of the ship *Webster Clark*, Captain Kopperholdt.⁶ This ship hails from New Orleans, and is owned in part by one of our fellow citizens, R. B. Sumner with Captain Kopperholdt. The other owner or owners reside in Maine. . . . It is very fortunate for these owners of the *Clark* in Maine that they have fallen into the hands of such good company as our ex-New Orleans merchant, Mr. Sumner, and Captain Kopperholdt.

These comments are quite amazing, revealing as they do a correct knowledge on the part of a newspaper in New Orleans of the political views of Mr. Joseph Clark in Waldoboro. They also explain to a degree the pressure exercised on the leading shipbuilders of the town by the Southern cotton men. The Copperheads in Waldoboro, in other words, had reasons for their attitude, but it is clear in some cases that they were not aware of these as real reasons. Like businessmen in all times they believed that anything which interfered with business was bad and deserving of strong opposition. They doubtless ascribed their convictions to impressive moral reasons and rationalized their stand in a thorough manner. The unhealthy consequence was that many of the rank and file, workers and mechanics in the shipbuilding industries, took their cue from those at the top and added their drop to the community's cup of bitterness. The war did not end their criticism, it only stilled it and put an end to outward disloyalty such as the town witnessed on the eve of the struggle. This feeling is illustrated by an incident in which some patriotic citizens had hung a large American flag across lower Main Street from the Fish Block to the Clark Building on the opposite side of the street. They were told by some of the local Copperheads to take it down, whereupon Mr. Joseph Clark armed himself with a rifle and took his stand on the platform before his building. All day he remained there and let it be known to all bystanders that anyone who molested the flag would get a bullet in his hide and that the flag would not be taken in until sunset.⁷ The outbreak of war, of course, put an end to such incidents as this and opposition went underground, revealing itself only in elections, in opposition to

⁵Clipping from New Orleans newspaper, preserved in the Clark family. Issue of Tuesday, Jan. 22, 1861.

⁶Captain Herman Kopperholdt of Waldoboro.

⁷Mrs. Maud Clark Gay.

the draft, and in other situations where the right of the citizen to criticize and differ was generally recognized.

The Copperheads remained especially militant on the issue of enlistments and the later draft. In my boyhood I was amazed on one occasion in talking with one of them to hear with what vehemence the cause of the South was upheld. From this experience came the realization, deepening with the years, of the extent to which frank disloyalty existed in the town in Civil War days. George W. Singer, former editor of the *Damariscotta Herald*, born in 1861, wrote me of his varied recollections of Civil War days under date of November 20th, 1942. In his characteristic and vigorous language he stated:

My father was a sea captain but happened to be home at that time. He was loyal alright. I have been told that he was drafted along with a well known Copperhead, who, on the way home, slapped Father on the back and addressed him as "brother conscript." Father, I am told, gave him an uppercut that laid him out. There were plenty of Copperheads. I am ashamed to say that an uncle of mine was one, and on one occasion we would have come to blows, but he had some doubt about his ability to back up a remark he made about Abraham Lincoln. I was six feet tall at eighteen.

Throughout the war there was little abatement of Copperhead sentiment in Waldoboro. Those responsible for it were among the most influential and respectable citizens, who conformed outwardly and in a measure fell into line in cooperating in the town's efforts, but the anti-war virus was so widely diffused among common folk that every major war move was attended in the town by a spirit of uncertainty and misgiving on the part of those promoting them.

In 1862 the call came for more men. Volunteering had not been an unqualified success and in consequence conscription was being agitated in the national capital. In fact, a law was under debate in Congress for drafting members of the militia, but it failed of passage on constitutional grounds. In its place the state started calling a definite number from each locality. Waldoboro's quota in July was fifty men for a three-year enlistment. This call was the signal for the more militant Copperheads in the county to start their undercover work, and of their activities the *Bath Times and Sentinel* of August 4, 1862, reported the following:

There has been a small squad of Secessionists canvassing Lincoln County for sometime telling all sorts of cock and bull stories to discourage enlistments, endeavoring to frighten people about being drafted. We are sorry to say that in a few instances they have been successful. I understand that three persons have left Damariscotta for an undiscovered country where Lincoln's draft cannot go. It is said that in some of the

seaboard towns there has been quite a rush into the fishing business.⁸ It is said some of the boats under 20 tons have shipped about a man a ton's burden. The fishing bounty to these boats must be divided up into pretty small shares.

In view of such conditions — the imminence of a draft, the reluctance to enlist, and the activities of the disloyal — the towns felt the need of bestirring themselves to meet the demands for levying their quotas of men. In Waldoboro they beat the tom-tom, stirred up public enthusiasm, and raised money for bounties as an inducement to enlist. At a Town Meeting held July 28, 1862, "it was voted that the town pay \$100. to each volunteer enlisting to make the town's quota; and appoint three persons orderly sergeants . . . to go around and see who will enlist."⁹ As further inducement a group of citizens subscribed \$650 to pay \$10 additional to each enrolled person.

This quota enlisted for three years, and along with thirty men from Bristol and twenty from Union made up Company E of the Twentieth Maine Infantry. They were mustered August 29, 1862. The most distinguished Waldoboro soldier in this group was Captain Atherton W. Clark, who was in action constantly from Antietam to Appomatox. He was twice brevetted on the field for conspicuous action in battle — brevet major, October 25, 1864, for gallant services at the battles of Pebble's Farm and Hatcher's Run, Virginia, and brevet lieutenant colonel in 1865, for gallant conduct before Petersburg. Promoted from the ranks of this company were James H. Stanwood, wounded at Gravelly Run and raised to the rank of first lieutenant; Sergeant Henry F. Sidelinger who rose through the ranks and became brevet major for gallant and meritorious conduct in the Appomatox campaign, and Sergeant Thomas R. Hogue, shot in the thigh at Fisher Hill and promoted to second lieutenant. The men in this enlistment went through the Virginia campaigns, the hardest of the war. Corporal Raymond W. Hoffses was wounded in the Wilderness and had a foot amputated by a Confederate surgeon; private Calvin Bates, taken prisoner, lost both feet from exposure in prison; George Gilbert Benner was wounded in the Wilderness campaign; Lowell Prock was taken prisoner and never heard of thereafter; Edward K. Chapman suffered a shoulder wound at Bethesda Church; Lewis G. Flanders died in Andersonville Prison; George Allen Hoch was wounded and captured in the Wilderness; Frederick Kinsell fell at Rappahannock; Leander M. Mink died of wounds; Orchard F. Mink was wounded at Gettysburg; Gardner Schwartz fell at Fair Play, Maryland; Orrin G. Mink,

⁸Waldoboro was no exception to this expedient.

⁹Town Clerk's Records, Waldoboro.

who joined the regiment in 1864, never returned and is presumed to have died in prison camp, and Charles Keizer fell at Laurel Hill. On June 17, 1865, eleven of the survivors of this quota reached home after three years of service and were tendered a public reception in Union Hall.

From the record of this "gallant fifty" there are two episodes related by members of the outfit which, written in later years from points in the West, were printed in the local paper. The first has to do with the death of Charles Keizer, after whom the local G.A.R. Post was named:

It was at the battle of Laurel Hill, the 20 Me. was in company with the 118 Penn. on the skirmish line. While waiting after drinking coffee and eating pork and hard tack, Chas. Keizer said to Henry Levensaler of the 32nd Mass. "Let's make more coffee and eat our last supper." This they did after which they were ordered to the front, formed line and advanced. Now as we were making our way towards the enemy through a pine thicket, night was creeping upon us. Soon dusk and then darkness. We supposed a skirmish line was in our advance, but they were not there. Entirely unprotected we were feeling our way in the darkness. Just now we heard an order to drop, and as we did so we could hear a rustle, and they were upon us. There was a fearful conflict, men firing in each others' faces. I don't think they were more than eight or ten feet distant when the first shot was fired. Lieut Keene told me after the battle that the first warning he had had was when a rebel officer came upon him and said, "Surrender, you damned Yankee sons of bitches!" At this he disappeared and I think it very doubtful he gave orders after that. He was probably riddled by a dozen bullets. Keizer was at my right hand on his knees and when they returned the fire he fell against me. I suppose he was shot dead and then we lost one of our best men. No braver man ever shouldered a musket. At the same time Henry Levensaler was also shot, and after the battle the conversation just before going in occurred to me: "Let's eat our last supper!"¹⁰

The second brief record is a narration of the departure and the arrival home:

It seems but a day that that gallant fifty, or Waldoboro's quota for "Three hundred thousand more," left Waldoboro with their very souls fired with patriotism, amid tears and cheers, with flags flying; and then those years which you and I, and all of Co. E that are alive, remember so well. And then that procession of eight or ten "relics" marching down Sproul's Hill in June 1864, to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," and the reception we received. All these events seem but a dream at the present time.¹¹

Following the enlistment of this company in the Twentieth Maine, a call came almost immediately from Mr. Lincoln for 300,000 more men, of which Maine was to provide eight regiments to serve nine months. Under this call Lincoln County was to

¹⁰*Lincoln County News*, 1885, by W.H.L. (Probably Wm. H. Levensaler).

¹¹*Waldoboro Monthly News*, Feb., 1873, by C.H.M. (Charles H. Mero).

provide 410 men, and Waldoboro's quota was ninety. The two levies coming so close together filled the coastal towns with misgivings in reference to filling their quotas. By early September only twenty men had enlisted in Warren and "on the sixth the militia was notified to turn out and meet on the tenth at the town house for the purpose of drafting men for the town's required quota."¹² Waldoboro must have felt equally uncertain with its numerous Copperheads, but it lost no time in starting its drive for recruits. A "United People Meeting" was held on a Saturday afternoon and evening. No hall being sufficiently large to accommodate the crowd, a stage was erected in the open air from which "soul stirring, patriotic speeches" were made by General Oliver O. Howard and others. The Waldoboro Cornet Band was stationed near the platform and played patriotic airs between the speeches. In the evening the meeting adjourned to Union Hall where addresses were made by Reverend Brown, Chaplain of the Fifteenth Maine Regiment, General Henry H. Kennedy, and General Oliver O. Howard. At a late hour the meeting adjourned "with three rousing cheers for Liberty and Union."

The citizens aimed to keep the volunteer movement going at this tempo until the quota was filled. An aroused and vocal public was one way of cowing the dissidents. A correspondent from Waldoboro writing in the *Bath Sentinel and Times* seems to utter a sense of relief in the following:

Everything went off harmoniously and we are a united people, united for the overthrow of treason and rebellion if it costs the last man and dollar there is in the community. . . . Our purpose is that we shall obtain our full number without a draft. This week our merchants are to close stores and suspend business, and all are to spend the entire week working for our Glorious Union.¹³

Mere oratory, sound and lights, however, were not enough to swell Waldoboro enlistments. More tangible tokens were definitely needed, and on August 23, 1862, the town appropriated \$5000, "for raising the town's quota of volunteers to answer the President's call of August fourth, 1862, for 300,000 by draft, instead of drafting men for that purpose." The towns in this area definitely feared that a draft would meet opposition and be attended by rioting and bloodshed. Hence the unremitting effort to meet the quotas by volunteering and to receive the credit for any excess enlistments. The \$5000 bonus was not enough, and at a meeting held on September 9th the town voted an additional \$9500, the two banks loaning the town \$4500 each. Because of this openhanded policy the town did not face the dangerous

¹²Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 410.

¹³*Bath Daily Sentinel and Times*, Aug. 9, 1862.

necessity of resorting to the draft, but exceeded its quota and furnished the entire complement of Company A of the 21st Maine Regiment. The senior captain of the regiment was Isaac W. Comery, a colorful figure in Waldoboro life until well into the present century. The first lieutenant was Aaron W. Wallace, with Daniel W. Demuth as second lieutenant. The citizens of the town purchased regulation swords for the officers, and the presentations were made at the camp ground in Augusta by the Honorable Isaac Reed. Responses were made by Captain Comery and both lieutenants, whereafter the soldiers were addressed by the Chairman of the Selectmen, Samuel W. Jackson.

The company was mustered into service on October 13, 1862, and was assigned to the command of General Banks in Louisiana to participate in the Red River campaign and the sieges of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Disease, especially malaria, was even more deadly than rebel bullets. Lieutenant Wallace died in action in a charge on the enemy's works at Port Hudson; Horace A. Nash died of wounds received in the same charge; Henry Wheeler was wounded at Port Hudson; Richard Flannigan, Addison Keizer, Ambrose Hoch, and Nelson Kaler were also wounded in the siege. The following died of disease and lie buried in the National Cemetery at Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Corporal Orchard L. Sidelinger, Lowell H. Benner, George T. Cole, Levi Crammer, Orrin Creamer, Benjamin Flanders, Newell W. Genthner, Edward F. Manning, Henry J. Mink, William D. Nash, Austin E. Oliver, and Charles M. Wallace.

On July 8, 1863, Port Hudson surrendered. On July 24th the regiment having enlisted for nine months only, made over all arms and equipment to the Government and embarked on steamers for home via Cairo, Chicago, and Boston. This trip was not without its casualties among the diseased and weakened men. On the 16th of August Freeman C. Benner died at Mound City, Illinois, and Byron M. Castner was left behind there in the hospital. Cyrus H. Genthner died on the steamer and was buried on the shore by his comrades. On the 7th of August the survivors reached Waldoboro where they were tendered a homecoming reception in Union Hall.

In offering the story of a war the historian can lay bare its causes, chart the course of campaigns, define their objectives, evaluate the genius and strategy of commanding generals, enumerate battle costs in terms of deaths and wounds, and interpret the over-all significance of objectives gained or lost, but he cannot record, in a true or graphic way, the life of a common soldier in the field, his attitude, viewpoint, privations, sufferings, hopes, apprehensions and fears as he follows the filthy and bloody course of war through a great campaign. To meet this historical inade-

quacy there is set forth in this chapter the day-by-day observations of a young Waldoboro private of Co. A, 21st Maine, as he records with epic brevity in his diary "the way it all looked to him" in the great Red River campaign of 1863.

The object of this campaign was to split the Confederacy in two by wresting control of the Mississippi River from the Rebels and then to detach Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas from the eastern section of the Confederate Union. In this campaign Admiral Farragut forced entrance to the great river on the south, capturing New Orleans; on the north Grant hammered his way down to Vicksburg to effect a union with Farragut. In between lay the Rebel stronghold at Port Hudson, at the mouth of the Red River, the last remaining link binding the eastern and western states of the Confederacy together. The capture of this stronghold was entrusted to General Banks, and the 21st Maine was one of the units of this army. It is in the record of this campaign from the point of view of a private in the ranks that the diary sets forth the life, thought, and feelings in reference to events now nearly a century past — a simple, touching document to the reader who is trained to let his imagination linger between the lines.

The diary opens on New Year's Day, 1863. Co. A, 21st Maine is in New York waiting transportation to Louisiana. The first notation will be given as entered in the diary. Thereafter the entries will be briefly summarized up to the time when the company reaches the scene of operations along the Mississippi: "To-day is New Year's and a very fine day it is; no snow on the ground, no drilling today. We are going to have Geese for Dinner. Captain gave the Orderly \$10.00 to buy us Geese and other things. I was in St. George last year at this time on a Sleigh Ride. What changes in life."

For a few days Private W— wanders about New York with his eyes wide open. The great cemeteries seem to fascinate him, but he also notes with interest the *Great Eastern* lying in the East River, "the horse cars," a captive "Rebel Steamer mounting 28 guns," and the prevalence of dire poverty. "We have plenty of poor people around camp picking up pieces of Coal and Bread, old Kegs and such things. They are very filthy, covered with rags. They are here every morning regular & great many children doing the same filthy business. They are very poor."

On Friday, January 9, 1863, six companies embarked on the ship *Onward*, 700 tons burden, commanded by Captain Coombs. This same day Private W— notes: "I got a letter from home to-day with some money and a chew of gum. This was a great treat to me. It made me think of spruce trees at home." The private recounts details of the trip south along the coast. At Hampton Roads

he notes: "This is the place where the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* fought. Fort Monroe is built for beauty as well as strength. It is laid with granite and beautified with trees." On Saturday, Jan. 17th, the ship was in the Gulf Stream, and the private noted:

The water has changed from dark green to a very dark blue . . . and is milk warm. The men are bathing on deck. I do not like a life on ship board where there are so many men. It is very unhealthy. Nothing seems natural. I stay on deck most of the time thinking of home, sweet home and the dear ones at home. While off the coast of S.C. we had a little trouble on board. One of the sailors, a Prussian, was put in irons and put in the hold of the ship. . . . The soldiers made a noise about it and had him taken out of the hold and irons taken off.

On Sunday, Jan. 25th, the private noted: "Ship hove in sight. They supposed it to be the *Alabama*.¹⁴ Her course was directly for us. All hands ordered below. The officers trembled in their shoes, and their straps fell off. Swords were worth about a shilling. They run up the English flag. All hands came on deck and had a good laugh." On Monday, Jan. 26th, the private observed:

We shall soon make the mouth of the River.¹⁵ The color of the water of the river is very muddy. It extends far out in the sea. You can see it before you can see land. You come into it all at once. To-morrow is my birthday. I am 24 years old.

Wednesday, Jan. 28th. We are going up the River. The water is very muddy, and snags floating down. The day is fine and the scenery beautiful. We are passing by fine plantations with orange groves full of delicious fruit. The river is very narrow. We went very near the shore, so that I could have thrown a stone in the windows. The negro huts look neat and are in two rows.

Jan. 29th. We are now in a place called Carrollton. We got here last night. It appears to be very sickly here, for there is many funerals. I saw them bury one soldier. It was a sad sight. The grave was full of water. I saw a man stand on the coffin to sink it. It made me feel lonesome and sick of war.

Jan. 30th. Nothing of any note throughout the day. We started from Carrollton this evening, went on board the steamer, *Laurell Hill*, bound to Baton Rouge. It is very cold. The men have to sleep on the deck. I carried the colors into the cabin and stayed there. Had no chance to sleep. It was full of sick soldiers. We had a fire.

Jan. 31st. I had plenty of oranges on board the steamer. There was a lot of such things between decks. The boys broke them open and took what they wanted. We had a pleasant time going from Carrollton to Baton Rouge; saw some very pretty plantations. The negroes came running to the bank of the river to see us pass by. All seemed happy.

Sunday, Feb. 1st 1863. Landed at Baton Rouge this morning. I carried the colors on shore, and planted them on the Parade Ground, and gave them into the care Sergt. Potter. I went to my Co. and helped pitch my tent. We had the tents pitched before 9.00 o'clock, and dinner at 12 o'clock.

¹⁴The great Confederate raider.

¹⁵The Mississippi.

Feb. 2nd. Roll call at 5.30 o'clock; Surgeon's call 7.00. Breakfast call 7.30 o'clock. Guard Mounting 8.00. Inspection after G. Mounting. Drill from 9-10, from 11-12. Dinner call 12.30 o'clock. Brigade or Battalion Drill from 2 till 4 o'clock P.M. Dress Parade 5.00. Retreat sundown. Tattoo at 8.00. Taps 9.00 o'clock, then go to bed.

Feb. 3rd. Went out to view the Battleground. We saw where the balls had struck the trees, and in the ground. We saw where they had buried their dead. Many splendid Houses are torn down here by the soldiers. They have been left by the owners to the mercy of the army. They do not have much.

Feb. 4th. Part of our company went out to get some molasses 1½ miles from camp. The plantation had been left by the owner. He left all the molasses in the Sugar House and lots of furniture in the dwelling House. There is a great many dwellings left in this shape.

Feb. 5th. Sargeant and 17 men from Co. A detailed for Picket duty. I was sargeant of the Guard. Was on the 1st Relief, Bartlett, Lieut. of guard, H. P. Wyman, Sergt., Webber Corp. We did not see any Rebels. I was up all night. Did not have any sleep. We put out all fires at dark. My beat was 1 mile in length.

Feb. 6th. 10 o'clock came from Picket Guard. Did not have any sleep and was tired. Went in my tent, tok my towel and soap and went out to wash. Felt somewhat refreshed, laid down and slept, then went out on drill. I fired my rifle the first time at a mark. Hit within 4 inches of center. Chance shot.

Feb. 7th. Morning Roll Call at 5.30 o'clock. Eat my breakfast. Had baked beans. They were good. Went to the hospital with the sick, then went out on Company drill. Came in, eat dinner. I had nothing to do for the rest of the day but go out on Dress Parade. Eat my supper, bread and tea. Evening Roll Call at 9.00 o'clock.

Sunday, Feb. 8th. Sargeant and 17 men from Co. A. I was detailed as Sargeant for Picket duty. Put the fires at dark. Lieut. Russell, Lieut of Guard. He was somewhat tinid, did not do his duty. At 11 o'clock 5 negroes brought in by Cavalry. 1 man and wife, 2 children, negro woman. They run away from their master. They were brought into camp.

Feb. 9th. We were put in a Brigade with the 48 Mass., 116 New York. 116 N.Y. commanded by Col. Chapin, who is acting Brig. General. We have a very good band in our Brigade. They play many pieces that we used to play. Their leader is Martin.

Feb. 10th. To-day we were mustered in for pay. The company was taken out in part of the Adjutants O. The Pay Master was there with the money. Co. A was paid off first. We went up one to a time and took our cash. I received \$62.90 for my part.

Feb. 11th. To-day I have been taking the names of the company who wish to send their money home. Put the money all in one package and sent by Adams Express. Put in the package \$30.00, paid 1½ per cent for sending it. I went down to the city with the Captain and saw it sealed up. Paid \$25.00 for uniform and kept \$7.90.

Feb. 12th. Nothing of any account to-day, except the rest of our Regiment came up and joined us at Camp Banks. We left them in East N.Y. We were very glad to meet them again. Our Col. Elijah D. Johnson came with them. They did not have so pleasant passage as we did, but got here all right.

Feb. 13th. Sent on Provo guard. The guard was detailed from 3 Regts and should have been from one. The detail was a Sargeant and 20 men. There was a forage party sent out to-day and took 40 wagons of corn from the Rebels, about 3000 bushels.

Now that Private W— was in the field and facing the uncertainties of life in a campaign, he found it expedient to inscribe his diary as a means of recognition. Possibly he also felt that if he fell in action the diary, with good luck, might some day reach his folks at home. Accordingly he inscribed himself as

Sergt. William H. P. Wyman

Co. A 21st Maine Regt.

1st Brigade, Auger's Division

Camp Banks

Col. E. D. Johnson

Baton Rouge, Feb. 13th, 1863

Sergt. Wyman continued his daily entries until the regiment was mustered out and reached Augusta on Friday, August 7, 1863. No effort will be made in the following to repeat routine matters; only those entries will follow where events are new, significant, and represent deviations from the normal routine of life in the field.

Tuesday, Feb. 17th. The day is rainy. It is very muddy around camp. One of our men died this morning in the Hospital. His name is Oren Creamer. 6 o'clock P.M. Have been to the funeral of the above named person. The funeral was escorted by 8 men with the arms reversed. A mournful sight.

Thurs. Feb. 19th. I am on Pickett to-day. Went on this morning at 10 o'clock. I am on the Reserve Guard. Several Rebels passed the Picket to-day. They had passes signed by the Provost Marshall. That is the way the war is carried on in the South.

Fri. Feb. 20th. Came off Guard this morn at 10 o'clock. Two Planters was halted by the Pickets this morn. They were going in to have their passes renewed. They thought we had a particular like for Negroes, because we passed one before we did them. She had a pass for ten days. I feel very tired to-night. We had to go out on Brigade drill this afternoon. There were 13 Regts drilling at the same time on field.

Feb. 21st. Nothing to-day. I went this morn with a squad of men to get some wood. We get wood without price here. Go and cut where we choose. If we had to buy it we should have to pay an awful price. Eggs is 75 cents per Doz. Butter 40 cents. Flour 40.00 per Bbl. Other things in proportion.

Feb. 28th. I went on picket duty to-day. It rained very hard. My boots were half full of water. It cleared off by noon very pleasant. I went out to see a planter's home now in desolation. The place was a very fine one and very costly, but the hand of the spoiler had been there. The furniture broken to pieces — everything going to ruin. The man's name was Thomas Bird.

Mon. March 2nd. Took a squad of men this morning to get wood, then went on Company drill. . . . We are expecting to see some hard fighting soon, either at this place or at Port Hudson. The fleet is coming up the River under Commodore Farragut. Port Hudson is a stronghold.

March 3rd. Nothing to-day. I took the Company out to drill for the first time. Done as well as I could expect for one not acting Orderly Sergeant. Company all well except Austin Oliver not expected to live. I expect we shall leave here to go up River. The Rebels are about 10 miles from here. Their Pickets less than that.

Mar. 4th. Col. Johnson drilled this morning the non-commissioned officers in the Manual of Arms. Grand Review 2 o'clock P.M. of the Brigade by Major Gen. Auger. All passed off well. Austin Oliver died to-day out of our company while out to the sink. This evening I came near being shot. The ball out from a pistol came near my head and lodged in the ground.

March 5. This morning attended the funeral of A. E. Oliver who died yesterday with typhoid fever. The services were read by Capt. Comery, Prayer by Jerome Hall. . . .

Mar. 7th. Nothing to-day except making streets and getting wood. It seems as though we were going to stop in this place to guard it, but we cannot tell. Everything is uncertain. I saw to-day 64 wagons full of wood go past our camp. It was taken from the Rebels. It was followed by artillery to guard it.

Mar. 9th. The orders came last night for to prepare for a forward movement. I went to the Adjutants to copy the orders for the Companies. This morn we commenced to get ready to pack all surplus clothing, and have two days cooked rations in Haversacks. We march in the morning for a brush with the Rebels.

Mar. 10th. Everything all confusion this morn. Had orders to strike our tents. We did so, and had all ready for marching. The camp ground looked like a desert. We waited for orders, but none came. I suppose we shall march in the morning. We lay on our arms to-night. Such is camp life. I like it much.

Mar. 12th. I am on Pickett to-day. The day is very fine. I have written home to-day. We expect to march up river at a moment's warning. There is another Review to-day. The report is that Vicksburg is taken. It will be joyful news if true. The 48th Regt moved to-night about 12 o'clock. All quiet on Pickett.

Mar. 13th. Came off Pickett this morning, quite beat out, pitched my tent and laid down. The Fleet of Farragut is moving up the River to Port Hudson. Brigade of Infantry is also moving in the same direction. We shall go to-morrow morning without doubt. I am not afraid to fight with my company.

Mar. 14th. Started from Camp Banks this morning at 4 o'clock, took the road through Baton Rouge city, was passed by Gen. Banks and Augur and Staff. The day is very pleasant. The road leads through a Forest. We encamped by the House of a Rebel. The boys went in for plundering but was stopped by the General.

Sunday, Mar. 15th. Fell back this morning 5 miles as a Reserve. We heard heavy firing last night by our troops on Port Hudson. This morning a Rebel Fire Raft exploded in the River below Port Hudson. Do not know what damage was done. The Fire Raft proved to be the *Mississippi*, which was run ashore by the Pilot.

Mar. 16th. Found myself laying in 6 inches of water. We had a fine shower last night. I crawled out and dried my clothes and felt some better. We are waiting here for further orders. We saw a dead Rebel to-day. He was shot by our Pickets who were guarding a Pontoon Bridge. Our Fleet went past Port Hudson the 14th. Steamer *Mississippi* blew up Sunday at 4 o'clock in the morning.

Mar. 19th. Nothing to-day except an order for two days cooked rations. The day is very pleasant. Strawberries are beginning to ripen. Snakes are very plenty, one of our boys killed a Rattle Snake to-day. We have plenty of fresh beef. They kill wherever they find hogs and cows just as they want them. 9.00 o'clock P.M. had an order to march.

Sunday, March 22nd. Nothing to-day but work. There is no Sunday in the army. . . . George Cole died in Hospital the 19th and was buried the 20th of March. We have 20 men in Hospital.

March 25th. Start out this morning with two men to dig a grave for Lowell Benner. He died last night about 4 o'clock P.M. 6 o'clock P.M. buried Lowell Benner at 4 o'clock. The procession consisted of a Corporal and six men. They fired a salute over his grave.

March 26th. Went with the sick to the Hospital. They were examined by Dr. Brackett. This morning had battallion drill — something unusual. We have lost 50 men out of our Regt. Gen. Grovers Division left to-day for Fort Donellson. They brought in a Rebel prisoner last week. He states that we might have took Port Hudson the 15th of March as well as not.

Sunday, March 29th. Had a very heavy shower last night, much Thunder and the sky in a perfect blaze all the time. . . . There has been 50 men died out of our Regt. up to this date, most of them with the Dysentary and Fevers.

Sunday, April 19th. Came off Guard this morning. There were great fears of an attack by the Rebel Cavalry, expected them to come every minute. The troops in Camp laid on their arms, but all passed off well. I got a sound Ducking during the Shower.

April 21st. Came off Guard this morning. We had a fine time and all quiet. The Report is that the Rebels have left Port Hudson. Lieut. Hall of Company I died to-day with the fever. The fevers are very fatal in this part of the country. We have ripe cherries here now.

April 22nd. Went to the funeral of one of the non-commissioned officers in our company. O. Sidelinger died this morning at 4½ o'clock. The Chaplain of the 48th Mass. attended the funeral. Lieut Hall of Co. I buried to-day. They were both buried near the Fortifications.

April 25th. Day pleasant. Went out to the Negro House, occupied by 2 old Women and 2 Creole girls. The girls were very bright and not very dark. Their names were Louise and Estelle Pierce. They were free by nature and did not associate with common negros.

Sunday, May 3rd. Nothing but usual duties today. The great Cavalry Raid of the Illinois Cavalry entered this city. They dashed through 700 miles of the enemy country in 16 days. They destroyed a great deal of property and took 150 prisoners with the loss of six men killed and wounded.

May 8th. Went to the Hospital again but the Doctor said I had the jaunders but did not need anything to take for them. Such is the kind of Doctors we have in the 21st Maine Regt. I am going to Doctor myself.

May 9th. I went to the city this morning and got some medicine. Heavy firing at Port Hudson last night. They were bombarding the Fort. Have heard no account about it. . . .

May 11th. Dudley's Brigade left to-day for Port Hudson. They left in good spirits. Our Brigade has marching orders with two days cooked rations. I am some better to-day but very weak — do not think I shall be able to march.

May 13th. Quite pleasant to-day, but some signs of storm. . . . Levi Creamer died to-day at 4 o'clock P.M. and was buried at 6 o'clock P.M. He makes the 87th man that we have lost in this Regiment.

May 18th. I feel no better to-day than did yesterday. The Doctor says I am going to have a Billous Fever, but I will keep up good courage. 48th Mass. Regt. left to-day for Port Hudson with a Battery. The troops are all moving up the river.

May 19th. I think I feel some better to-day, but the rest of the Brigade is ordered to go to Port Hudson, and I do not feel well about being left behind, but I am not fit to go and must stay where I am.

May 23rd. Started to-day for Port Hudson with 2 Sergts. and 2 Privates. Hired a Negro to haul us up with a team. Had a pleasant time going. Joined my Regt. which was encamped on the old Battle ground 4 miles from Port Hudson.

May 25th. 5½ A.M. Rose and packed my things and partook of Breakfast of Hard Tack, raw pork and muddy water. At 5 o'clock P.M. the Rebels commenced throwing shells on our right wing. They tried to break through our lines. Our Regt was ordered to support a battery and encamped in a cornfield behind it.

May 27th. Taken sick yesterday, not well to-day. The Battle commenced in good earnest by shelling the Fort. This continued until 2½ P.M. Then the order was given to take it by storm. The Balls flew thick and fast about our heads. The action lasted from 3 to 4 hours. We did not succeed in taking the place that way.

May 28th. All quiet to-day. The men are engaged in bringing off the dead and wounded. I am very sick and have a fever. The loss in our Regt. is between 70 and 80 killed, wounded and missing.

May 29th. Capt. came in from Pickett this morn. Got the Surgeon and had me sent to Baton Rouge. Started about 2 o'clock A.M. in an open team for Springfield Landing, a distance of 9 Miles. Then took the boat and arrived at 4 P.M.

Sunday, June 14th. Heavy firing at Port Hudson last night and also this morning. We still hear heavy guns in that direction. I expect they must be having a hard fight. I hope they will succeed in destroying the devilish hole soon.

June 16th. Our Regt lost in the fight of Sunday 1 man killed and 25 wounded. The most of our Regt. was under Col. Johnson and Major Merry as skirmishers. Col. Stanley led the storming party.

June 20th. All quiet to-day. We do not have anything for excitement here in this place except rumors of an attack by the Rebels. They will not try to come in here, for our gunboats are ready to burn the city if they do.

June 23rd. All quiet to-day. The Rebels have retook a place some distance down the river. They are prowling around like a pack of wolves, and when they get a chance to capture a place and destroy anything, they do it, if they do not hold it more than a day.

June 26th. No news to-day from up river. The Rebels are getting up bands of Gurillas who prowl about ready to take one of our men if he goes outside the Picket lines. They are a cowardly set and act the part of the Indian hidden behind a tree.

Sunday, June 28th. We are having meeting to-day. We can go to a Negro meeting which is quite interesting. They shout like the Methodists only louder, and jump up and down, and shake hands at the end of the meeting. The people are mostly Catholics in this place.

Tues. June 30th. Henry J. Mink died to-day in Hospital. He died very suddenly, supposed to be some heart disease. The Negroes say, who dig the graves, that they do not bury less than five per day.

July 7th. Do not feel any better. The day is very hot. The Provo Marshall had a dispatch from Gen. Banks that Vicksburg was taken the 4th of July with 25,000 men. There is also a report that Port Hudson surrendered to-day at 10 o'clock.

July 8th. Port Hudson taken to-day with 2500 men. They surrendered at 10 o'clock A.M. They were in a starving condition, and were

destitute in many ways. The news was received here by Unionists with joy, but on the other side the reverse.

July 9th. All is life on the river from Baton Rouge to Port Hudson. The boats are passing up and down the river transporting troops to different places to drive out the Rebel Gangs that have collected on the river below this place.

July 18th. Slept last night in a Store House on a bed of board 8 inches wide and was sorely annoyed by Musquitos. Had some hard bread and Butter and tea for breakfast. Port Hudson is a very busy place now. Boats are thronging the Landing from Vicksburg bringing cattle and from New Orleans & Baton Rouge with troops.

July 25th. Laurell Hill started from Port Hudson this morning at 6 o'clock and we started for Home. Very pleasant day, the shores of Port Hudson fading in the distance. Passed Bayou S— at 11 o'clock.

Pass the Red River at 2 P.M. Arrived at Natchez at 10 o'clock.

The interim entries furnish details of the trip home—up the river to Cairo and by train from Toledo, through Erie, Rochester, Utica, Albany, and Springfield to Boston.

Friday, Aug. 7th. Stopped at the Wildes Hotel last night. Took Breakfast and hair cut and shaved. Started from Depot 9½, And at Lynn at 12.00, at Beverly 1¼, at Ipswich at 2.00 P.M., at Hampton at 2½ at Portsmouth 3½, S. Berwick 4¾, at N. Berwick at 5.00, Biddeford 6.00, Portland 7¼, at Augusta 12.00, and Home at last.¹⁰

From these scenes and observations on the life of a Waldoboro enlisted man in the field during the Civil War we return to conditions in the town.

The state elections during the war years afford, perhaps, the best clue to the basic attitudes of Waldoboro citizens, and may be construed as a fair index of their fundamental loyalty or disloyalty, since they gave to each citizen the opportunity to give expression anonymously to his convictions. In the gubernatorial election of 1862 the issue was again clearly drawn. The Jameson, or War Democrats, called a "Peoples' Convention," and again nominated Colonel Jameson, of the 2nd Maine Regiment, on the principle that "it is the first duty of the citizen in this perilous national crisis, to yield a ready and unwavering support to the Government in all necessary efforts to subdue the existing rebellion."

The "Compromise Democrats," who had nominated Dana the year before, held their convention in August and nominated Bion Bradbury as their candidate for governor. The leaders of this wing of the Democratic Party were the same men who had denounced the Government in the state campaign of 1861. This time their language was not quite so frank, but their basic aims were still the same. They declared that "the Union was formed in a

¹⁰Diary of Sergt. William H. P. Wyman, in possession of his daughter, Irene Wyman Butler, Waldoboro, Me.

spirit of concession and compromise, and must be preserved by the same means and not by military force alone." The Republican call to convene was for an election of delegates, not only of Republicans, but all supporters of the national and state administrations, and the party platform invited "a cordial and patriotic union of the people of Maine on the patriotic basis of a generous support of the policy and principles . . . of Abraham Lincoln."

The issue thus offered by the three candidates was clear, and Waldoboro was in a position to register its real convictions. It did not speak in terms of the heavy voting prewar years, but its voice was unmistakable. Bradbury, the proponent of compromise, polled 375 votes; Jameson, the Democrat favoring prosecution of the war, polled fifty-three votes, and the Republican, Coburn, polled ninety-five votes. In other words, Bradbury, who most closely approached the Copperhead view, received in the town a majority of 247 votes, which was approximately a three to one majority. At this time the town had upwards of 200 men in the war. In this election the vote on a few local candidates for state offices is most illuminating. Isaac Reed (Democrat), running for the State Senate, received 501 votes and his Republican opponent, General Kennedy, received two votes; Augustus Welt (Democrat), running for the Legislature, received 435 votes, and his Republican opponent, Joseph Bornheimer, ninety-eight votes. Most certainly the old machine was in running order, and registered either its own convictions or those of its leaders. In the state Coburn (Republican) led Bradbury (Democrat) by less than 11,000 votes, and Jameson, the War Democrat, polled a total of 6764 votes. The discrepancy between the town and state vote clearly reveals how far out of line the town was in the year 1862.

The spring of 1863 was the period of lowest ebb in the fortunes of the North and of the deepest depression in the hearts of the loyal. In Waldoboro casualty lists had brought mourning to numerous families, and Hooker's defeat at Chancellorsville had brought to the citizens both doubt and despair. This condition was not alleviated until the arrival of the news of Gettysburg and the surrender of Vicksburg on July 7th. The prevailing gloom was deepened by the failure of volunteering, which led Congress in March 1863 to pass the first conscription act. This move proved deeply repugnant to the people, and everywhere threats of resistance were audible. The first calls came to the towns in July, and the Government had prepared for all emergencies. Light artillery — four and six pounders — were located at strategic points throughout the state, and the brass field pieces were kept shotted. There was ample reason for such precautions as is attested by the tragic riots in New York City which lasted four days, cost more

than a thousand lives, and were suppressed only by the troops summoned from General Meade's army in Pennsylvania.

In Maine things were quieter, but there were minor outbreaks such as that in Kingfield where a mob of fifty men prevented the officers from distributing the draft notifications, and had to be suppressed by the Lewiston Light Infantry. In Warren the provost marshal was egged. The light artillery units, however, stationed in the neighboring towns of Wiscasset and Rockland had a quieting effect throughout Lincoln County. It is to the credit of Waldoboro that order was maintained in the town despite the strength of Copperhead sentiment.

Under the new Federal Conscription Act the allotments by towns were made by the Adjutant General in Augusta, and the lots were drawn there, from whence the lists were sent to the towns. The law clearly gave an unfair advantage to the wealthy, since, if drafted, they could meet their responsibility by hiring a substitute. Despite the new law, the towns continued their efforts to raise their allotments by volunteers, stimulated by the paying of bounties. This method often brought the towns into competition with one another in filling their quotas, and the less wealthy communities suffered accordingly. The Governor sought to curb this evil by advising uniform bounties of not less than \$100 or more than \$200. The Governor's counsel was in the main ignored and some towns offered bounties as high as four hundred dollars. To check such practices the state on December 9th directed that no recruit be credited to a locality paying a bounty in excess of \$200.

Waldoboro sought to meet the July draft in part by the old system of raising volunteers. Its quota was not a heavy one. The allotment of the Adjutant General was Waldoboro, fifty men; Bremen, ten men; Nobleboro, fifteen and Boothbay, thirty-one men. The town, following the Governor's advice, "voted the sum of \$100 be paid to each man that is drafted, that shall not be excused in some way, or to his substitute when examined and accepted." This sum was increased in the same month to \$200. In this call there were both volunteers and draftees. The citizens thus drafted seemed to have met this obligation in person, for the record shows only two draftees furnishing substitutes. In July Moses M. Richards furnished Edward A. Bowman as his substitute in the Army, and in September Alden B. Austin furnished Daniel B. Speed as his substitute in the Navy.

During these dark years the women of the town were constantly engaged in raising money for war purposes. They contributed \$400 to the United States Sanitary Commission; \$250 to the Christian Communion; \$100 to soldiers in Maine camps;

\$250 to general hospitals in loyal states; \$200 to regimental hospitals and \$100 to wounded soldiers in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Furthermore, they were active in helping needy families of soldiers from the town, of which there were 166 so aided, and the disbursements, including those allowed by the state, totalled \$6419.41. The women used to gather at the home of Mary Clark on Main Street. This house, built by her husband, Colonel Atherton W. Clark, is the one now occupied by Arthur Brown. Here the ladies would read to one another the letters received from their men at the front, and in this way derived a very personal picture of the struggle and of the little needs of the soldiers in the field.¹⁷

The state election of 1863 was the third wartime election in which the issue was drawn between those citizens favoring an active prosecution of the war, and the Copperheads favoring a solution by compromise. By the summer of 1863, Jameson, the leader of the War Democrats, was dead. This wing of the party was fast disappearing, and in the election the "Compromise Democrats" held the field unchallenged. They offered Bion Bradbury as their candidate for governor. Their attitude on the war remained the same as in 1861 and 1862, and their platform was clear even though its terminology was modified. It declared its support of "every constitutional measure tending to preserve the Union of the States . . . but not the present Administration, its course being destructive of the Union and the Government." In short, it was for a solution of the issues through compromise with the Confederacy.

The Republicans under the leadership of James G. Blaine deemed it wise in this election to drop the party name and replace it with a Union organization. Its convention call was addressed to all those "citizens of Maine who are unconditionally loyal to the Government of the United States and who unconditionally support all the measures for the suppression of the Rebellion." The convention met in Bangor in early July and under the leadership of Blaine nominated a loyal Democrat, Samuel A. Cony of Augusta, member of an old and prominent family in the state. The platform carried a vigorous indictment of the Copperheads, branding them as "a lawless band of conspirators, who had shown such an utter lack of the first instincts of patriotism as to make them dangerous counsellors in the present crisis of the country."

The issue between the two political groups was clearly drawn, and never in the previous history of the state was there such a thorough campaign. It was the most systematic and thorough canvass Maine had ever known. Blaine staged rallies in every town and hamlet, and sent out literature designed to reach every voter,

¹⁷Oral narrative, Maude Clark Gay, granddaughter of Col. Clark.

not once but many times. This tide of invasion swept into Waldoboro, and its effect was to galvanize the Reed machine into vigorous action, and here in the local field it flashed power which completely swamped the Blaine onslaught. Despite the fact that the town had upwards of 300 votes in the armed services, September 14, 1863, witnessed an outpouring of nearly a 1000 votes, and the results were catastrophic for Blaine's Union ticket. The vote was as follows: for governor, Bion Bradbury (Compromise Democrat), 774; Samuel A. Cony (Union Candidate), 202; for Senator, Joseph E. Smith, (Compromise Democrat), 775; Everett W. Stetson (Union Candidate), 200; representative to the Legislature, Samuel W. Jackson, (Compromise Democrat), 770; William F. Storer, (Union Candidate), 199. Once again and more vigorously than ever before in the war years, Waldoboro affirmed its Copperhead conviction of solution by compromise, and James G. Blaine met more than his master on the local scene. In the state, as always, it was different. Cony was elected by a majority of 18,000 votes.

Always it was men and more men. In the autumn of 1863 the President issued a call for 300,000 more recruits. The towns, ever fearful of resistance to the draft and ashamed to secure men in this fashion, strained themselves to the limit to raise their levies by voluntary enlistment. On November 10th the citizens of Waldoboro voted in Town Meeting "that the selectmen be authorized and directed to procure the quota of this town . . . and that they be empowered to pay each volunteer, who shall be accepted, a sum not exceeding \$250 to employ such men as they think proper to assist them in procuring the quota of this town at as early a date as possible." The latter clause requires some explanation. The effort of the towns to maintain their quotas by enlistment, and of those drafted to find substitutes to take their places in the ranks of the armed forces, led to an entirely new line of business, the "substitute" or draft broker. These men throughout the eastern states hunted up those who would enlist and then sold their enrollments to the towns or to drafted men desiring substitutes. These brokers were highly unscrupulous and were, in the main, men of bad character. Such men it was that the selectmen of the town in the vote of November 10th were told to use their discretion in employing "to assist them in procuring the quota of this town." This practice became even more marked in 1864, when on February 20th the town authorized \$25.00 for each man required by any call of the President, "to be used in paying recruiting agents." From this time on to the end of the war these substitute brokers were a steady aid to the town officers in meeting the requirement quotas of men for military service.

The frequent appropriations on the part of the town for soldiers' bounties faced the citizens for the first time with the problem of major debt. For over three-quarters of a century the operating expenses of the town had been met mainly from taxes, and the limited debts, rarely incurred, had been of short duration. Now the situation had changed rapidly. By April 1864 the liabilities of the town totalled \$37,080.25. On recommendation of the Committee of Accounts it was decided to "fund the war debt by issuing bonds on the faith and credit of the town," to run for a period not exceeding twenty years, with interest at six per cent payable annually.

This was by no means the end, for now the town was engaged almost continuously in enlistments for the next quota which was sure to come. In July the President called for 500,000 more men. On August 13th the town voted to raise \$300.00 for bounties to each man required to make up the quota of the town. The drafting of men "in the 3rd District began in Augusta on Monday with the towns of St. George and Waldoboro."¹⁸ The quotas of the two towns were one hundred and fifty-six men, with Waldoboro furnishing one hundred and twenty-four of this number. It was pretty near a matter of scraping the bottom of the barrel. A committee of five was appointed made up of S. S. Marble, William S. Brown, John P. Glidden, Horace Winchenbach, and Henry Farrington. These men were to appoint and organize a committee in each school district to comb their respective areas for enrollees. To meet the bounty needs for this task the town, in late August, voted "a tax assessment of \$11,631.35 to be assessed and collected immediately." But even with a three-hundred-dollar bounty, meeting the quota was a slow task and on November 5th the bounty was again upped and the selectmen were "authorized and directed to pay for each recruit hereafter raised such sum as may be necessary to obtain them not exceeding \$450. Also \$400 to each man who shall put a substitute on the quota of the town for three years."

It was in this call that the draft was felt most heavily in the town, and for the first time draftees sent substitutes on an impressive scale. In so doing they could, of course, claim the bounty from the town for a substitute, but this bounty was by no means sufficient to foot the bill, and some were obliged to pay as high as \$750 for their substitutes in this call. Some of the village folk meeting the draft in this manner were: Moses Burkett, Daniel W. Castner, George W. Caldwell, Henry Farrington, John P. Glidden, Henry A. Kennedy, George H. Kuhn, Milton McIntire, Miles W. Standish, and W. A. Storer. Some of the substitutes

¹⁸*Bath Sentinel and Times*, Sept. 21, 1864.

were local people, but most of them were secured through brokers wherever they might be picked up in Maine or the eastern states. Such a provision for substitutes would be looked upon in our time with mixed feelings. This was not the case in the sixties of the last century, where convictions about the war were so definite and so divided that this provision in the draft was in part a device to spare men's convictions or a clumsy arrangement to secure an indispensable man in his civilian role. During the entire war twenty-five citizens of Waldoboro furnished substitutes and paid for this service \$5000, over and above the bounties allowed by the town at the time of enlistments. In 1866 the Committee on Accounts recommended that this \$5000 be refunded to those citizens providing substitutes, and on June 2nd the town so voted.

The state election of 1864 revealed no change in the pattern of thought of Waldoboro voters. War weariness was everywhere; divisions in convictions had come more and more into the open. What men felt was boldly and freely expressed, and the local machine had come forth from cover and was crushing the opposition exultingly. The issues in the gubernatorial election were the same as in the previous campaign; the Republicans, bearing the Union label of 1863, backing a war of unconditional surrender, and the Democrats supporting a mild Copperhead program of compromise. In the state the Union candidate won by a six to four vote; in Waldoboro he lost by a vote that was nearly four to one. The exact poll for governor was Joseph Howard (Democrat), 729; Samuel Cony (Union-Republican), 216. Even in war the town remained true to its tradition of reaction. It is of interest to note that in this election, as in the whole period of Waldoboro's ascendancy, most of the county officers were drawn from the prominent citizens of the town. Such was the power of the Reed machine in the county and the state.

In the national election of this year the vote of the town was no less emphatic. The machine could always be sure of a vote in the 725-750 range, and there was no deviation from this figure whenever it saw fit to call out its full power. The loyal opposition at full strength functioned within a 190-210 vote range. In the national election the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln for a second term on a platform of carrying the war to a winning finish. The Democrats nominated General George B. McClellan, a candidate who would fight rather than give up the Union, but who would make almost any concession to restore the Union through compromise. Their platform was written by Clement L. Vallandigham, the number one American Copperhead; it demanded that "after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war," there be a cessation of hostilities with a view to "the restoration of the Union through an ulti-

mate convention of the States." On this issue the town of Waldoboro registered its convictions decisively. Mr. Lincoln was overwhelmingly defeated. The vote was Lincoln 210, McClellan 733. The town rejected Mr. Lincoln more emphatically than in 1860.

The war had dragged on through nearly four years. It had been a painful period for the town. As in the Revolution, and again in the War of 1812, the citizens had been sharply divided, and bitterness and hatred were always close to the surface. Yet the loyal leaders, Democrat and Republican alike, had held the blaze to a smoldering state, had spent more lavishly and loyally than any town in the county, and had sent 457 of its men, one-tenth of its population, to the front. The strain of the ordeal had produced weariness and taut nerves. The year 1865 had come, and the end of all this was at hand. There were no more levies and no more drafts. By April all quotas of soldiers had been filled, and there was a surplus of two men on hand.

On April 2nd peace rumors were persistent and pervasive. Weary hearts were flooded with hope. On April 4th came the news of the fall of Petersburg and Richmond. On Sunday, the 9th, the news of Lee's surrender was read in the churches, and the congregations assembled, and awaiting glad tidings as it were, burst into hymns of praise and thanksgiving. At noon on the 10th the bells were pealing and cannon booming in all parts of the town. That night a small group of the younger loyalist merchants repaired in the late hours to the Thomas Hill district and celebrated the surrender of Lee with a bonfire — the old Waterman Thomas mansion. Since the testimony of those living at the time is rigorously denied by the living descendants of the perpetrators, names are withheld.

On the 15th of the month news reached the town of the tragic death of Mr. Lincoln. Old smoldering animosities were again fanned into flame. Bitter words and blows were exchanged between those who felt that "the rail splitter" had met a well-deserved end, and those who were better able to read in those days the final verdict of history on the martyred President. On the 19th, funeral or memorial services were held in the village churches, and later in the spring, June 1st was observed throughout the North as a fast day, honoring Lincoln's great service and his great spirit.

With the war over an end came to the long crisis in the internal affairs of the town. Bitter personal feuds arising from the struggle continued, but these mattered little now since they were the holdovers of an issue that had been finally settled. There were, however, other scars more sensitive and painful. One of these was the town debt. In March 1860 this had stood at the insignificant figure of \$193.34; in April 1865 it totalled \$63,127.72, and this figure was over and above the funds raised by direct

taxation. Beginning in 1867 the state started a program of assuming in part these local war debts incurred in furnishing men for the armies. Through this agency the burden was ultimately lightened, and Waldoboro received \$19,291.67, the largest amount disbursed to any town in the county.¹⁹ The debt had been funded as early as 1864, and since the town was in the heyday of its wealth, the reduction proceeded rapidly through the normal channels of taxation. The era of conservative finance was over, and from this time forward to the present, the town was to follow uninterruptedly a program of developing itself by the use of its credit.

In the toll of life and injuries which had come with the war the community had not suffered unduly. Some of the regiments in which Waldoboro men had served counted heavy casualties; others had seen light and limited service. The killed, missing, died of wounds or in prison, approximated thirty-seven lives; the wounded in action, twenty-six; of the town's 457 citizens in service, fourteen were given commissions or earned them on the field. Of those taken prisoner and held in the deadly Rebel camps, six survived the ordeal. One of these, "Colonel" John W. Palmer, survived down to the year 1944, and is readily remembered by nearly everyone in the Waldoboro of the present day. His prison experiences may be taken as typical of all those veterans confined in the same institutions. Mr. Palmer was captured when working on a mine before Petersburg. For seven months he was in prison in Danville, Virginia. Interviewed in 1939 on his experiences in prison, Mr. Palmer offered the following brief comments:

We were given a little corn bread once a day. We would eat that up and go without food until the next morning. When we entered the prison it was pretty hot, and we would take off our clothes and lay them on the hard pine floor. Then we would lie on our clothes to sleep. I had a brick, an old pair of shoes and a rebel cap for a pillow. When it got cold we all slept spoon fashion along the hall, so crowded that when we wanted to turn the man at the head would say "spoon," and we all turned.²⁰

"Colonel" Palmer was the last survivor of the Civil War veterans in the town. More than ninety years have passed since Lee's surrender. The rancor, the divisive strife, have disappeared, and the scars have all been obliterated. This was the last of the nation's wars to find the town itself a battlefield of disunion and local strife. That the discord never became open and strong during the critical days of war was in a large measure due to the careful and patient leadership provided by men of good will in both parties, such as Bela B. Haskell and General Henry Kennedy.

¹⁹*Wiscasset Seaside Oracle*, Jan., 1870.

²⁰*Waldoboro Press*, May 25, 1939.

XLIII

ANNALS OF THE 1860's AND 1870's

These are the things of New England, as varied as a patchwork quilt and as unified in tradition and purpose.

NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL (Jan. 1, 1945)

THE PEAK OF THE TOWN'S GROWTH and greatness was reached around 1860. The decades following were years of slow decline, so gradual, perhaps, that only a few were conscious of a significant change. The causes of this decay were not local in nature but rather national and even international in scope. The accelerating transition from sail to steam, steel ships replacing wooden ships, great industries springing up in the larger centers of population, the development of the rich central areas of the continent which were brought into a new economic unity by the steel rail, the iron horse, and the freight car — all these tended to isolate the coastal towns of Maine, and in fact the entire state, and to leave them on the periphery of a new economic setup. Such forces inevitably brought business stagnation and social decay to the town.

This change manifested itself in many ways, very apparent to the historian but far less so even to the most discerning citizens of that period. There was in the first place a decline in population, almost invariably a mark of economic senescence. The census of 1860 gave the town a population of 4,569; by 1870 this number had dropped to 4,174 and ten years later, to 3,758. The same old families still held numerical dominance. The voters' list of 1873 showed well over a third of the 932 voters concentrated in thirteen families — the Creamers leading with fifty voters. Following in numerical order came the Benners, Minks, Shumans, Grosses, Winchenbachs, Eugleys, Achorns, Genthners, Welts, Simmons, ending with the Millers and Storers with nineteen voters each.

The draining off of population had actually been going on gradually for a hundred years. In the early days Waldoboro's birth rate was a heavy one. As soon as the peace following the French and Indian War had solved the Indian problem in the

back-country, the spilling of population over the bounds of the town had begun. At first it was into adjacent, unoccupied territory, but with the opening of the West in the next century there was a trickle in that direction and then a tiny rivulet. The opening of the gold fields made many more people western-minded, but through all these decades more remained than had left, and the town's growth continued so long as the sturdy shipbuilding industry could provide labor and security for a heavy birth rate. But the day came in the 1860's when the flagging industry of wooden shipbuilding could no longer provide work for the town's excess of population. Then the Western trek really set in, in earnest. In the 70's the local paper began recording return visits to the old town by former citizens from Ohio, Indiana, and beyond in Missouri and Wisconsin, and also death notices of those from far-away Illinois and Kansas, who had gone, who had lived, grown old, and died there.

There was also the constant loss to the new industries of Massachusetts, especially "straw-shops." This was seasonal work, and many who went returned, but there were also those who stayed and founded new homes. On December 10, 1875, the *Lincoln County News* observed: "The exodus of the younger people to the straw-shops has commenced," and again on December 13, 1876, it comments: "One by one they quietly take their departure for the Massachusetts straw-shops." This was a trend which continued into the next century, but one which in more recent times seems to have reversed itself somewhat. In this way the town was definitely weakened not only numerically, but more significantly through the loss of the best in each rising generation, who could not find in the local area an arena offering a reward commensurate with their energies and capacities. This whole movement represented a marked diminution in population, and a loss to the town of many who were potential leaders.

Despite the draining off of so much of the town's young blood, the decline in population was gradual and to some degree was held in check by the small host of those who never died. As late as 1866 there were, deep in the back-districts, many still living who were of another era, whose native tongue was German, and whose little English was badly learned. Such folk knew the history of their community from having heard it from the lips of the first generation of Germans and Puritans — octogenarians, nonagenarians, and centenarians, who, only lightly touched by changing manners, had in their back-district isolation retained the thought patterns, customs, and superstitions of the era following the French and Indian War. Mrs. Charles Weaver had already reached the century mark; Asmus and George Light had been born subjects

of King George; Elizabeth Howard could have drunk tea before ever a tax was levied on it; Henry Orff saw the light of day before the Declaration of Independence was penned by Thomas Jefferson, and Uncle Valtin, the seventh son of a seventh son, at the advanced age of eighty-five, with the aid of the Evil One, still made merry in the wooded recesses of his East Waldoboro home, and with his fiddle and his bow and his wily accomplice provided a world of enchantment for his many young friends. Sunset years? Yes, but years made mellow and soft and winsome by the after-glow of a sun that had set long ago behind the horizons of a past now dimly distant.

The 60's and 70's were not only decades of shrinking population, but also years in which the luster of the town was being dimmed by the deaths of able leaders — years in which the “lights were going out” with increasing frequency. The first to leave the scene was John H. Kennedy, who died March 30, 1863, in his big brick house on Friendship Road. From a common school education in Jefferson and a law training in the office of Colonel Isaac G. Reed, “John H.,” rose to be the leader of the bar in Lincoln County, which included at that time the present areas of Knox, Sagadahoc, and Androscoggin. As first lieutenant of the Reed machine he held such offices as he chose, and for many years he was county attorney, representative in the Legislature and collector of customs. Possessed of a genial disposition, a whimsical humor and an affected indifference in dress, he was a village institution. His large law practice was remunerative and he was able to invest heavily in the shipping industry as his wealth increased, but “where a man's treasure is there is his heart also.” His economic interests were closely entwined with those of the cotton growers of the South and the ships which marketed this product in Europe. The war clearly ran counter to his sympathies. The man whom he had entertained only a few years before in Waldoboro was the first President of the Confederacy, and he could not be indifferent to the fate of his investments. His last years were clouded; the men of Company A, 21st Maine in 1862 had publicly burned the chaise in which Mr. Kennedy had so proudly driven Jefferson Davis about the town; John H. could not sleep and he solicited a sleeping powder from a local physician. It was too potent. John H. never awoke, and shortly thereafter the doctor left the town.

The Town Meetings during the early 1860's busied themselves largely with the concerns of war, but a few facts of human interest do emerge from the almost exclusive preoccupation with strife. An insight into the prevailing wage scales and standards of living is provided by the vote of April 1, 1861, making twelve and

one half cents per hour the wage of men working on highways in summer, with the same for a yoke of oxen. In winter "one shilling per hour was allowed for oxen on winter road breaking."

This "breaking out" of the roads after a heavy fall of snow or a drifting storm was a sight that a few of the old folks of the town will be able to recall as a picturesque, exciting, and vivid memory of childhood. A huge contraption known as a "triangle" was used, the name being derived from its shape which was like the letter V. It was built of plank with sides about three feet in height and twenty feet in length, re-enforced on the inner side with crosspieces. The apex of the triangle was placed at the center of the road and the two sides fanned out to the gutters. When it was necessary to use the triangle, the district surveyor would call on the ox teams of the neighborhood. Eight, ten, or fifteen yoke would hitch on to the heavy ring in the nose of the triangle. Slowly the huge engine would be drawn along pushing the snow out to the side of the road to a width in which two teams could pass. I can recall a number of such winter scenes. They were exciting and festive occasions for all the children of District No. 6 who were big enough to get out of doors — the cumbersome triangle drawn slowly along by a long string of oxen, red oxen, white oxen, black oxen, and dappled oxen. Little Parker Feyler with his long goad, so small himself as to seem to disappear at times in the deep snow, by the side of his big, wallowing, red oxen; "Uncle" Daniel Castner, soft in word, patient in demeanor, gently urging his big animals to their task; "Win" Ewell, tall, bony and powerful, slowly and silently rolling his ever-present cud of tobacco, guiding his beasts almost by touch of the goad rather than by word of mouth, with his whimsical eye always peeled to note such aspects of humor as the scene might offer, and tall, gaunt Anthony Castner, the noisiest man in the district, whacking, prodding, shouting, threatening, and cursing his animals forward, his fervent words carrying far on the sharp, clear, winter air, and filling with delight all the children for blocks around. A half century ago such scenes were taking place in every road district in the town, and they had been taking place for a century before that. All this is now no longer the New England of reality, but the New England of folklore, the "back home" of every American whether he be Southerner, Westerner or New Yorker.

This period beginning in the 60's and continuing down into the new century was an era of "tramps" — a peculiar social phenomenon. There were many such moving over the countryside, all strangers. Some were broken men, others were lazy and found this the easiest way to a livelihood, others quested for a job, and still others were filled with wanderlust, and their merry, philo-

sophic souls throve on the constantly changing scene and the curious adventures incident to a day's march. Sad men, surly men, lazy men, and jolly men were among them. When hunger gnawed at their vitals they would stop at a door and would nearly always receive a handout, for they had their own sign language and always made a mark with chalk on a rock or fence post near a house, so that the next member of the fraternity coming along might know what treatment to expect. For this reason people feared somewhat to offend them. There were, indeed, ugly ones among them, but on the whole they were a cheerful and harmless lot. They usually slept where darkness overtook them, by a haystack, in a barn; or when weather was cool or wet they would come to town and apply to private charity or to the town fathers for food and shelter. This they were sure to receive. After more than a century without a jail, the town on April 1, 1861, authorized a "lock-up." Here its own unruly citizens were confined, and here the tramps who applied for lodging were invariably locked up and supplied with a ration of pilot biscuit, cheese, and smoked alewives at public charge. They were also entertained privately.

Augustus Welt, a leading shipbuilder and wealthy citizen of the town, relates the following: "Late one night I came home from Boston unexpectedly and found that my wife had three tramps sleeping in the hay in the barn. 'How did you dare do that when you were alone?' I asked. 'I felt perfectly safe,' she said, 'because they left their pipes with me.'"¹ In the winter the tramps abandoned the countryside and denned up in the cities. From a peak of a dozen or fifteen tramps ranging daily through the town in the 70's and 80's, the stream of vagrants gradually became a trickle over the decades and disappeared completely.

Our present town reports, it is of interest to note, go back to the 1860's, when on April 1, 1861, the town requested the selectmen "to publish a specific account of the expenditure of the town's money." In its earliest form this report was a single sheet 9"x12" folded in the middle and printed on both sides of its two pages.² The records of these years show that it was in 1862 that the town accepted the road leading north from Main Street to the site of the old Congregational Church.

From the beginning of our local history there had always been small items inserted in the town's warrant, which, in themselves trivial, became major issues in town affairs and the subject of endless wrangling and bitter controversy. In the early days there was the issue of foot-loose and unrestrained rams. For over half a century these lawless animals, aided and abetted by their lawless owners, defied the law. Then the swine had their era of

¹Rose Welt Davis, granddaughter of Augustus Welt.

²Specimen copies in the collection of Dr. Wm. H. Hahn.

freedom, during which they visited every back yard and garbage pile, and rooted in every front yard and truck patch. In this way through the warm months of the year they could fend for themselves. This being the issue at stake, no stubborn or tight-fisted "Dutchman" was going to see the rights of his hogs restricted, and so the swine issue dragged on endlessly over the decades through every Town Meeting.

In the 1860's the issue was dogs and the taxing of dogs. An understanding of this problem goes back to the early days of the colony where the dog played an honorable role, and was an important and integral part of the early agricultural economy. He was as suspicious of Indians as was his master, and scenting them from afar, gave warning of their proximity. He hunted and destroyed vermin, guarded the domestic animals by day, protected the fold and hen roost by night, and was a friend ever useful, vigilant, and faithful. There were dogs on all the scattered farms in the days before ever there was a village. They wandered freely over the countryside and freely did they breed. Their numbers waxing became seemingly legion. They were taken for granted and accepted everywhere, even in church, where they, having picked up the trail of their masters, would show up during the service. In the old Lutheran Church it was one of the duties of the tithingmen to evict any dogs that joined in the singing or failed to show Christian charity to one another during the church service.

As population moved toward the head of tide and the farms at this center were built into a village with houses lining the streets side by side, as the Indians disappeared and predatory beasts receded into the deeper forests, the dog's economic importance shrunk while his number was increasing. The country mongrels, accompanying their masters or following them from afar, invaded the village daily whenever their masters came to trade. There they fraternized, fought, or bred with their village cousins, ruined flower beds and evergreens, besmirched the streets and street corners, and raised an endless din. In short, they became a standing nuisance, and one long endured before some village "brightie" suggested a dog tax and inserted the necessary article in the town warrant in March 1862. In April the issue came to a vote in Town Meeting and was flatly rejected.

The majority of the voters had dogs, and some of them had many. In the back-districts the tax was regarded as an impost on a necessity, which the dog still was in the deeper rural areas — and besides one, three, five, or more dollars was more money than most of the "outsiders" had lying loosely around. For more than a decade there was an annual wrangle over this issue. By April 1864 the tax was required by state law, nevertheless it was re-

jected by the town. In 1865 the tax was again rejected although the villagers won on the issue "that neat cattle and horses not be permitted to run at large." And so for year after year the dogs enjoyed the freedom of the city, protected in their now illegal rights by the stubborn "Dutch" yeomanry of the back-districts. Not until the 22nd of March, 1875, was the nuisance abated by a tax of one dollar on each dog, with the provision that the money was to be used for the school fund. "There's a \$1,000 towards schools," said a village wag, pointing to the dogs in the streets the day after this Town Meeting. It is of note to remember that the town had defied in similar manner the laws of Massachusetts in earlier days, and that this tradition was still being honored nearly a century later.

The political picture in Waldoboro was little altered in the 60's. The old machine was in easy control. Its old power was still there, but the events necessary to spark it were not always in evidence. Isaac Reed was now in the sixties and as the state and county entered on a long era of Republican control, perspicacious politician that he was, it was clear to him that there was no longer a possible place for him near the top in state and national politics. But a strong man is loath to relinquish power once possessed, even though he no longer has need to apply it for his own ends, and Mr. Reed still had the power that made him a force in county elections and even in close congressional and state elections. He loved to "thrash" James G. Blaine. Blaine was a great political organizer, but he never organized Waldoboro, and Mr. Reed beat him locally in every election to the end of his days.

Following the death of John H. Kennedy, Henry Farrington, a strong and ambitious young attorney, succeeded to the first lieutenantcy of the machine and became a force in local and county politics. Mr. Reed had clearly mellowed. The venom of his younger days was no longer in evidence. It was not needed, since for over thirty years now the process of indoctrination had been going on in the families of the faithful, and children inherited the political cult of their fathers as inevitably as they inherited their property. The gubernatorial elections following the war were listless affairs locally and never called out the full power of the machine. Its full force would come out only to smash Blaine or to send its local favorites to the Legislature or place them in county offices.

The Presidential elections of these years were sluggish episodes in the town, especially that of 1872. Under Grant the Republicans in less than twenty years of existence as a party had reached what the historians called "the nadir of national disgrace." This was more than Waldoboro Republicans, a group tinged with austere morality, could stand, and their vote for a second term

for Grant slumped to 213. The Democrats selected Horace Greeley, the original candidate of the "liberal Republicans." To such a candidate the Waldoboro machine could not be expected to respond, and it did not. Greeley polled 281 votes in the town, the Democratic low-water mark, nearly 500 votes under the top strength of the party.

This lack of issues that could breed strong conviction in the heart of the Democratic leadership in the town was clearly one of the factors that was making for slow disintegration in the old Reed machine. Another factor was to be found in the rise of a new Republican leader, the Honorable S. S. Marble. Mr. Marble had come to Waldoboro in 1851 from Dixfield, and established himself in a law practice. In these early years he was a Democrat, but in the party realignments of this decade he took an anti-slavery position and joined the new Republican Party. In this role he could secure little recognition from local voters, but he was recognized by the national administration and was appointed deputy collector of customs in the Waldoboro District in 1861, and collector in 1863. In 1864 he was appointed by the Governor to be Commissioner of the Army of the Potomac to superintend the well-being of the soldiers.³ Following the war he gave himself over to a considerable degree to the upbuilding of the Republican Party in the town and district. From 1867 to 1870 he was register of bankruptcy, and from 1870 to 1878 United States Marshal for Maine. The peak of his career was reached in 1887, when he became governor of Maine. From the 1870's Mr. Marble was recognized as the leader and moving spirit in this congressional district. He commanded the confidence of the leading Republicans in national life, and his support and advice were eagerly sought, as is revealed from the few following excerpts from his correspondence:

Come over Monday without fail. I want to see you.

Augusta, Nov. 27.

James G. Blaine

I have confidence in your friendship for me, and I lay this draft upon you, that come what will, you will assist in winning the 3rd district for Mr. Merrill.

Washington, D. C., June 26, 1870.

James G. Blaine

Your own judgement will not mislead you.

June 16, 1874

Senator Hannibal Hamlin

You have more influence in the Waldoboro district than any other ten men.

Aug. 2, 1882

Senator William P. Frye

I have been in hopes to hear from you in the matter, as I need not say that I value your opinion in political matters more than any one man in your section.

May 6, 1884

Nelson Dingley

³*Bath Sentinel and Times*, Oct. 18, 1864.

I wish you could see your way clear to give me the benefit of your sagacity and influence. . . . The time hasn't come for you to settle back and keep out of politics.⁴

Senator Eugene Hale [Letter undated]

Mr. Marble may be said to be the first really efficient and influential leader of the Republican Party in Waldoboro. As Mr. Reed aged and his interest diminished, Mr. Marble used this fact to build up Republican strength — slowly, to be sure, for the impetus of the Democratic machine was sufficient to drive it along for decades yet to come.

The major event of these decades was probably the coming of the railroad — an event of momentous importance in the town's economic life. We may wonder whether its promoters understood fully the significance of what they were doing. Prior to the coming of the iron horse Waldoboro's commerce with the outside world was entirely by water. In the Great Days from ten to fifteen coasters travelled constantly to and from Boston in the ice-free seasons. These packets were built from the timber of the town's forests, gotten out by local farmers, shaped into vessels in Waldoboro yards, owned by Waldoboro capital, and captained and manned by Waldoboro crews, and they served specific Waldoboro industries and trade. Later when local wealth demanded something better in passenger traffic, steam had replaced sail, and the steamer *DeWitt Clinton* was on the river for one season. Then Portland, Waldoboro, and Damariscotta capital took over, and the side-wheeler *Charles Houghton* took up a weekly run in 1867, connecting Waldoboro, Damariscotta, and other towns on the route with Portland.

The railroad changed all this. In 1872 the *Houghton* ran at a loss and was sold in Eastport. As the rails took over, the coasters disappeared one by one. The last to go was Captain Aaron Winchenbach's little two-masted schooner, the *Collins Howes, Jr.*, which was still bringing coal and lumber to the town in my boyhood days. It is probable that Joseph Clark and his associates who brought the railroad to Waldoboro must have realized at least vaguely the meaning of its coming. They also probably sensed its inevitability and chose deliberately to be in it on the profit side.

It was in the late 60's that the railroad question came to the fore. For years Bath had been the terminal of the Portland line, when a group of capitalists in the counties of Knox and Lincoln took up the question of extending the line through to Rockland. At a Town Meeting held on September 26, 1867, on the petition

⁴Letters at one time in possession of the late Mrs. Carl Burdick, granddaughter of Governor Marble.

of Joseph Clark and seventeen others, \$10,000 was subscribed to the capital of the Knox and Lincoln, as the road was first known, on the condition that the road should pass above the tidewaters with a station within three-quarters of a mile of the Four Corners. This provision would have placed the station at a point close to the intersection of Jefferson Street and the Atlantic Highway. At this same Town Meeting it was voted to place the credit of the town behind a \$70,000 bond issue, which was to run for a period of twenty-five years. The whole project, however, proved to be an expensive one, and at an October Town Meeting an additional loan of \$26,200 was allowed — a three per cent bond issue to mature in twenty-five years.

The next year was one full of railroad business, and a committee was appointed to handle such questions for the town. More and more money was needed, and in July of this year the town approved the location of the present station, instead of requiring it to be within three-quarters of a mile of the Four Corners. The decisive factor in this concession was purely one of the expense involved in the lengthening of the line. When this whole affair reached its final stage the town had made a total investment of \$157,300 in this dubious adjunct to its economy, which was to revolutionize its destiny. But it had no other choice. Iron road or no iron road, the great industry of the town had entered its decline, and the end was in view of the few who had the vision to gaze beyond the present. From the standpoint of pure finance the town and its citizens had made one of their best investments, and there was not a penny of the taxpayers' money placed in this enterprise that was not returned with good profit.

The first train came through Waldoboro in 1871, and it was a gala occasion with the village folk thronging the station in great crowds. There are those still living who as small children were present with their parents and recall vividly this epoch-making event in the history of the town.

There were also others who could neither read nor write, who lived in relative isolation, and who had heard only vaguely and understood less of these new developments. Among these was Aunt Polly Overlock, who on the day when the first train passed through, was picking berries near the foot of Willett's Hill (Cole's Hill) on its eastern side. Aunt Polly heard a screech, looked up and beheld a huge, black monster, belching smoke, with a long, heavy body trailing behind him, bearing down upon her. She was speechless, terrified, thinking that the Devil was about to destroy her. Leaving her berries she ran faster than ever before to the cover of the woods and there on her knees she prayed fervently for deliverance from Satan. The prayer was answered. Satan missed

her, and passing on with a shriek and a clatter, left nothing but a heavy pall of his black smoke behind him.⁵

There were those in Waldoboro who sensed in the 70's that the town was facing an economic crisis. There was much vague and apprehensive talking and groping and planning and casting about to establish new industries to sustain the business vitality in the town and preserve its great traditions. There were those who were eager to lead the push in new directions, but the *what* was the problem. To build a new economy involves large risks, and men prove very small indeed when they seek to comprehend and bind the forces of history to their own ends. For the time being the town was licked, and the best wisdom and efforts of its younger leaders could produce but small returns. There were many hopes and plans in the air, and on April 17, 1871, the town voted "to exempt from taxation for a term of years a woolen factory, a cotton mill, a shoe and boot factory and a tannery, provided the same shall be erected prior to April 1, 1875," as petitioned by Charles Comery and others. Such enterprises would have been in line with the general program of industrialization going on in other parts of New England, but none of them materialized in Waldoboro.

The new *Monthly News* in its first issue, January 1873, sensed the situation clearly and spoke out boldly:

We desire to call attention to the fact that our young men and women are receiving no employment from that source. . . . If our wealthy men will not invest their money at home, let us put forth every inducement to bring capital from abroad. . . . To those parties in Massachusetts who have been making inquiries concerning Waldoboro, we offer a hearty welcome.⁶

There was much need for outside capital, for some of the local tycoons were in the act of stepping out from under. In July 1873 John E. Miller offered the Medomak House — thirty rooms — for sale, and in March of the same year William F. Storer had advertised the sale of all his property on both sides of the Medomak River for \$5800. Others sensed that the economic future of the town was not too bright. Among these were Samuel M. Morse, son of old Deacon Morse, who had been one of the pillars of an earlier day. In February 1873 he closed his business in Waldoboro and entered trade at Nashua, New Hampshire.⁷ His departure severed all connections with the town of one of the most influential and respected families in the period of the Great Days.

Those of middle age remaining behind in these years were faced by the necessity of enlarging the smaller industries, or estab-

⁵Oral tradition, Gracia Gay Libby.

⁶*The Monthly News*, Jan. 18, 1873.

⁷*The Monthly News*.

lishing new ones to fill the vacuum left by the declining major industry. This was almost an empty gesture considering the fact that the products of these little industries were faced with the competition of larger, well-organized factories in city centers, with systematic programs of advertising and marketing, but such industries did spring up locally and were an interesting part of our economic life. They were numerous and diversified, each employing hands ranging from two or three to a dozen. Among such activities there were a few brickyards. One of these was located by the little brook on the Judson Kuhn place just east of his residence. In West Waldoboro there was another on the Old County Road, the Oliver Kaler place near the Nobleboro town line. The largest of these was probably that of Moses Kaler on Dutch Neck, where from a wharf on his point the brick was taken by the packets, partly as ballast, and sold in the Boston market.

A kindred industry was the "Old Potter Shop," a large, unpainted, wooden building by the brook at the foot of Prock's Ledge on the Bremen Road, just south of the home of Clarence Woodbury. This industry was started by Barney Mayo around 1865. The clay came originally from the shore of the farm now owned by John Burgess, and it was fabricated into such crude articles as milk dishes and butter pots. Mayo had a span of white horses and with his team distributed the pottery over the countryside. Later the ware was peddled by one, Stoddard, and lastly by Leslie Mayo, a brother of Barney. James H. Stanwood entered the business at an early date as the potter, and as his skill with the wheel increased, fancier and more finished products appeared — a finer grade of clay having been found on the farm of Isaac S. Kaler — flower pots, jugs and table dishes glazed on the inside, and toward the end decorated with colored flower patterns.⁸ In 1874 the *Lincoln County News* reported that the shop was employing eight hands and turning out "every conceivable description of earthenware," Mr. Stanwood himself turning out as many as ten dozen pots a day.

Near the pottery shop and on the north side of the brook was a tiny soap factory started in the 1870's by Manlius Head. At the peak of its prosperity it employed three hands. Peter Prock drove the delivery wagon and sold the bars of soft soap over the countryside, sometimes swapping them for wood ashes, from which the lye was leached and sold to the woolen mill in Warren. Eventually Webster Kaler and Otis Clouse bought Head out and continued the business until it was extinguished by the more refined soap from the big world outside.

⁸Oral tradition, Mr. Louis Kaler.

On the upper Medomak Webb's Tannery was a landmark for many years. This was a two-story building on the old Webb property, now owned by James Harkins. The hides from the countryside were brought here for processing so long as the country shoemakers turned out their finished products by hand. Here also came the ox-driven loads of hemlock bark from the back-districts, part of which was sold at the local tannery and the surplus taken by the coasters to other markets. As late as October 1876, the *Lincoln County News* reported that "wood and bark are being hauled into the market in considerable quantities," but this little industry, too, was facing its end, for the mass production of shoes and leather goods in New England was just driving the old-time cobbler from his trade. In fact, it was true that every little local business was facing strangulation of this kind, and the small towns were being forced into the backwaters by swift-moving economic tides that the little man could not comprehend.

Across the river from the tannery, a little to the north and high up on the hill, the glacier-worn face of protruding ledges revealed the presence of extensive strata of high-quality granite, used for local business purposes so far back that the mind of man remembered not. This vein of wealth was owned by two of the near-by farmers, Day and Feyler, and was operated by the owners on a limited scale, largely to supply the underpinning of homes, doorsteps, door stones, and other local needs. In reality this was an opening for big business, but the owners did not have the capital for large-scale exploitation, and local folk who did possess the means lacked the know-how. In September 1873 the *Monthly News* reported that the granite quarry of Day and Feyler had been sold to Ebenezer Otis of Rockland for \$2,000. The *News* also noted that the property was adjacent to the Knox and Lincoln Railroad, and that it did have its prospects. It was not until a quarter of a century later that a revival of business took place in the town with the quarry as the key industry, operated by outside capital and enterprise.

Farther across to the east of the quarry at Feyler's Corner were the Benner Mills, operating on the upper Medomak. They were three in number and only a few rods apart. Here staves and lumber were sawed and a gristmill, recently refitted, handled the grain of the local farmers.

Farther down at the Great Falls of the Medomak within the village limits, the old Kinsell Grist Mill had been standing, a landmark for well over a century. In its issue of July 20, 1876, the local paper records that the "old mill is being torn down by Rufus Achorn," and the following spring Mr. Achorn began the construction of a new mill — the rather impressive structure known

as "The Medomak Flour Mill," which was completed in 1878 — a courageous gesture but again an empty one, for the day was not far distant when Waldoboro farmers were to cease growing their own grains and to rely for their supply on the great and fertile West.

A little farther down by the second falls of the Medomak were the mills of Charles S. Soule. On the west bank was the carding mill, and on the east bank a mill manufacturing oakum and ship-plugs. This wool-carding business was founded around 1800, and Mr. Soule assumed control in 1842. For half a century his mill carded a large portion of the wool produced in this vicinity. In 1876 a new dam was constructed on this site, and for eleven more years he continued dressing cloth, and then, after forty-five years' experience in this work, ceased operations, for he had lived on into a world where the giant wool industries in the larger cities had made his little business superfluous. A threshing machine was installed in the mill on the east bank, and for a few years it threshed the ever-diminishing harvests of grain that were brought to its door. Then one day after nearly a century of motion the wheels were silent. There was no more work for them to do.

Still farther down the river at the First Falls, another old landmark was disappearing. The *Monthly News* in its August issue of 1873, noted that "Sproul's Mill, one of the old landmarks of Waldoboro is being torn down to give place to a more substantial structure." This mill had been erected by William Sproul back at the turn of the century, and for seventy-five years had been the main saw and gristmill of the town. The new structure continued the old business of grinding grain and sawing lumber, shingles, and staves under the management of Mr. Gleason, father of William, and of Alden, who built the Leavitt Storer house and resided in it for many years.

Close to the Sproul Mill on the same side of the river and using the same water power was the Iron and Brass Foundry, second in importance only to the shipbuilding industry in the town. It had been founded in 1852 by Messrs. Harriman and Atwell, and in 1856 it came into the possession of Isaac Boyd, a native of Ohio. In 1868 his son, James, assumed control and despite the decline of shipbuilding in the town, the foundry was really a thriving industry. It manufactured to order windlass purchases, bitts, steering wheels, power winches, composition rudders, braces, spikes and bolts, and composition ship castings of all kinds, derrick winches, and castings for granite polishing machines. Job work of all kinds was taken on including all types of farming tools, sled shoes, shafting, and other kinds of mill work, including the

then widely used Doe plow. The factory setup consisted of a machine shop occupying two floors twenty-two by forty feet; an iron foundry, thirty by forty feet, a brass foundry of equal size, and a storehouse, twenty by thirty feet. This business supported every need of the district including shipbuilding and every phase of industry and agriculture.⁹ It went out with the end of shipbuilding and the flood of other products that moved in on the local market with the rise of big industry in the outside world.

The years following the Civil War witnessed the rise of the ice industry in New England with its heavy shipping of this commodity to Southern ports. The pioneer in this field in Waldoboro was William F. Storer. First-quality ice was cut in the pond above the dam at Sproul's Mill and stored in an icehouse which Mr. Storer built on Storer's Point. Here the channel makes in close to the shore and vessels were able to load this product for the warmer ports to the South. The expansion of this industry locally continued on into the next century.

Farther down on the salt water the river, too, was doing its part to increase the well-being of the town. Fish of all kinds were taken for commercial purpose, and there were twenty fish weirs along the shore from South Waldoboro to the head of tide. These weirs were located largely on the shores owned by the men operating them, and their locations may be determined largely from the names of the operators. Beginning in South Waldoboro and moving up the river the following weirs were operated on both sides of the channel. Frank Haupt & Co. and Center and Gale had two each, and the following had one: Robert Winchenbach, John Hennings, Judson Mank & Co., Preble & Kaler, Winchenbach & Howard, Genthner & Creamer, Andrew Kaler, Soule & Wellman, John Soule, Kuhn, Howard & Co., Rodney Creamer, Creamer & Kaler, Ballard Kaler, Charles F. Demuth, George Henry Matthews, and Captain Andrew Storer whose weir off his shore was called the "Old Standard." In the year 1872 this weir netted the operators \$13,000.¹⁰ The operation of this industry, however, led to conflict with the shipbuilders, for extending as they did from the shore to the channel, these weirs tended to divert all debris to the channel and thus obstruct the passage of shipping. Since the shipbuilders were the more powerful interest they succeeded in getting a bill through the Legislature in 1875 for the "protection of the river." Under its provisions all fish weirs were prohibited on the river north of Hollis Point. This measure terminated operations in fourteen of these industries.

To a larger extent than heretofore since early days, the town was turning to agriculture. With the advent of the railroad, rapid

⁹*Lincoln County News*, Nov. 8, 1876.

¹⁰Mrs. Mary I. Boothby, granddaughter of Capt. Andrew Storer.

transportation enabled the farmers to get their produce to the large city markets. Poultry seems to have been an early specialty. During the year ending April 1, 1874, there were shipped from the K. & L. R. R. Station 1,600 boxes of eggs. These boxes contained an average of 125 dozen each, making a total of 200,000 eggs. . . . Total receipts from this source were \$50,000, plus 200 boxes shipped by the steamer *Charles Houghton* and the Boston packets, amounting to \$6,500 more.¹¹ This phase of local economy seems at least to have been characterized by permanency, for down to the present day poultry has remained the mainstay of local agriculture.

One should not pass over in silence the little home industries where young and old toiled long and patiently at those useful arts and crafts which would add a few dollars to personal and family income. It is recorded that during the year 1873 the three little daughters of Moses T. Hoch, aged ten, twelve, and fourteen, knit 180 pairs of sole stockings and thirty-six pairs of double mittens.¹² From this it is clear that while Waldoboro was getting into the backwash economically, it was not missing out on the education of its children in the basic discipline of work. The time was not yet at hand when their lives would be shaped up for an elegant and useless leisure.

Nearly a half century had elapsed since the *Lincoln Patriot* suspended publication in the 1830's. In the interim Waldoboro had had no newspaper down to 1873, when Samuel L. Miller began his publication of the *Monthly News*. For one year the paper continued as a monthly and the reception was so friendly that the next year the paper became a weekly bearing the title of *The Lincoln County News*, under the joint editorship of Miller and Atwood. The first number appeared on Friday, January 2, 1874, with a subscription rate of \$1.75 per year. In those days there was no "boiler plate copy" that could be bought by the inch, and from the modern standpoint the composition would seem rather unique. It was decidedly literary in tone and included poetry, essays, and numerous informative articles on such subjects as "Life on a Monitor" and "How the Indians Climb Trees in South America." The paper was well received and by October of its first year the weekly issue had risen to 1,300 copies.

The saddest aspect of these years was the gradual dropping out of those bold spirits who had made the life and business of the town so eminent in its Great Days. One by one through the years they were taking their departure, leaving their wealth and in some cases their restless tasks in less capable hands. In October 1871 the tanner and the pillar of Congregationalism died at his

¹¹*Lincoln County News*, May 22, 1874.

¹²*Ibid.*, May 8, 1874.

home on the upper Medomak. In late January 1874 Dr. Hiram Bliss laid aside his earthly practice at the age of sixty-eight. He was the son of Dr. Ezra Bliss of Vershire, Vermont, and had graduated from Dartmouth in 1825. He came to Waldoboro in 1833, and for well over forty years he had carried on as a country doctor, a dearly beloved counsellor and helper in trouble. His intrepid spirit balked at nothing, and he was long remembered for his ride in his gig to Boston in order to hear the address of Daniel Webster at the dedication of the Bunker Hill Monument.

It will be recalled that Gardner Kinsell Reed, son of Colonel Isaac Gardner, had been one of those who sought his fortune in California in the Gold Rush days, and had never realized his intention of returning to his old home. In February 1874 his brother Isaac received news in Waldoboro of Gardner's death by drowning at Rocky Creek near Wheatland, Yuba County, on January 28th. The *Marysville California Daily* reported Mr. Reed as being in search of a stolen horse, and as having been swept into the swift current while fording Rocky Creek. He was buried from the Methodist Church in Wheatland. Amid the varying vicissitudes of his life in California, Gardner Reed had accumulated a considerable fortune in the gold fields, but being somewhat naïve by nature, he had, by endorsing papers for friends, lost upwards of \$240,000. In his more affluent days he had owned three ships operating out of San Francisco. At the time of his death he was engaged in carrying the mail between Wheatland and Spencerville. On April 9th his remains were received in Waldoboro and interred in the family lot in the Main Street Cemetery.¹³

In September of the same year is recorded the death of Andrew Sides, a descendant of Lorenz Seitz of the Colony of 1742. Mr. Sides was an artisan, a blacksmith by trade, and a landmark in the shipbuilding industry in the Great Days. For over thirty years he had done, or had supervised, the iron work on the great fleet of ships built in the Reed & Welt yard.

In October an odd and long-familiar figure departed from the local scene in the person of Frederick Augustus Ritz, son of the old eighteenth-century Lutheran pastor, the Reverend Frederick Augustus Rodolphus Benedictus Ritz. "Freddie," as he was known, was an oddity and lived in a shack on the farm¹⁴ of his brother on the top of Benner Hill. For the last fourteen years of his life he lived as a recluse. For upwards of forty years he had kept a journal of local events, which was destroyed by fire in 1872. This loss nearly drove him insane, but he began all over again and made his last entry the day before his death.

Another old landmark was Deacon Jacob Shuman whose

¹³*Lincoln County News*, Feb. 13, and April 10, 1864.

¹⁴The George Duswald place.

house was the Edith Cuthbertson place on the east side of the river above Winslow's Mills. He died June 25, 1875, at the age of ninety. Born back in 1785, his early education had been in the German language. He is remembered today mainly as one of the incorporators of the Village Baptist Church and the last survivor of its original founders.

A little less than a month later the town experienced its greatest possible loss in the person of Joseph Clark, who died on July 23rd, of a heart attack at his home on Dog Lane. At the time of his death it was observed of him "that he towered far above any in the county." Less than three months later the community sustained the loss of Mr. Clark's cousin, General Henry Kennedy. The two had started out together over half a century before as penniless young men in the town. Business partners for a few years, their paths then diverged and each attained wealth, eminence, and influence in the district. General Kennedy's death occurred on October 15th. He was superintending some repairs to the roof of one of his buildings on Water, now Friendship, Street. Mr. Kennedy broke through a rotten portion of the roof and fell to the floor below, a distance of fifteen feet, breaking his collar bone and several ribs and receiving severe bruises. He lingered in great suffering and died on a Wednesday morning. Services were suspended the following Sunday in the local churches, and the congregations gathered in the Baptist Church to hear the Reverend L. D. Hill's memorial sermon on General Kennedy. The Reverends McLeod and Simonton assisted in the service. It was reported that the church was crowded.¹⁵

On September 28, 1876, another really old landmark, Frederick Castner, forsook the local scene at the age of ninety-six. Born back in 1780, he had, as merchant and shipbuilder, been an influential participant and witness of nearly a century of the town's development — its insignificant beginnings, its great era, and the days of its decline.

The following month, Alden Jackson, a younger man and one whose influence reached out into the state, died at his home on Main Street, the present Stahl's Tavern. He had come to the town in his early manhood and married Caroline, eldest daughter of Joseph Clark. Several years were passed in Augusta where he served as Deputy Secretary and Secretary of State from 1850 to 1853, 1855 and 1857. He was also Secretary of the Electoral College of Maine in 1856 and 1872. In the interim periods he was active and influential in town affairs and in business. In a word, he was one of those rare men who gave himself without stint to every good cause.

¹⁵*Lincoln County News*, Oct. 22, 1875.

It will be recalled that in the first decades of the century Gorham Parks, an able young attorney, had come to Waldoboro, and there, due to his superior endowments, had become highly influential in a rather short time. He finally discovered that there was not room for two Caesars in a Gallic village, himself and Colonel Reed, so he withdrew to Bangor and there in due season became the candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket. Defeated in this ambition by an accident, he went to Congress from the Fourth District. In November 1876 he died at his home on Long Island, New York, at an advanced age.

The death toll in these decades was a heavy one, and even those old leaders in the Great Days who still survived had laid aside the cares of active life and were living in a peaceful retirement. The future of the town was in younger hands and these were making little headway against a strong tide running out.

The old animus between village and back-district was a potent factor in the life of the town in these decades. In an earlier chapter it was pointed out how the village moneylenders had mercilessly exploited the needs of the humble folk, and had aroused a resentment which the years had been unable to allay. This condition had been exacerbated by other factors. Certain family groups had ganged up, as it were, in the back-districts, which in many cases had come to bear their names. With an educational system in the town that functioned at its best only lamely in the village, and at its worst only perfunctorily in the back areas, ignorance and illiteracy were rampant in these districts. This, together with the biological hazards arising from interbreeding, had resulted in a low-grade human product, primitive, irrational, and savage. These people had the votes and unquestionably derived a low satisfaction in thwarting every forward move undertaken by the village people, having as its aim the progress and improvement of the town.

In an effort to escape this tyranny, the villagers again brought to the fore the question, raised in the 1850's, of incorporating the Waldoboro Village Corporation. This involved a special act by the Legislature, which then had to be accepted by a majority of the legal voters residing in the limits defined by the Charter. This Corporation would have had the right to raise money by taxation just as a town, in order to defray the expenses of a night watch and police, to provide funds for the purchase of engines and other apparatus to combat fires, to construct reservoirs and aqueducts, to erect an engine house for maintaining a Fire Department, and to improve the schools, none of which advantages could be secured by the village folk against the opposition of the back-district people. Its aim was to make the village and its needs independent

of rural control.¹⁶ This solution was very generally discussed. In the April meeting of 1874, an article providing for the purchase of an engine was defeated by the rural vote "with a consistency that can only be characterized as spite, since it also defeated the very reasonable request of the Hon. Henry Kennedy to have five fire wardens chosen."¹⁷ This shortsighted act was typical of the jealous and vengeful spirit of the back-district people, and the feud continued to smoulder, flaring intermittently into flame.

In the meantime the village folk sought other means of relief. Back in 1855, after the great fire of '54, a Reservoir Society had been formed to provide the protection against fire denied by the rural vote. Jane Ann Reed was the treasurer, and in the intervening twenty years a sum of more than \$500 had been built up. This group now decided on a reservoir to be located at the Baptist Church, and a committee made up of George Caldwell, Daniel Castner, and William Fish was authorized to start operations. Work was begun June 18th and on November 5th the reservoir was reported as completed, and Dog Lane was again opened to traffic. This huge cistern was thirteen feet deep, eighteen feet and four inches in diameter and when filled to the ten-foot mark held 313 hogsheads of water. This reserve of water has amply justified the wisdom of its builders in many subsequent village fires.

The reservoir, however, was never able to put out the flame in the hearts of the back-district folk, whose tyranny was so continuous that in 1875 there was serious talk of a division of the town in order to secure once and for all a normal civic progress "retarded by the continual and increasing strife between the village and the out-back people."¹⁸ This talk led to nothing. The out-back people clearly held the reins, and they were shrewd enough to know it even in the face of the threatened Village Charter, for whereas the villagers under its provisions could tax themselves for village purposes, the out-back folk could still levy taxes on them for town purposes, and this included the back-districts so long as they were a part of the town. The question then was a division of the town or subjection of the village to the back-woods element, which meant that the latter must be endured. Accordingly in July 1876 the Charter was finally laid to rest by a decisive majority of the villagers themselves, and the feud between village and back-district folk was left to die of old age in the fullness of time.

In the summer of 1873 the town, as an incorporated political unit, rounded out its first hundred years of history, and the event

¹⁶*Monthly News*, Feb. 1873.

¹⁷*Lincoln County News*, April 17, 1874.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, April 13, 1875.

was commemorated by a celebration without parallel in our annals. Since the incorporation date of June 29th fell on a Sunday in the year 1873, the centennial was deferred to the following Fourth of July. For a community of this size the organization and labor was stupendous, and the committees were large, including practically everybody of note within the village limits. The various committees included forty-six persons in their membership, and it is of interest to note that not a single "out-backer" held a post on any committee. The Committee of General Management was made up of the Reverend A. J. McLeod, Henry A. Kennedy, Henry Farrington, E. R. Benner, Samuel L. Miller, Lowell P. Haskell, and George Bliss. Henry Farrington headed the Committee on Finance; S. L. Miller that on Subscriptions; George Bliss was chairman of the Committee on Correspondence, Invitations and Address; Mrs. Benjamin Roberts was the head of a large committee of ladies having charge of the dinner; the parade was placed under the chairmanship of John Richards, Sr.; decorations and mottoes were in charge of a group headed by Mrs. Alden Jackson; the Grove Committee was headed by Henry A. Kennedy, and L. P. Haskell had charge of the fireworks.

Smouse's Grove on Main Street near the residence of John A. Benner was selected as the place for the public services. There a large stand was erected for the speaker and spacious tables were built for the dinner. Special invitations were sent to all citizens over seventy and to all absentees. The Waldoboro Cornet Band and the Goshen Band were engaged for the occasion, and the Knox and Lincoln Railroad granted reduced fares which enabled thousands living along the line to attend the Centennial.

On June 29th, the Reverend A. J. McLeod opened the Anniversary with a service in the German Lutheran Church, taking as his text, Zachariah 1:5. "Your fathers, where are they?" In his sermon he reviewed the past of the town, beginning with the hardships of the founding fathers, for which he, according to the prevailing tradition, held General Waldo responsible, citing him as an illustrator of the truth of "the doctrine of total depravity." He then sketched the history of the town largely in terms of ecclesiastical developments, from which we learn that the first Congregational pastor, John R. Cutting, was ordained and installed on August 19, 1807, from a platform erected on the ground now occupied by the former residence of Augustus Welt; that the Reverend D. W. Mitchell, the second pastor of the church, was ordained in the Lutheran Meetinghouse; that in 1829 the Reverend John Starman succeeded in uniting the Lutheran and the Reformed elements in his congregation, and that on June 29th the parish partook of the sacrament together for the first time. It is

also a matter of interest to note a sentence from Mr. McLeod's address which furnishes confirmation of a viewpoint frequently stressed in this history: "In the '40's this place had become the grand center this side of the Kennebec; so much so that the whole district had taken the name of the Waldoboro District."

The Fourth of July, 1873, was ushered in by a national salute of thirty-seven guns at sunrise, by the ringing of the bells and "the shouts of a thousand youthful voices." By midmorning a crowd of four thousand from out of town, plus the town's own thousands, filled the streets. The details of this anniversary are so fully set forth by an eyewitness, Samuel L. Miller, in his history of the town, that there is in reality no need for repetition here, save for a few of the highlights not emphasized in Miller's account.

Promptly at noon the parade moved down Main Street to the music of three bands and with the cannon booming a national salute from Prock's Ledge. When Chief Marshal John Richards headed the procession up Jefferson Street at the Four Corners, the rear of the parade had not left Farrington's Corner. Around 2:00 P.M., a dinner was served in Smouse's Grove to nearly six hundred invited guests and citizens. Shortly after this banquet the main exercises followed, with Henry Farrington presiding. The original Act of Incorporation was read from the record book of the first town clerk, Jacob Ludwig. Then the three bands, merged in one, started the air of "Old Hundredth," and thousands of voices were raised in the Centennial Hymn:

"Father of Love! a hundred years
Are as a day before thy sight."¹⁹

This had been written by Ella A. Oakes, and it is a poem of no mean merit.

The president then introduced the speaker chosen for the centennial address, Colonel A. W. Bradbury of Portland, a famous Maine orator of his day. The address was eloquent and most pertinent even for the present generation. Mr. Bradbury's point of departure was the question whether the masses are capable of governing themselves competently. He made it clear that his faith in what was known as pure democracy was a limited one. He reviewed the past of the town in outline, commending General Waldo and declaring that the success of the community as a German colony was "undoubtedly due to a great extent to the energy, perseverance and persuasiveness of General Waldo." He then acclaimed the virtue of the early settlers in words that could well carry meaning to the ears of their present-day descendants.

You may well be proud of the stock from which you spring; and you may well be prouder still if you have kept alive within yourselves the

¹⁹Printed in Miller's *History*, p. 184.

virtues of your ancestors and held firm to the noble example they set you. . . . You are reaping the good seed sown by your fathers. . . . Look well around you on every hand and assure yourselves that you are transmitting the like to your descendants.²⁰

The procession then re-formed and marched to Water Street where it disbanded. On the platform with the speakers had been fifteen of the town's oldest citizens, including Frederick Castner, John Bulfinch, and John Light of Nobleboro, aged 101, the only person present who was living when the town was incorporated. At this time Mr. Light was extremely feeble, and he died in the following September. This and the burial of Conrad Heyer had been the two largest public celebrations in the history of the town.

Social life in these decades lacked the eagerness and vitality of that of an earlier day. Local society had become more mellow; social life was easier and more natural. Wealth had engendered the leisure to enjoy the fruits of earlier enterprise; the circle of accepted families had widened, and there was social cooperation on a larger scale. "Levee" was the term applied to the larger cooperative functions, where today the term "fair" or "sale" would be used. These levees were very common and not infrequently were money-raising affairs. For example, on December 24, 1874, the Baptist ladies held such a levee in Union Hall. There were cantatas, plays, and music, which netted the ladies the sum of \$268. In January it was reported that the ladies of the Congregational Society had been giving some very pleasant entertainments at their rooms over Clark's Saloon. The latter term did not at that time have its modern connotation, but was simply a place equipped with pool tables, and vending light drinks, cigars, and candies.

The press notices of these days carry references to marriages of figures familiar into recent times, a few of which are noted here. "June 27, 1874, by S. W. Jackson, Esq., Captain Isaac W. Comery and Miss Melvina Castner, both of Waldoboro." "May 19, 1876, Capt. F. A. Hutchins of Biddeford and Mrs. Mary A. Clark of Waldoboro." "May 20, in Bremen by the Rev. J. R. Baker, Capt. Albion F. Stahl of Waldoboro and Miss Lucy M. Keene of Bremen."

These years and a more leisurely life brought a deepening interest in, and an understanding of, affairs in the larger world. Reading had been on the increase and to meet the demand for books, George Bliss opened a circulating library in his store in June 1874, with two hundred books for a starter. The following year was the first centenary of American independence, and there was a veritable exodus from the town. Through the late spring, summer, and early autumn practically everyone of note in Waldo-

²⁰George Bliss, *The Centennial Celebration*, Bangor, 1873.

boro who had the means made the pilgrimage to the Centennial in Philadelphia. This anniversary was even more fittingly observed in the town by a major tree-planting program. There was a committee made up of Isaac Reed, Lincoln L. Kennedy, Moses Burkett, and Parker Feyler, who organized the movement in the village. Within a radius of one and one-half miles of the Four Corners hundreds of trees were set out. It is interesting and significant to recall that that which today is the greatest single source of the town's beauty dates from the year 1875.

In these decades the old religious bigotry of an earlier day was losing some of its fire, and the social smugness once associated with "the established church" had to some degree waned. These were years of lesser religious certainty and greater religious cooperation; they were also years in which the churches were putting on their finishing touches. In October 1873, due largely to the generosity of Captain Charles Comery, the bell was placed in the steeple loft of the Methodist Church. In the spring of 1874 the Congregationalists renovated the interior of their church, and the last service in the old sanctuary was held on May 3rd. The same autumn the Baptists built the addition on the rear of their church to house a pipe organ and to provide room for a choir behind the pulpit. Formerly the choir had occupied the gallery at the north end of the building. Shortly thereafter came the first pipe organ in the town. It was built by E. L. Holbrook of East Medway, Massachusetts, and contained 453 pipes. It cost, when completed, the sum of \$1,000, and this money was raised largely by Mary D. Clark, assisted by other ladies in the Society. The instrument was dedicated on New Year's Eve, 1875, with an organ concert. Mr. Holbrook was at the console. The church was packed to the degree that it was necessary to place settees in the aisles.

The Congregationalists were never to be outdone, even in these later days. They had already raised \$875. The prestige of the Baptist organ loosened Congregational purse strings, and by the end of January their choir had purchased a Hook and Hastings organ, an \$1,800 instrument, for \$1,620. It had 525 pipes, seventy-two more than the Baptists, as was quite in line with local social standards. By early spring the instrument was housed and on April 23rd it was dedicated with a public concert, the Misses Ida and Martha Currier presiding at the console. Thus it was that new landmarks appeared even while old ones were disappearing, for in January 1877 "Sam" Jackson resigned his position as chorister at the Baptist Church, where he had furnished music every Sabbath for eighteen years.

Houses unquestionably possess a personality of their own, as do human beings. They are beautiful or ugly; they are clean

and spruce or forlorn and dejected; they attract or repel; they are noble or inconspicuous and humble; they express wealth and beauty, or mourn in a weather-stained and faded grandeur, or reflect dirt, degradation, and despair; they stand as monuments to a glory that is, or to a greatness that has gone. Their history intrigues us, and we are curious as to the love, the happiness, the sorrow, pain, and tragedy which they have witnessed and to the hands which have laid their foundations. Before the origins of some of these Waldoboro homes fall a prey to oblivion, a bit of their history will here be placed on record.

In May 1873 Ezekiel Vergil Philbrook moved his stock of shoes from his old store, pulled it down, and built the present building with its frontage of twenty-four and its depth of fifty feet, where his granddaughter until recently carried on the business which he founded. In November of the same year the house on Friendship Road built by Captain William G. Jones²¹ was sold by his widow to Captain John B. Stahl, Jr.

Prior to January 1874 the house now occupied by Dick Benner, on Friendship Road, had stood on the west side of the road, just north of the Lester Wellman place. It is probable that this was one of the older houses of the town, having been built as a residence for himself by Dr. John C. Wallizer. The latter purchased this ten-acre lot of Paul Lash, son of Kazimir, on May 20, 1793, and apparently built the house and occupied it until dispossessed for debt. It later became the home of Hiram Brown, who sold it to Tolman Matthews. In January 1873 it was moved to its present site, and extensively repaired and improved. The moving was effected over the winter snow by twenty-six yoke of oxen.

In the days when packets plied busily and continuously between Waldoboro and the outside world, Captain Lewis Winchenbach was one of the most popular of the packet skippers, and since the village was his home port, he had built himself a house in the center of the town, the residence next east of the Waltz Funeral Home. After Captain Winchenbach's death the place became the home of George Bliss. On the death of his father, Dr. Hiram Bliss, George moved in April 1874 to the Bliss home on Church Street, now owned by Nicholas De Patsy, and the Winchenbach place was sold to "Dr." Thomas F. Turner, the druggist, who made it his residence for upwards of sixty years.

In March 1875 *The Lincoln County News* reported that Joseph Clark & Son were about to commence work on their new hall. This work progressed through the spring under the direction of William Brown, until the present Clark's Hall, a center of

²¹Now occupied by Moses McNally.

social life in the town for over half a century, was completed. In November of the same year Vergil Benner purchased his livery stable of Moses Burkett and installed his Fairbanks Scales. This business has remained in the Benner family down to the present day. In April 1876 it was reported that Mrs. Joseph Clark had acquired the lot between the residence of Captain Benjamin Roberts and the Baptist Church. On May 11th ground was broken and work begun on this new home, which is said to have cost \$60,000 — the most pretentious private dwelling in the town, and with a few exceptions including the Reed Mansion, the most impressive.

The Daniel Webster Castner house on lower Friendship Road was projected in the early spring of 1876 and completed in the late autumn. In recent years it was occupied by his son and daughter, James and Mary Castner, but has now passed out of family hands. In May of the same year Charles H. Lilly acquired the farm of J. D. Trowbridge on Friendship Road, in recent years the home of Walter Boggs; while in October, Dr. F. M. Eveleth purchased the William F. Storer place where he resided upwards of twenty-five years, and carried on extensive farming as one of his many interests. In October 1877 Fred K. Trowbridge acquired the Joseph A. Davis farm and there for many years maintained a small hotel resort in the era of "summer boarders." In recent years this farm has become the property of the Cooney family, and the Trowbridge home has become the site of Mrs. Russell Cooney's lovely "October Farm," built in refined Cape Cod style.

These years witnessed some diminution of the old partisan politics that had blazed so fiercely since the advent of Colonel Isaac G. Reed in the town. The war between the village and back-district served as a virulent substitute and diluted the old partisan differences. Strife became social, and politics were simply the means by which the suburbs maintained a stranglehold on the village. Isaac Reed could unquestionably have curbed his rural henchmen to some degree, but he made no move. Politically they still did his bidding. He was keenly conscious of their earlier exploitation at the hands of the village dons, had had no part in it, and without question discerned a considerable element of ironic justice in the tyranny of the back-districts. These people recognized the competence of the village citizenry and on Mr. Reed's nod gave them the town offices, but they applied the brakes consistently on expenditures involving village needs and improvements, and did justice in their crude way to their own, as when, in the April meeting of 1878, they permitted Mrs. Edward Hahn to work out her highway tax on her own private road.

The Democrats of the town still maintained their old ascendancy in state and national elections. The gubernatorial elec-

tion of 1877 may be taken as typical of the prevailing partisan divisions. In it the Republican candidate polled 183 votes and the Democrat 558, but the vote had swelled when Mr. Reed was a candidate for office. In 1876 he took a last fling as a candidate for Congress. In the town a diminishing population gave him 698 votes to 250 for his Republican opponent. In the years of the Greenback movement, there were five very active greenbackers in the town. Their leader was Thomas Willett, a village eccentric and the son or grandson of Thomas, the first Willett in the town. Thomas the Second had two hobbies: he was much given to military matters, and in season and out he preached the greenback doctrine, even stumping the state in one of the elections.²²

In these days, as always in a small town, there were many little things, funny things, unusual things, and unexpected things which furnished the village with its small talk. What were these things? Surely the mention of a few will bring out the real savor of small-town life three quarters of a century ago. Then as now they constituted an unrelated miscellany. A few follow in meaningless order. The town clock in the old Baptist spire was near the end of its vigil and was beginning "to act up." One wag observed that it was "on the strike." It continued to act arbitrarily, and by 1875 the local paper observed that "the town clock has been refusing duty." Further it is interesting to note that in May 1873 the *Monthly News* regretted that Memorial Day was not observed in the town. In the same month there was a good deal of speculation over the fact that Mr. Webster Kaler picked up in the road near the Lutheran Church a Spanish silver coin bearing the date of 1721. In August 1873 "President Grant and other distinguished gentlemen" passed through the town during the morning "by special train en route for Dix Island."

"The Nobleboro Camp Ground," where camp meetings and Sunday School conventions were held during the next thirty years, was purchased of Daniel A. Benner for the sum of \$1,000. In July 1874 it was reported that the potato bug in its pilgrimage across the United States had reached Western New York. On May 21, 1875, we learn that "tramps are increasing in numbers," and that "Prock's Ledge is infested by tomcats," and still worse, that in August "skunks were infesting Main Street." In October of this year the Lincoln County Fair for some reason was held in Waldoboro. A most unusual event occurred in May 1876, when two of a school of porpoises were killed above Storer's Wharf, the larger being nine feet long. In June a band of Indians "encamped in Paine's pasture," this being the level on the top of the hill back of the former James H. Walter residence.

²²Oral narrative of Dr. George H. Coombs.

The little details of local gossip then as now trickled out to the public from many sources, including, apparently, the U. S. Post Office. Anent this source the *Lincoln County News* observed humorously (July 20, 1876): "One of our merchants deprives postmasters and mail agents of the pleasure of reading his postal cards by writing them in Hebrew." This could have been none other than Ed Randall Benner. There is some doubt whether any of the present-day merchants could bewilder any gossip-eager postal clerks by obscuring their correspondence in any foreign language. On June 14, 1877, the local paper announced the final arrival in the town of the potato bug. "Several have been captured on Nicholas Orff's farm."²³ Some idea of the extent of town traffic in these old "horse and buggy days" can be gleaned from the fact that on September 5, 1877, between 4:20 and 6:20 P.M., 165 teams passed Kaler's Corner.

On this note of little things, of the intimate and trifling details of small-town life, this chapter is concluded. An entry in the *Lincoln County News* in a December issue of the late 1870's may be taken as a portentous epitaph of what these years had brought, and of what lay ahead: "One by one they quietly take their departure for the Massachusetts straw-shops."

²³Now owned by Harold Rider of the American Express.

XLIV

SUNSET YEARS

How still they lie — the dead captains who were so alive — on their quiet New England hillsides, overlooking the white flecked waters for which they held a love passing the love of woman.

CARL C. CUTLER

THE FIRST STEAMSHIP to reach America from England, *The City of Kingston*, docked at Baltimore in 1838. For the builders of sailing ships this was a portentous event, and yet it was looked upon largely as a crazy experiment and awakened little concern. Over the years, however, steam kept creeping up, and in a couple of decades its competition with sail had become very real. It first came on a major scale with the packet lines — Cunard, Collins, Havre, Bremen, and Vanderbilt. At first these lines ran only wooden side-wheel steamers. These were easily outsailed by the sleek clipper, which would sight one in midocean, bear down and sweep past, close enough to jeer.

The Inman Line, founded in 1850, began a regular passage between Philadelphia and Liverpool with iron, screw-driven steamers. These early packets carried nearly as much sail as a sailing vessel, sail supplementing steam. Side by side the two continued to grow. In 1861 sail reached its peak in ocean-going tonnage with 4,662,609 tons; at this time there were 877,204 tons moving under steam. In 1889 the White Star Line brought out its *Majestic* and *Teutonic* with twin screws. Thereafter the passage across the Atlantic was pretty largely left to ships propelled entirely by steam, a transition that had covered nearly half a century. By 1893 sail had shrunk to 2,118,197 tons and steam had risen to 2,183,248 tons, surpassing sail for the first time in its long upward climb. Thereafter the rise of the one was as steady as the decline of the other. In 1928 steam showed a total in this now unequal struggle of 13,614,071 tons, while sail had dwindled to 915,149 tons, which just about equalled the tonnage of steam in 1861.¹

¹*Merchant Marine Statistics*, No. 5, Dept. of Commerce, 1928.

This trend was the cause of misgivings, sorrow, bitterness, and fear to generations of men whose tradition had been the sailing of ships since time out of mind. It can hardly be understood in our own time, but to them its import was clear. It meant the slow death of wooden ship building and the decline of those New England towns whose life had been in this industry. Other factors were also currently operative. The Northeastern States had reached their peak in ship construction in 1855, when they placed a total of 326,431 tons of sailing vessels in the water. Then came the great prewar depression, with its slump in new construction. It caught several million tons in operation and left them idle. The demand for new tonnage ceased; there was nothing for the great fleet already in commission to do. In 1859 there were only 79,316 tons of new shipping placed in the water. This year only four vessels were built in Waldoboro.

Then came the Civil War with the Confederate commerce raiders adding a new hazard to the shipbuilding industry. In the year 1861 only two schooners were built in the town. Depression, war, and the rise of steam had all combined to deal a blow to Waldoboro's great industry, from which it was destined never to recover. In the course of time the smaller yards shut down forever. The occasional builders became more occasional, and only the larger builders with adequate financial resources continued their work — Joseph Clark, the Storer Brothers, Reed, Welt & Co., William Fish, and Henry Kennedy carried on. During the years of decline there were periods of activity and inactivity. The close of the Civil War saw some abandonment of caution, and in 1865 eleven vessels were built in the town; in 1866, twelve vessels; in 1867, nine; in 1873 and 1874, nine each; in 1875 and 1876, two and one respectively. Through the eighties the number kept dwindling, and the year 1887 marked the first year in a century in which no ship was built in the town.

The *Lincoln County News* noted the ups and downs of this once constant and flourishing industry in comments that alternately reflect hope and sadness. In its issue of May 15, 1874, it gives a brief picture of a year in which nine vessels were launched:

Since '54 our river, wharves and shipyards have not presented the brisk, business-like appearance that they do now. No less than eleven cargoes of lumber have been received, some of the vessels having to wait several days for a berth at the wharf to discharge. The coves are lined with rafts of hard pine, and the yards are filled with other materials to be used in the construction of ships.

Its further comments on this industry, though of a miscellaneous character, are interesting and worthy of note. A ten-hour workday was the order of things in all yards, and toward the

end of May 1874 William G. Waltz — all yards agreeing — placed a bell upon the Blacksmith Shop in the yard of Joseph Clark & Son, to signal the beginning and end of the work periods — 6:30 to 11:30 A.M., and 12:30 to 5:30 P.M. On July 10th the *News* noted that \$300,000 capital was going into shipbuilding; that the industry supported two hundred mechanics, an iron and brass foundry, an oakum mill, a plug mill, and a saw and planing mill. Prophetic of the industry's fate is another comment: "On Monday [June 1874] Edwin Achorn & Son, launched the skow-schooner, Achorn. This is a center board craft of 101 tons old measurement, and it is to be commanded by Capt. Isaac W. Comery." The fact should not be forgotten that Edwin Achorn once built clipper ships, the proudest and most magnificent of the family of sail; that the first *Achorn* was such a ship, and that Captain Comery was an old deep-water skipper, who at one time commanded some of the finest of the Waldoboro fleet.

In October the *News* noted that more than 100 men were being employed in the yard of Joseph Clark & Son. In this year Mr. Clark completed the barkentine *Josephine*, of 598 tons, and the ship *Carrie Clark*, of 1326 tons. In January 1875 the local paper was able to record that "the Waldoboro Custom House papers more vessels every year than any other district in New England excepting Boston." On July 2, 1875, it could proudly comment: "Four vessels have recently discharged lumber for W. F. Storer, A. R. Reed & Co., and Joseph Clark & Son. More are expected in a few days." At the beginning of October it mournfully noted that "there is but little prospect that any shipbuilding will be done here this winter." Even in those days of decline the old hands never lost their skill, for in the same issue the paper recorded that "the new three masted schooner, Theresa A. Keene, built by William F. Storer and commanded by Captain William A. Keene, recently made the passage from Muscongus Harbor to Brunswick, Georgia in the unprecedented time of 120 hours. It is said to be the shortest passage on record."

By April 1876 the *News* lamented that "so far as it could learn only two vessels were to be built here this season." In 1883 eight vessels were built on the river. The *News* observed:

The river presents a lively and businesslike appearance. Work has been begun in five shipyards, where as many large three-masted schooners are growing into shape. Messrs. H. Kennedy & Co. have a schooner all completed but the rigging, and the launch will probably occur sometime next week. A schooner is discharging material for another upon which operations will begin at once. E. O. Clark has a keel stretched and stern up. William Fish's workmen are getting out a keel. Augustus Welt & Co. have their frames up. A. Storer & Co. have part of their frames raised. This work together with several large vessels discharging ship timber give the Medomak an unusual appearance of busy life.

In 1884 the *News* noted that the best workmen in the shipyards command a wage of \$2.00 a day. On October 31, 1884, the paper recorded that "on Monday morning at 9:30, A. R. Reed launched the largest ship ever built on the Medomak River, the *George Curtis*, gross tonnage 1837, net tonnage 1745." Gorham H. Feyler was the master builder, and the ship was commanded by Thomas Sproul. The maiden voyage of the *Curtis* was to England, and the captain was accompanied by his wife, Mary Trowbridge Sproul.

In these years of a dying industry the Waldoboro builders seem to have exhibited more than their wonted originality and pioneering zeal in the construction of new types. In 1865 Joseph Clark built his *American Eagle*, the first three-masted schooner of the modern type, that is, with no square sails on yards. This was a craft of 386 tons burden. She was commanded by Michael Singer,² and the boss carpenters were Enoch Benner and J. H. Whitaker. From the beginning an evil destiny seems to have dogged her course. At the time of launching she refused to move and was not gotten into the water until the evening of the day set for the launch. It is said that Eugene Wade of Waldoboro, who had shipped as steward, left the ship in Boston when he saw the rats leaving the vessel. George Singer, the son of the *Eagle's* skipper, alleges that she was badly designed and was an almost unmanageable craft. Her maiden voyage was to Havre. From this port she sailed for New Orleans and was lost in a hurricane with all on board at Cat Island.

There were on the schooner a considerable number of French immigrants. Some fifty bodies drifted ashore and were buried on the island. In his lifetime Willard Eugley of West Waldoboro told Mr. Singer that in 1874 he was one of the crew of the *John H. Kennedy*, another Waldoboro vessel, when she was at Cat Island for a load of pineapples. A negro, whom Eugley called the King of the island, told him of a vessel inland and near by and guided him to it. It was the *Eagle*, dismasted and upside down. The negro related that she was washed inland during a hurricane. There were two lines of reefs outside and the surmise was that the vessel hit the first and was capsized and then, hitting the second, was dismasted. The natives cut into her with axes and saws and found thirty corpses in one compartment.³ The predictions of the superstitious among the local folk, rife at the time of the launching, were verified sooner than many had expected.

It was during the years of decline that the largest ships and the largest schooners were being built on the Medomak. Between 1867 and 1884 ten full-rigged ships were constructed, ranging

²The father of George W. Singer of Newcastle, Me.

³Letter of George W. Singer to me, July 23, 1943.

from 1100 to 1800 tons. They were primarily cargo vessels carrying heavier loads than the clippers, but, of course, somewhat less speedy. These ships were the following: *Gold Hunter*, built by Joseph Clark in 1867, 1258 tons; *Annie Fish*, built by Reed, Welt & Co., in 1868, 1496 tons; *Alexander McNeil*, built by Reed Caldwell & Co., in 1869, 1122 tons; *Rosie Welt*, built by Reed, Welt & Co., in 1874, 1435 tons; *Carrie Clark*, built by Joseph Clark & Son in 1874, 1326 tons; the *Isaac Reed*, built by A. R. Reed & Co., in 1875, 1550 tons; the *Willie Reed*, built by the same firm in 1875, 1449 tons; the *Mabel Clark*, built by E. O. Clark in 1877, 1661 tons; the *Emily Reed*, built by A. R. Reed & Co., in 1880, 1564 tons; and the *George Curtis*, by the same builder in 1884, 1745 tons.

The construction of these ships were acts of pride on the part of the town's major builders, and they vied with one another in such matters as size, speed, and structural beauty. The *Mabel Clark*, the largest ship ever constructed by this family, was exceptional in the luxury of her quarters. She was launched at 11:00 A.M., on October 11, 1877. On the 13th she was towed to Hollis Point to be fitted for sea. The after cabin was fifty feet in length, and the poop deck extended to the main hatch. These after quarters were furnished in mahogany, black walnut, California laurel, birdseye maple, black walnut burl, mountain ash, California cottonwood, and satinwood. The crew's quarters were finished in ash, birdseye maple, and black walnut. The ship was commanded by O. D. Sheldon of Philadelphia. While lying at Hollis Point she was the scene of a gay social life of the village folk, as guests of the builder and captain. By the end of October the fitting was completed and she was towed to sea by the tug *Knickerbocker* of Bath. She proceeded to Norfolk where she loaded cotton for Liverpool.⁴

Once having left their native port these big ships never returned. They were deep-sea sailors, globe wanderers. They sailed long voyages to strange places. Some had long lives, others short and tragic ones, oftentimes leaving their bones on the shores of lands thousands of miles removed from the port of their birth. In a few cases the wanderings, the adventures, the history, and the ultimate fate of these white-winged creatures of the great deeps will be briefly sketched here.

The career of the *Mabel Clark* was a short one. After her first trip across the Atlantic, she left Liverpool in March 1878 and in May went ashore on the Island of Tristan d'Acunha,⁵ a total loss.

⁴*Lincoln County News*, issues of October 14th and November 1, 1877.

⁵Fred C. Matthews, *American Merchant Ships, 1850-1900* (Marine Research Soc., Salem, Mass., 1930), II, 102-105.

Joseph Clark's *Gold Hunter* was a fine ship, built for J. Henry Sears & Co., of Boston, her managing owners during her thirteen years of sea life. She made four voyages between Atlantic ports and San Francisco, and during the remainder of her career carried coal or case oil to China. She made good passages and on the whole was a lucky ship. She achieved some notoriety in November 1878, when, while in port at Shanghai, the crew mutinied and engaged in a shooting affray with the ship's officers and the shore police. Several men on both sides were wounded. In February 1878 the *Gold Hunter* had sailed from New York for Shanghai, thence crossing to Puget Sound and from there taking lumber to Callao. On returning to the Sound, she loaded coal for San Francisco, and then wheat for Falmouth. After discharging this cargo at Dunkirk, she took on coal at Cardiff for Hong Kong and was lost in passage by striking a coral reef in the South China Sea. All hands made shore in the ship's boats, although with great difficulty, and subsequently reached Manila.⁶

The ship *Alexander McNeil* was built in 1869 by Reed, Caldwell & Co. Her hailing port was New Orleans, and her main operations were between San Francisco and Honolulu in the sugar trade and in Oriental transportation. In 1902 under Captain W. Jorgenson she took a cargo of lumber from the Pacific Coast to the Philippines. From Manila she sailed in December for Puget Sound, and on this trip went ashore and became a total loss on the Pratas Reefs. All hands made land except her chief officer, Mr. Evans, and four men, who were never heard from.⁷

Clark & Son were the builders of the ship, *Carrie Clark*, launched at Waldoboro in November 1874. She hailed from Boston and was owned and operated by her builders and others. In 1883, after arriving at Dunkirk from San Francisco via Valparaiso, where she had put in to have repairs made to her rudder, she was sold to go under the German flag and was renamed *Anna*. She had operated in the transatlantic trade nearly twenty years when she was purchased by Lewis Luckenbach of New York and converted into a barge. Her original name was restored, and she carried coal along the Atlantic coast until November 28, 1921, when, being in the same tow with the barge, *Governor Robie*, both vessels foundered off Highland Light, New Jersey, taking down with them their crews of three men each. While under the American flag the *Clark* was employed as a general trader. In 1878 she crossed from Shanghai to Puget Sound, and thereafter for a time carried coal from British Columbia to San Francisco. Her subsequent operations, prior to her sale, were between Great Britain

⁶*Ibid.*, II, 187-188.

⁷*Ibid.*, I, 24-25.

and the Pacific Coast, coal on the outward and grain on the return passages. Her voyages were, as a rule, rather longer than average, but she was regarded as a good ship and had no major mishaps. During all her career as an American ship she was commanded by Captain Ira A. Storer, a figure well remembered by the older generation of Waldoboro folk.⁸

The *Isaac Reed* was the largest ship built in Waldoboro prior to 1875. She registered 1550 tons and was launched September 30, 1875. She was named in honor of the builder's father, the Honorable Isaac Reed, Congressman and Whig candidate for Governor of Maine in 1853 and 1855. She made four Cape Horn passages, and the remainder of her career, prior to 1900, was spent in the Far Eastern trade. She was a fair sailer and on the whole had an uneventful career. In July 1924 she came to the end of her days, a wreck on the California coast.⁹

The ship *Willie Reed* was built by A. R. Reed & Co., and was launched June 11, 1877. She registered 1450 tons. Her maiden voyage was to England, and William Reed, whose name she bore, was the passenger of honor on this trip. The *Willie Reed* was one of the best vessels ever built in Waldoboro. She was owned mainly by Reed & Co., and Yates & Porterfield of New York. Captain Oscar S. Yates of Bristol was in command during the entire sea life of the ship. The *Reed* was engaged in trade mainly with Australia and the Far East. She made only three Cape Horn passages to North Pacific ports. This craft was an excellent sailer, her fastest run being from San Francisco to Dublin in 114 days. On July 1, 1882, she and the ships *Jabez Hawes* (Newburyport built), *Seminole* (Mystic, Conn.) and *Eliza McNeil* (Thomaston) sailed from San Francisco and were together four days later. Captain John B. Emerson of the *McNeil* wrote that his ship outsailed all but the *Willie Reed*, and on another occasion when both of these ships were near Cape Horn, bound to the westward, the *Reed* was given credit for sailing somewhat faster than the *McNeil*. The last completed voyage of the *Willie Reed* was in 1893-1894, from New York to Astoria in 153 days; Astoria to Queenstown in 124 days, from whence she proceeded with cargo to Ipswich. On February 12, 1894, she went ashore at San Quentin near Royon on the French coast and became a total loss.¹⁰

The *Emily Reed*, last in these brief narratives of Waldoboro ships, had perhaps the most varied and adventurous career. She was built by A. R. Reed and was launched in November 1880. She was next to the last ship Mr. Reed constructed, and the largest up to the year 1880, registering 1565 tons. Her owners were Yates

⁸*Matthews*, II, 54-55.

⁹*Ibid.*, 187-188.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, I, 370.

& Porterfield of New York, and she operated in the main from Atlantic ports to Australia, China, and Japan. In 1885 in passage from New York to San Francisco, while off Cape Horn, the cargo shifted, her spars were sprung, and most of her fresh water was lost. Again in July 1890, while off the Horn, she encountered heavy gales. Giant seas kept her submerged for four days. Her fore-castle was stove in and washed overboard with all cooking utensils, the same sea taking six of her crew. The next morning two more men were swept overboard. An old iron pot found in a forward locker was used as a stove on which all food was cooked until she finally reached Rio de Janeiro.

The last voyage of the *Emily Reed* was from Newcastle, England, to Portland, Oregon, with coal. At 2:00 A.M., February 14, 1908, when 103 days out, she went ashore on the coast of Oregon near the mouth of the Nehalem River. I spent the summer of 1912 in this locality, a picturesque spot, where the Japanese current sets in on the coast and the water is shallow for some miles off shore. The natives in this section recalled the incident of the foundering of the ship, but we are here able to give the account of her master, Captain Kessel, who wrote:

When the ship struck the main-mast jumped out of her and she broke into just abaft the main-mast. Myself, wife and four men were on the after end, while the mate and the rest of the crew were forward. The mate was getting a boat off the forward house when a particularly big sea swept everything and everybody forward overboard. The mate and four men managed to hang ahold of the boat, but nine men were drowned. The boat was nearly swamped and in an effort to bale her out, the fresh water breakers were lost. After some days of suffering and hardship, the boat's occupants made land, but one man, the cook, had died from drinking sea water.

In the meantime the Captain and his companions were holding on to the aft end of the ship. The mizzen rigging was cut so as to allow the mast to go over the side. After a time the after house broke loose from the hull and drifted closer in shore. A sailor, named Sullivan, after being swept back by the breakers several times, managed to get a line ashore and attached to a tree. By means of this line the rest of the Captain's party were able to make a landing after much buffeting by the breakers. The party then tramped twelve miles before reaching an habitation.

The ship was lost through an error in the chronometers, they showing her to be sixty miles off shore when she struck. The weather was very foggy at the time.¹¹

Just as in the case of ships the largest schooners, too, were built in the Waldoboro yards at the very end of the era. They were the *Governor Ames*, 1689 tons, built by Leavitt Storer in 1888; the *Augustus Welt*, 1162 tons, built by Welt & Co., in 1889;

¹¹*Idem*, II, 102-105.

the *James W. Fitch*, 1064 tons, built by Leavitt Storer in 1890, and the *Hattie P. Simpson*, built by Reed & Co., in 1891. Of these vessels the *Governor Ames* merits her own story, as, strictly speaking, she was the first five-masted schooner built in the United States. At the time of her construction it was known that a five-master had been built in 1881 on the Great Lakes, and another on the Pacific Coast, but the Great Lakes craft had at least one yard on the foremast, and the Pacific coast boat had no topmasts, hence in the strict sense neither could be construed to be a schooner.

It was a great day in Waldoboro when the *Ames*, named for the then Governor of Massachusetts, was launched. Even though it was the first day of December spectators came from miles around. One hundred came from Rockland, leaving that town at 5:00 A.M., on a combination freight and passenger train. At 8:05 A.M., the *Ames* glided into the water without a hitch and anchored in the channel. The builder had put a lot of timber into this schooner. For one thing, there were 460 cubic tons of selected Virginia white oak timber and 876,000 feet of Georgia pine. The vessel was framed up from a keel that stretched 232 feet. The masts were 115 feet long and thirty inches in diameter, and the topmasts were fifty-six feet long and twenty-two inches in diameter at the cap. The jib boom was seventy-five feet long, and under full sail the schooner spread 7000 yards of canvas.

Captain John C. Weston was in charge of the launching and temporarily of the schooner, while Captain Alden Winchenbach was pilot on the Bath tug, *Adelia*. She was towed to Schenck's Point where she remained until Sunday, and was then taken to Muscongus Harbor where her fittings were completed. Lewis K. Benner was master mechanic; John W. Creamer, master fastener; Miles W. Standish, the caulker; William H. Wilson had charge of the ceiling gang; S. O. Waltz Sons did the joiner work; J. Sewall Hatch, the blacksmith work; Osgood Miller, the painting; E. A. Wentworth of Rockport worked the planking, and James Boyd furnished the rudder braces, gypsy winches, composition bolts and spikes, brass chocks, etc. The sails were made by William T. Zuell of Fall River and C. H. Washburn of Thomaston.

"The Big Schooner," under charter to load coal at Baltimore for Providence, sailed in ballast from Round Pond, December 9th, with bad luck not many days away. Two days later a gale caught her some fifty miles southeast of Cape Cod. At the height of the blow, the splicing of the standing rigging of the foremast let go. Captain C. A. Davis, sensing the seriousness of the situation, took in all sail and came to anchor to keep the schooner's head into the wind. The rigging continued to slacken, increasing the strain on the foremast, which finally broke close to the deck. Pulled



Schooner GOV. AMES, 1764 Tons. Capt. C. A. DAVIS.
Built by LEAVITT STORER, Waldoboro, Me. Launched Dec. 1, 1862.

Photography by A. G. Moore & Co., Portland, Me.



AN OLD KNOX AND LINCOLN TRAIN

down by the spring stays and the loss of support from the fore-rigging, the other masts came down in one, two, three, four order. To add to the danger it was found that the *Ames* was dragging a three-ton anchor and 180 feet of chain and was drifting toward George's Bank. Soon the anchor caught on a sea bottom ledge and the chain parted at the ninety fathom shackle. At this juncture two fishermen showed up, and Captain Davis was carried by one of them into Gloucester, and dispatched the ocean-going tug, *H. F. Morse*, to the schooner's aid.

The *Ames* was towed to Boston for repairs which cost \$10,000. In January 1889 she was again ready for sea and was chartered to load lumber at Portland for Buenos Aires, but not until the end of April did she put to sea with a cargo of 1,896,000 feet of spruce and pine. This time she reached her destination in safety, and continued her career on the high seas until well into the new century. Wimble Shoals, twenty-five miles north of Cape Hatteras, was the big schooner's final resting place in the year 1909. One member of the crew survived, Josiah R. Spearing. There follows his account of the *Ames*' last hours:

At 10:00 o'clock on the morning of Monday, December 13, Charles Morris took the wheel. Before eight bells we were ordered to reef sail. The Captain [Nova Scotia born A. M. King] was on deck when we got there. A few minutes after starting to reef sail the ship struck bottom.

The seas were running heavy and the ship began to pound and break to pieces. With the rest of the crew I assisted in protecting the wife of the Captain, until the main-mast, to which she had been lashed, killed her and one of the sailors, who was attempting to unlash her to give her better protection. The main-mast fell with the rest of the masts. I went on the forecastle head with the mate. From there we went to the jib boom, staying there until I was washed inboard. I then made my way, crawling and walking some, to the stump of one of the aftermasts.

There two or three men were hanging to the stump of the mast which was leaning aft, and one man was on top of the mast. He asked me to hold him as he said his fingers were gone. I did until the mast went down and we were washed off.

I washed hold of some ties until I could catch hold of the hatch, which was floating near me. I held on that a while until I floated near the strongback of the maindeck and ribs that had been spiked or bolted across, which made a good raft. I floated on that until I was picked up by the steamship, *Shawmut*, bound for Charleston, South Carolina.¹²

By the early 90's shipbuilding in Waldoboro had become virtually extinct. The *Lincoln County News*, surveying the then existent status of the industry, commented sadly:

An illustration of the decay of shipbuilding is seen on the west side, where the owner of a number of shipyards has been ploughing them up for the purpose of converting them into grass fields. It would be difficult

¹²Account of Mark Hennessy, printed in the *Portland Press Herald*.

to give a list of the large number of vessels built in these yards in years gone by, before the memory of the present generation. The last vessel launched there was built by Leavitt Storer.¹³

Fifty years before, according to Robert P. T. Coffin, American ports ranked in the following order: New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Bedford, Waldoboro, Bath.¹⁴ From the sixth port in the United States to grass land in a half century represents a metamorphosis the like of which few spots in America have ever witnessed.

To all of Waldoboro it had seemed that shipbuilding in the town was at its end, when in 1900 there came a brief but glamorous afterglow in the great industry. William F. Palmer of Boston contracted locally for his six mammoth five-masted schooners which became known as "the Palmer Fleet," the smallest of which, the *Paul Palmer*, was larger than any vessel heretofore built in the town, and the largest, the *Harwood Palmer*, of 2400 tons registry, was the largest of any craft ever constructed on the Medomak. George L. Welt, a nephew of one of the town's major shipbuilders, Augustus Welt, was in charge of the construction of this fleet. The big, white sailers followed one another in swift succession — the *Fannie*, the *Baker*, the *Paul*, the *Dorothy*, the *Singleton*, and the *Harwood Palmer*. By 1904 the last of the big schooners was in the water, and it was all over. There had been enough of the old, experienced talent in the town to build this fleet with but little outside labor. The *Lincoln County News* commented as follows on the initial setup, which started with the first member of the fleet, the *Fannie Palmer*, of 2075 tons:

At Welt's shipyard the big five-masted schooner is growing every day. The lower hold is ceiled up and the hanging knees in place. The strength of a modern vessel is shown by the keels on which is seven feet deep and thirty-eight inches wide, contains 70,000 feet of hard pine and is bolted with more than thirty-five tons of iron. From the top of the keelson to the bottom of the keel, the measurement is nearly eleven feet. The planking crew begins today under the direction of A. C. Erskine of Alna, who had charge of the ceiling. Wilford F. Mank has a crew of such veteran sparmakers as John E. White, Winfield G. Ewell, Judson Mank, and Anthony Castner, preparing the five masts which came from Oregon. When completed they will be 112 feet long. The foremast will be 29 inches, the others 28 inches in diameter. Standish and Ludwig have their caulkers at work spinning oakum. About 125 men are employed at the present time.¹⁵

The *Fannie Palmer* went into the Medomak on November 9, 1900 — beautifully and easily, on one of the most terrific tides

¹³July 27, 1893.

¹⁴*The Kennebec* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart), p. 136. Perhaps the Custom's District is the unit referred to here.

¹⁵Aug. 2, 1900.

in recorded history. On this same tide the tug *Seguin* started the big schooner down the river, but the wind freshened from the eastward, and the vessel, high in the water, presented so much surface to it, that she became unmanageable and grounded in on the western flats near "the Middle Grounds." There the tide left her and since such tides are seldom recurrent, her plight was definitely precarious, and it was feared that further construction in the town was in for a tragic check. All efforts on the part of tugs proved in vain, and the only alternative was to dig a canal in to her from the main channel and thus float her out. The carpenters and all yardmen turned to on the task and gave their time. A tug remained on the river to keep the channel open in freezing weather. For weeks the force labored, each tide nullifying their labor in part by washing the mud back into the excavated area. The job was finally completed, the schooner pulled back into the channel and towed without further incident from the river.

The tide on which the schooner was launched and went aground is worthy of passing note. It flowed over the lower falls and carried driftwood to the Soule dam.¹⁶ Such a tide was beyond the recall of the oldest timer, and its like does not seem to have recurred in the last half century. The other five schooners of this majestic fleet were completed, launched, and towed to sea without any recurrence of such a depressing experience.

After the disappearance of the Palmer fleet from the river there followed a long interlude of idleness. It was believed that the great industry in Waldoboro was dead forever. This proved to be not quite the case, for after the lapse of forty years came the Second World War with ships of all types a vital need — naval vessels, cargo vessels, and food gathering vessels. To aid in meeting such needs and within the range of available facilities, the Waldoboro Shipyard Inc., came into being in May 1942, capitalized and managed by the Cooney family. In the line of this family's ancestry were the Sampsons, the Schenks, and the Trowbridges, connecting it with the town since early days. No family has had more sympathy for the well-being of the community, and none of the present generation have promoted its interests so courageously and imaginatively.

This corporation acquired the old Reed & Welt yard along with the sites of several more of the older yards south of, and adjacent to, this property. The corporation was organized as follows: President, Carroll T. Cooney, Sr.; Vice President and General Manager, Carroll T. Cooney, Jr.; Directors, Russell S. Cooney and Stuart Hemingway. The yard was fully and finely equipped

¹⁶*Lincoln County News*, December 6, 1900.

and operations were begun in the summer of 1942. There were in all seven ways, two of which were under cover for winter building. "The big shop" was 154x35x28 feet, and in addition there were all the adjunct structures essential to construction. The first master builder was Frank B. Day, Yard Superintendent and Draftsman, who in the years of peace was succeeded by Scott Carter. The peak employment in wartime was 110 men, which rated well with the yard crews of an older day. After the war Scott Carter became master builder and the yard employed about fifty men.

The first craft to be launched were four harbor tugs for the United States Navy. Thereafter came a steady stream of draggers and yachts. The largest vessel built was the dragger, *Edith and Lillian*, a very sizable boat with an overall of 103 feet, equipped with 400 H.P. Diesel-Atlas engines, and all other appurtenances to match. Her cost of \$150,000, double the figure for the *Governor Ames*, represents the largest financial outlay of any craft ever constructed on the river.¹⁷

The record of these vessels in their economic spheres has been excellent. The *Edith and Lillian* has been one of the highliners sailing out of Gloucester. Her first haul was 225,000 pounds of fish, and in her first three months of operations she brought over 1,500,000 pounds to port. During the war years this Waldoboro fleet brought between ten and twelve million pounds of fish ashore. In the years of food scarcity this large contribution to the existing food shortage was gratefully recognized, and in consequence the yard received high priorities on building materials.

A list of the ships built on the Medomak in this last brief period of construction forms a part of the appendix of this volume. Whether or not this last episode in the town's ancient industry may prove to be its valedictory, no man may say. The world in this year 1952 has become too strange for sane prediction, for each day we live in the shadow of the realization that anything may happen.

¹⁷Data furnished by Carroll T. Cooney, Jr.

XLV

EDUCATIONAL ANARCHY

...and men loved the darkness rather than the light.
ST. JOHN (4:19)

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION in Waldoboro presents the drabest pages in the town's annals. Certain definite causes of this condition have been sketched in earlier chapters of this history. In brief summary they are: the fixed tradition of the German peasantry that beyond easy reading, simple writing, and the basic calculations of arithmetic, education was not essential to their children, and was in fact a handicap to their way of life; the narrow shrewdness and the thrift of the "Dutch" founders, as well as the extreme poverty of many of them; and a thin and scattered distribution of the early population over the large land area of the town, which would have required an extensive and costly educational setup. The early Puritans migrating into the district did not possess the political power to ameliorate this condition, even had they been so minded, and so the original pattern had continued to perpetuate itself.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the town was at the peak of its great era, and yet the picture of the schools had changed but little. Progress in education was literally hamstrung by the obsolete practices whereunder each district, primarily through its "agent," managed its own schools and hired its own teachers. In many of these local areas the population was so indifferent to its schools that education represented little more than a partial and routine conformity to state law. This vicious system of district management continued down close to the end of the century, long after it had been discarded by every progressive community in the state.

There was also another factor which operated to vitiate educational progress in the town. This was to be found in the fact that political dominance rested in the hands of "the fresh water," or back-district folk. For decades these people had been grievously exploited by the money-grubbing village squires, and these

wrongs and the wrongs done to their neighbors had led to a deep-seated animosity which sought its own bitter retaliation. With a controlling vote the back-districts were in a position to manipulate the purse strings and hence to decide what could and what could not be done. They found their revenge in checking and thwarting every move made by the villagers in the central district (No. 6) to improve the educational lot of the children of the town, and more especially those in the village district. Every forward step in the schools was delayed for decades, until the whirlwind raised after the squires sowed the wind had blown itself out, or until the flames of decade-old resentment had become little more than smoking embers.

The development or lack of development in education in the town becomes understandable or meaningful only when surveyed in the light of these facts. After 1850 the pattern must have seemed to many of the thwarted villagers a changeless one, with the same old vicious system perpetuating itself decade after decade, inching ahead a bit one year and falling back again the next.

These abstract conclusions are most vividly realized and most clearly seen in concrete developments in the educational sphere, when such are presented in their time sequence from year to year until the exact configuration of the pattern assumes vivid, historical form.

Beginning with the sixth decade of the century the educational setup was little different from that of earlier decades. The real power for good or evil was still vested in the district which managed its school through its own elected agents, whose primary aim in many cases seems to have been to secure teachers, without respect to competence, at the lowest possible wage. A Superintending School Committee existed mainly because it was required by law. Its functions in the town went little beyond the point of observing and recommending. Its lawful duties and powers were consistently ignored by vote in Town Meetings, whenever its personnel presumed to exercise any of the powers vested in it by state statute. In fact, the battle of the districts outside of the village against a central authority, legally constituted, is the peculiarly dominant characteristic and the ever recurrent note in the school picture down to the close of the century.

In the year 1851 educational statistics, according to the report of the School Committee, were the following: There were in the town 1733 pupils between the ages of four and twenty-one; these, or a fraction of them, attended schools in twenty-three districts and two parts of districts. The town in this year appropriated \$1,700.00 for schools which with the bank tax produced a school

budget of \$1,833.93, a sum giving to each district an average annual allotment of \$76.41 for the support of its schools, which was an average for each pupil of about \$1.06 per year. The school committee men were elected for terms of three, two, and one year. A teacher usually taught only one term in a district. In 1851 there were twenty-one male and thirty-five female teachers. The average wage for male teachers was about \$4.50 a week, and for females \$1.68 per week in the summer and \$2.06 per week in the winter schools.¹

The reports of the Superintending School Committees afford the truest insight which we have at hand into conditions in the schools of a century ago. These provide us with a recital of flagrant deficiencies from year to year, about which nothing or little was ever done. It is a curious trait of the human animal to accept only those facts as facts which he finds congenial to his existing beliefs. Hence from this point on the uncongenial facts (and most of them are of that order) will be heavily documented. The report of 1852 is revealing since it furnishes us a picture of the schoolhouses themselves in this era, concerning which there had been a recent investigation and report by the state. The report as provided by the Committee follows in excerpted form:

There are a goodly number of the very best teachers, *and others* that the Committee would not approve except on grounds that there were no better to be had. . . . It is quite a mistake to think of hiring a cheap teacher for the sake of economy. . . . By far the greatest evil under which your schools suffer is the want of suitable schoolhouses. Both as to size and arrangement there is an extensive and woeful deficit here. In the language of our State Report: "Many of them are so constructed in size that not more than from sixty-four cubic feet are allowed to each child and no arrangement for ventilation. So far as space is concerned it is equivalent to putting each scholar into a cubic box 4' in diameter and keeping him there for hours in succession without any means of changing the atmosphere." Your committee would refer you to what they consider a model schoolhouse, *but there is none, not one in town* which in the matter of comfort or convenience is in all respects what it ought to be; *while some of them are a reproach and a by-word*. From this consideration alone the town loses one fourth at least of the advantage of its schooling, while from the same cause their children are doomed to suffer, and many are laying the foundations of incurable diseases. [Italics mine.]

This report was signed by the energetic Reverend Dodge and two other Board Members. Between 1851 and 1853 the number of school districts rose from twenty-three to twenty-eight which gives a fair indication of caprice and gerrymandering on the part of the voters in certain areas. There were cases where families or small groups in remote back-districts sought to be set

¹Copies of these earliest School Committee Reports were made available to me from the papers of Dr. William H. Hahn, Friendship, Me.

off in school districts by themselves. In such instances the motive is not clear, but it did create a condition under which funds allotted to such districts could be very easily misapplied. In 1853 districts number 2, 4, 11, 16 and 18 were reported as being "characterized by a spirit of insubordination." Blackboards were still missing and these along with outline maps, globes, and cubical blocks were recommended by the Committee — indeed they were to be continued to be recommended for another quarter of a century. Under the conditions which existed school was not a very attractive experience. Truancy was rife and absenteeism was steadily building up the town's illiteracy. In 1854 the Committee reported the whole number of pupils attending school as 1,773, with an average attendance of 1,126, which would mean roughly that out of every seventeen pupils there were six, or over one third, who did not attend school. The Committee this year seems to have been dominated by a licked psychology, for the major emphasis was not to come to grips with the problem but rather to carp over "the poor and stunted quality of the fuel."

In 1856 the Committee in its report again became frank and illuminating, with the curtain drawn back on some of the districts, and with comments on some of the schools and teachers. It reported \$3,014.00 available for education, which allowed an expenditure for the year of \$1.70 per pupil. Like some of its predecessors the Committee stressed the lack of interest on the part of parents and scholars as being evidenced by the old evil of irregularity in attendance, and continued:

Some of the schools have been nearly worthless on this account. District No. 1, [Dutch Neck] was one of the best schools in town. Miss Dorinda Storer had charge of the summer and winter schools . . . a good system of classification was adopted in this school. District No. 17 [North Waldoboro, Walter neighborhood], John Samson, Agent, Mr. Whiting S. Clark, Teacher, no school made better progress. Other good schools were District No. 10, Cyrus Gowan, Teacher; No. 11, Nathan B. Gowan, Teacher, both good but too crowded. William Seiders in the western village was eminently successful. School of William Boyd Creamer was faithfully instructed. The schools in a number of districts were marked by the dissatisfaction of parents, an evil of the greatest magnitude. Schools in District 5, 7, and 26 were impaired by the lack of a good and united feeling between parents and teachers. District No. 6 [the village] was not successful, but light was ahead.

In point of fact there were great inner stirrings going on in District No. 6, checked, thwarted, and constantly humiliated as it had been by the back-district folk. As far back as 1855 the School Committee had vaguely and veiledly commented in the following language: "Few subjects ever have heretofore been laid before you for your consideration of more vast importance to

the social, educational and secular interest of this whole town than the contemplated organization of schools in District No. 6." In this same year this district had made itself a more compact and workable organization by getting a small April Town Meeting to divide the district, setting off "all west of Waldoboro river to be a Distinct district." In this manner it separated itself from what had been a source of interference in its educational projects, for the outskirts of this section of the old district had had a well-developed lunatic fringe. The next year we learn from the report of the Committee that "the District [No. 6] has wisely determined on a model schoolhouse, and the grade system. The cause of education, the good of the community join in the earnest cry: Godspeed the day!" In all certainty this was the most revolutionary and progressive step taken in a century of educational development in the town.

The outcome of this determination in the village was "the Old Brick Schoolhouse," built in 1857 by the district and not by the town. There are few details now available on the history of its construction, but I was often told in my boyhood that my neighbor, Moses Burkett, furnished the teams to haul the granite for the foundation of the building. The structure was reared on the site of one of the two district school lots that had been in the possession of the district since 1822. The site of the other school was also on Friendship Road, in the field back of the house now owned by Ralph Dean and occupied by Mrs. Isabel Boothby. Had the villagers been compelled to await the assent of the back-district folk, such a building would never have been erected, but here was one situation in which the outsiders were helpless, for from early days it had been the established practice that each district should build its own schoolhouse at its own expense.

For once the villagers did what they pleased, and the back-district folk could only give vent to their spite and frustration by defacing the new structure on their way home when they chanced to be in the village on a dark night. This practice of "abusing the new Central Schoolhouse" drew a rebuke from the School Committee in the April meeting of 1859. In brief it said: "This state of things should not exist. The house had been built at great expense and reflects honor and credit upon the district. See to it that its beauty is not marred, and that it may remain a noble monument of correct public sentiment."

The erection of this building proved the key to future progress in the central district. There was, however, during these years no parallel progress in the outside areas. There the agelong evils seemed ever recurring. At the Town Meeting on April 13, 1857, the School Committee issued its annual jeremiad, a more

than usually revealing complaint. An excerpted paragraph follows:

The many and frequent changes and alterations in the school districts which have been made for the last few years, have produced an unfortunate state of things as regards our schools. The districts are becoming too numerous. Most every neighborhood seems anxious to become a school district by themselves. The result is we are having but short schools, and according to the universal experience of those interested in schools, nothing is gained by small districts and short schools. There was a time in the recollection of many present, when school districts embraced an extent of five or six miles, and it was not considered burdensome to travel that distance.

The report of the Committee of 1859 has also its revealing features. At this time the town was at the peak of its population, and the school census showed 2,300 pupils. For these boys and girls the Committee recommended "good, healthy locations for schoolhouses," and added:

The location of several schoolhouses in the town is strongly suggestive . . . that a place entirely useless for any earthly purpose is just the situation for a schoolhouse. . . . Your Committee has visited several old and dilapidated schoolhouses, ventilated abundantly from the four sides, top and floor. There are only twelve good schoolhouses in the town. Certainly some are fit only for habitations of owls and bats, so far have they gone to decay.

In the back-districts the agents were in the main still running the schools either in ignorance of, or indifference to, state laws, engaging "utter strangers for teachers before sending them up for examination." The report, too, sounded a very modern note on the question of teachers' wages: "Let the teachers be paid fair wages," it said. "Every effort put forth to engage cheap teachers, is an effort to have poor schools." The Committee further reveals "that the mean average attendance of scholars in your schools during the year 1858 was but 26 percent — a proportion less by one half than any other town in the County." This year there was a change in some of the texts. Worcester's *Spellers* were introduced in the place of Town's, and Hilliards *Readers* in the place of Town's *Readers*, which had been in use for ten years. The Committee declared the change an important one, "since," and this is significant, "good readers will not average two to a school." On this note the history of education in Waldoboro prior to the Civil War ended.

Any radical departure in town affairs from "the good old ways" had a slender chance of becoming an actuality if it came up in a March meeting, when the back-district folk was out in force. It stood a much better chance in the April meeting when the back-districts were immobilized by mud, or when they were



BELA B. AND ELIZA SPROUL HASKELL

held at home by spring work. These meetings were usually small and at times were dominated by the village vote. Thus it seems to have been in 1861, when the town by a vote of ninety-five to twenty-four decided to have its first Supervisor of Schools, and elected Bela B. Haskell to this new office. This move effected no changes in the educational picture. The reports of Mr. Haskell on his two years of service simply showed the cart rolling in the same old rut. There is the same story of old, old evils paraded at each annual Town Meeting, and the same old, old system being perpetuated by the back-district vote. This decade of the War between the States brought no substantial improvements. By 1864 the schools were again in the hands of a committee, circumscribed

in its power as of yore by the system of district agents, which retained by annual vote its prerogatives of drawing its own school money and hiring its own teachers. Then too, the town debt in this decade reached an unprecedented figure. In 1865, due to war expenditures, it stood in excess of \$63,000. This great increase in the municipal debt led to a more cautious policy in budget matters, and in consequence the schools received less money.

The 1870's were far more vivid and colorful in the history of education in the town. To be sure, the same old evils were present, but opposition to them was far more vocal, and was making more headway. The list of texts, introduced in 1871, furnishes a clue to the school curricula of this period, and makes it apparent that some ground was being gained. This program included reading, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, geography, American history, and since Harkness *Latin Grammar* and *Latin Reader* are included, we may infer the introduction of Latin in the high school curriculum.

In the March meeting of 1872 the town voted to have one hundred copies of the report of the Superintending School Committee printed. This practice throws a flood of new light on the educational scene in these years and provides a more personal and vivid coloring to the picture. This first printed report for the year 1871-1872, showed as of April 1, 1871, 1,399 pupils in the town, a substantial reduction from the peak years, indicating the recession in the town's population.² The vicious system of divided authority was still in operation, the agent in each district employing the teacher. The amount of money raised for schools was \$4,575, and the state aid totalled \$119.56, making a per capita expenditure for each pupil the sum of \$3.35. There were still thirty-one districts; the summer term averaged twelve weeks, the winter term eleven weeks. Wages had risen slightly, the average for male teachers being \$32.70 per month, and for females \$4.00 per week in winter and \$2.75 in summer.

The populous village district (No. 6) was served by one high school, one intermediate, and four primary schools. The high school was taught by Augustus Kennedy for one term and by Fred Whitney for the other. The winter term extended from December 4th to February 9th, and the summer term from June 6th to August 26th. For these six schools the district drew its money to the amount of \$842.10, and in addition it raised its own supplementary funds for the support of its own high school, which was purely a district and not a town institution. Education in the outlying areas had changed little, and the futility of much of it may be inferred from the following typical comments from the

²The population in 1860 was 4,569, in 1870, 4,174.

report: District No. 17, Zenas Feyler, agent, Miss Sarah E. Trowbridge, teacher. "The interest in this school has been very much interrupted and broken up on account of a difficulty arising between some citizens of the district and the teacher, which is wrong in the extreme." District No. 26, Miss Addie Benner, teacher. "On account of a difficulty arising between her and some of the scholars, she voluntarily closed her school." District No. 29. "The summer term of the school was commenced by Miss Rhoda Weston of Bremen, June 5, but doubting her ability to govern the school, she voluntarily abandoned it after teaching one week." Such procedures as these left a considerable amount of the school money unexpended each year. For example, in the year 1872 the Committee reported an undrawn balance of \$1,102.37 from the town's appropriation of \$3,360.00, or about one third which was never expended for educational purposes.

In the larger school districts the winter terms were taught by men, among whom were names very familiar to old Waldoboro residents. These include Moses W. Levensaler, Edward F. Levensaler, Edward Hahn, Gorham A. Castner, George K. Comery, Albion K. Eugley, Isaac W. Waltz and Miles T. Castner. Among the women teachers were Bernice D. Simmons, Susan Willett, Sarah J. Sides, Mary E. Gray, Melvina Castner and Julia A. Kaler. This was Miss Kaler's³ first school (District No. 22, Genthner Neighborhood). "She commenced her labors in earnest, and her efforts were crowned with better success than many with more experience." From this comment it would seem that "Aunt Julie" never wavered in girlhood from the pattern of sincerity, sweetness, and saintliness which shone forth so beautifully and gently in her later years.

The year 1873 seemed to mark the low point in education in the district schools. The *Lincoln County News* in its issue of January 15, 1875, commenting on this condition, observed: "Two years ago our common school system . . . had reached its lowest ebb, and our schools had become but a farce. Parents and children seemed to share a common disinterestedness." This year also marked a turning point, and in District No. 6, the educational pace-setter, there was a considerable stirring. In January 1873 the committee of the district submitted a recommendation that three primary schoolhouses be built, one each year for three years, the first to be in the south section. The *News* in its comment observed: "The Old School House (that is what they call it) is to be sold for what it will bring. By a small outlay for repairs it would make a quite comfortable hen house or pig pen."⁴ In March the district

³Died, January, 1945.

⁴*Monthly News*, April 1873.

reconsidered its action on the three new buildings. The reason was probably to be found in the fact that in 1873 the Legislature passed an act granting aid from the state to all towns maintaining a free high school, town and state contributing dollar for dollar. This act brought the first move toward a town rather than a district high school. It also brought back-district voters into the picture, ultimately with consequent demoralization for another quarter of a century.

The question of a town appropriation for a free high school was brought before the April meeting and rejected. It was argued according to the local paper "that the village only was to be benefited and the voters from the country defeated the measure." The *News* commented further: "It is such actions as this, and the refusal of the village district to have suitable schoolhouses, that keeps Waldoboro behind her neighbors. It is such action that compels whole families to seek homes elsewhere." In May, however, at its annual meeting District No. 6 voted \$300 for a high school and received \$300 from the state. There was also an appropriation of \$300 for the repair of a primary schoolhouse, and a decision that language, presumably Latin, be taught in the high school. The exact date of the beginning of secondary education in the town is not known. Since the first reference to such an institution is in 1871-1872, it may be inferred that it was started purely as a district school around 1870, although prior to this time there were private schools in the village offering instruction at the secondary level. This fact constitutes one of the blackest spots in Waldoboro history. To the west, Damariscotta and Newcastle had their Lincoln Academy as early as 1802, and to the east the town of Warren incorporated its academy in 1808. Waldoboro was nearly seventy years behind its neighbors, and its failure to raise the educational level of its citizens affected markedly and peculiarly throughout the whole nineteenth century the character of its people and their history.

In the outlying districts there continued to be little improvement. In the year 1873 the school census showed "1,398 pupils in the town with an average school attendance of 809, or 58 per cent." Among old familiar names we find those of such teachers as Bernice D. Simmons, Eliza Pierce, Sarah J. Sides, Lillian Standish, Susan Ludwig, Francis Gracia, and Moses W. Levensaler. The Committee quotes Mr. Levensaler to the effect that "his school can be made more successful by procuring a blackboard if nothing more," and the Committee adds, "we conclude that he is right." This simple comment clearly reveals the conditions under which the educational system labored. Discord, strife, and violence, however, were even more deadly foes of progress. The report of the Committee makes this fact more vividly clear than any obser-

vations of the historian. Of the winter term in District No. 13 (Chapel Corners) it offers the following ironic summary:

The mumps and another contagious and very destructive disease known as "the district row" besieged this organization at the commencement. The scene of the last day's operations was fearful in the extreme, which served to raise the price of repairing the house to an exorbitant amount. However Miss M— came out unscarred, and still retains the qualities of an able teacher.⁵

The comment on District No. 16 (Goshen) reveals a trend in the same direction:

This school labored under difficulties arising from a division among the inhabitants of the district; consequently the progress of the school was not what it might have been. This plague in a school is far more destructive than the mumps. Edward Hahn taught the winter term. He was obliged to leave after four weeks *on account of his health*. Hector L. Castner then took charge of the school. . . . Mr. Castner is a teacher of considerable experience. Order in the schoolroom is his first law, and if he would raise the standard of his explanation to that of his discipline, success must surely follow.⁶

The report follows this tenor in too many districts. The well-taught school was rather exceptional. Typical of these few exceptions is District No. 29 (Kaler's Corner), B. C. Mayo, agent.

The winter term was taught by D. W. Meserve. It was visited by your Committee near the commencement and at the close. Mr. Meserve taught this school with his usual success. The pupils were punctual, and the attendance much larger than heretofore. The teacher was industrious and persevering, and the pupils studious, attentive and energetic.⁷

The Committee concludes its report with the vigorous recommendation that "the Town of Waldoboro should employ one able man to supervise the schools, employ the teachers, spend all his time among the schools, and the town pay him for his services," but the town was still a half century removed from any such sound solution.

The year 1875 was marked by the passage of a state law making education compulsory and requiring attendance of all pupils for a certain number of months each year. It also marked the period in which the town took over construction of the schoolhouses from the districts. Such action was taken because the districts refused to act in certain sections where the school buildings were little more than ancient and shabby monuments to educational indifference. Commenting on this attitude the *Lincoln County News* observed: "Some schoolhouses are not fit for a pigpen,

⁵Report of Superintending School Committee, 1874.

⁶*Ibid.* [*Italics mine.*]

⁷*Ibid.*

for the pig would soon root out. Some districts have been trying for fifteen years to get a new schoolhouse without success.”⁸ The article in question in the town warrant read: “To see if the town will raise money for building a schoolhouse in District No. 16 [Goshen], the said district unreasonably neglecting to raise the money for that purpose as requested by the S. S. Committee.” The town also followed the recommendation of its Committee and elected Henry Farrington as its Superintendent of Schools, at the same time nullifying this action by voting that “the districts choose their own agents and teachers.” In other words, the vicious system was continued. The back-districts were willing to sanction appearances but not realities. In 1876 Mr. Farrington resigned the office, and at a May meeting the town elected “Ed Randall Benner” its Supervisor of Schools.

Mr. Benner was the most competent man to head the schools in more than a century of their history. He was quiet, reserved, and modest — a scholar educated at Dartmouth in the classical tradition. Latin and Greek he read as he did English, for the pleasure of it, and he loved to thwart the gossiping postmaster and his assistant, who read all post cards for the local news they might carry, by writing such cards to his learned friends in other parts of New England in Hebrew. The new Supervisor, like all of his predecessors, was at the start hamstrung by the ancient system of district agents, who still maintained virtual educational autonomy, each in his own bailiwick. In District No. 6 the high school was a going concern, but much like a criminal under death sentence, living from year to year on an indefinite reprieve. As the *Lincoln County News* observed (June 12, 1874): “Fifty percent of the High School tax is paid by eighteen individuals, fifteen of which send no children; those paying a ten and eighteen cent tax protest it.”

Mr. Benner’s period of directorship extended from 1876 to 1879, and it is sufficient to say that in this short span of years he did what he could but far from what he would have liked. In his successive reports⁹ there is offered a clear, but not overdrawn, picture of the condition of the schools in this decade and a very sound and modern evaluation of method and objectives. The reports are bold in their criticism and revolutionary in their suggestions. They follow in excerpted form:

The schools have been taught with an average success, but there is still a wide field open for their improvement. Eight teachers this year had no previous experience. About one third of the schools are good; six are excellent; a few are utter failures. The continuous succession of teachers is a major weakness.

⁸*Lincoln County News*, Feb. 13, 1874.

⁹Reports in the papers of Dr. Wm. H. Hahn, dec., Friendship, Me.

From time immemorial the custom had prevailed in most districts of employing a different teacher every term. To this Mr. Benner states: "I shall be happy at any time to assist the agents in the selection of teachers to the best of my knowledge and judgment." The need of new schools is constantly stressed, "but," the report continues, "suggestions savouring of expense are quietly ignored. . . . There is a lamentable absence of school furniture throughout the town; not a globe, a few tattered and useless maps, and rarely good blackboards." The modern view of the Superintendent as well as the primitive techniques in vogue in the schools are revealed in the following observation on "methods":

The one continual round of mechanical lesson learning can be productive of but meager results; spiritless recitations, rules without principles, grammar without language, reading without understanding, a general lack of vitality and efficiency. This is mostly due to the want of special training on the part of teachers.

In the administration of his office Mr. Benner went as far as the law and the mandates of the Town Meetings would allow. He refused to grant certificates without examinations and pointed out that as prescribed by law "two days will be appointed for public examinations." The free high school, in Mr. Benner's judgment, was unusually prosperous in the year 1877, "under the charge of a gentleman [W. S. Thompson] of scholarly attainments, with professional zeal, and a generous supply of pith, vim and vigour." Under Mr. Thompson the annual sum for its support was voted by the district without one dissenting vote.

The newly organized grade system in the Brick School was beginning to bear fruit, as a feeder to the high school, of adequately trained pupils. In 1878 a class of seventeen was promoted to the first year of high school work. In his report for this year Mr. Benner enunciated principles that would be conservatively adequate in the present day:

Teachers must study to free themselves from the trammels of rote-teaching and textbook drill. . . . Pupils should be taught how to use textbooks, and how to study, and trained to habits of observation and reflection. In fine the object of instruction is to teach the pupil to think.

In his report for the year 1877-78 the Superintendent examines one by one the major subjects in the common school curriculum — reading, arithmetic, geography, spelling, and grammar, and in each case states objectives and outlines methods for achieving them in a fashion that was entirely clear and convincing and as sound for our day as for that. Mr. Benner realized, of course, that such way-pointers must remain little more than empty gestures so long as the schools were under the control of district

agents who in too many cases were more deeply interested in keeping taxes down than in the educational opportunities of their district children. Progress under this century-old yoke was not possible, and mildly and tactfully the Supervisor points this out in his final report: "Many towns in the State are abolishing the school district system and substituting the 'town plan,' under which the school committee exercises the function of both committee and agents. This has the advantage of simplifying management and securing equal privilege to all children."

But Waldoboro wanted none of this. The old, "Dutch" pattern of thrift was still too strong, and local district autonomy as against control from the village was still a means of paying back old grudges. This attitude was, of course, entirely illogical. The agents would squeeze the district school to save money, and at the same time they would waste more than they saved by continuing five schools in five districts where all the facts called for a consolidation of the five into three schools, as was vainly urged by Mr. Benner. There was one substantial gain in the latter's administration. The laws compelling school attendance were far more strictly enforced than ever before. In 1877 the percentage of attendance ranged from sixty-nine per cent in District No. 11 (North Waldoboro) to ninety-six per cent in District No. 22 (Genthner Neighborhood). Salaries too were moving reluctantly upward. William S. Thompson and E. R. Benner were paid \$100 per month in the District No. 6 high school. Beyond the village limits, however, the widow's mite was still the order of things. Cora E. Fish received \$3.00 per week in District No. 31 (Teague School); Emily Farnsworth, \$3.75 per week in District No. 21, (Finntown), and Emma Boggs (Mrs. Wm. S. Johnston), \$5.00 per week in District No. 28 (Weaver Town). The wages of male teachers included an allowance for board, but the female teachers were still "boarded round."

Right down to the end of the century the schools were debauched by the back-district folk in the annual Town Meetings. Through these years the vote switched back and forth alternately from superintendent to control by a school committee. There were some competent supervisors who would try their hand only to be turned out because they were efficient, or who quit after trial because they soon discovered that effort was futile. The back-district folk clung tenaciously to the principle of the district agent hiring the teachers, and this single fact in reality was sufficient to nullify all progress. It is doubtful if any school system in any town ever was handled by an electorate with grosser ignorance or stupidity. Nearly everything that was done, right down to the end of the century, projects this fact into history in bold relief.

In March 1878 E. R. Benner relinquished the post of superintendent, and the town elected to return direction of its schools to a committee with the reservation that the districts retain their agents, and the agents retain the right to hire the teachers. The next year the town elected to return to the supervisor system, and John J. Bulfinch was chosen for that nearly futile office. He was not able to hire teachers outside of District No. 6, but he could and did revise the texts in use in all schools, and introduced the Swinton series to be used for five years. On March 22, 1880, it was voted to consolidate schools in districts No. 11, 23 and 31 in one school building near Burnheimer's Corner; districts No. 3, 4 and 8 in one building near Winslow's Mills; districts 5 and 30 in one building to be between Flander's Corner and the Achorn district. Since the school population was shrinking markedly this was a highly intelligent decision. It is highly probable, however, that this March 22nd was a day when the weather kept the back-district folk housed, for no move so rational would have commended itself to their spirited spite. As it was, they apparently turned out in force at the April meeting and acted promptly to postpone indefinitely the articles on consolidation.

In 1881 Mr. Bulfinch was re-elected as supervisor but as always with the reservation that the districts should retain power through their agents. The next year the demos switched back to control by a committee, electing William H. Levensaler, Emily F. Farnsworth, and Ozro D. Castner, but Mr. Castner wisely declined to serve. In 1884 the common school curriculum was expanded under the pressure of state law to include United States history and physiology and hygiene. The next year the electorate chose to return to the supervisor system, with the usual reservation. In order to avoid further repetitious comment on this colossal educational stupidity it should be noted here that by annual vote the districts retained their agents and hired their own teachers down to the year 1895, and this was but one of the several characteristic ways in which the back-district folk maintained their blighting control on the progress of the town. Spiting the village folk was their annual sport, and presently the free high school became the target of their low-gear'd sadism.

In the meeting of March 29, 1886, Article 22 in the warrant read as follows: "To see if the town will vote to raise money to obtain State aid in sustaining a Free High School, and if so, where it shall be located." The reaction to this article by the voters represented a new low in their selfishness and blindness in educational matters. It was voted to raise \$400; two hundred for a high school in the village; "one hundred dollars for a Free High School in District No. 11 [North Waldoboro], and one hundred dollars

for a High School in District No. 18 [South Waldoboro]." The total appropriation was not enough to support a single good school, and yet the town by reason of the irony that so often rises from ignorance, suddenly found itself a considerable center of learning supporting three high schools.

This solemn cat and mouse play — the back-district folk the cat, and the free high school the mouse — went on year after year, the location of the high school or schools shifting according to the caprice of the voters. In 1887 it was voted to allow a hundred-dollar appropriation for a high school in District No. 26 (Orff's Corner), and "another in a location to be decided by the supervisor." In 1888 there were again three high schools — Village, North and South Waldoboro. This grim jest became an annual event. Some years the location of the high schools was left to the discretion of the supervisor: sometimes, as in 1890, no money was raised for a high school in the village, for in the meeting of April 21, the vote "to raise \$300 for a high school in District No. 6," was lost. At the April meeting in 1896, in an unwonted access of generosity the voters raised "\$500 for a Free High School; \$150 to be expended in the Groton District [West Waldoboro]; \$150 in District No. 11 [North Waldoboro]; \$150 in District No. 15 [Minktown]." By a master stroke of irony the balance, \$50, was allotted to a high school in the village. This vote was really the high-water mark in absurdity. Another Town Meeting was called for May 2nd — when the back-district folk presumably would be doing their planting — the vote was reconsidered, and the location of a high school left to the discretion of the supervisor.

Just a few years before this comic dénouement another absurdity was recorded for the last time by the Town Clerk. At the meeting on March 20, 1893, the town for the last time authorized district agents to employ teachers. With the end of this educational anachronism, a new era could begin in Waldoboro schools.

This narrative, in following the major phases or aspects in the educational drift down into the 1890's, has passed unmentioned certain minor developments, and with these in mind it reverts to the 1880's. In the alternating swing back and forth between theoretic control vested in a committee or a superintendent, John Bulfinch had become supervisor in the spring of 1885. Mr. Bulfinch was a clergyman, the son of an old village squire, college trained, a most upright, scholarly, and quietly decisive man, who held the office for a number of years under most trying circumstances, during which the high school was frequently the martyr to the low-gear'd spite of the back-district folk, and during which the district agents were still doing their educational clowning. Despite such handicaps, the supervisor went ahead effecting progress wherever progress was possible.

One of his contributions had to do with schoolbooks. From earliest times these had been purchased by the parents for their own children. An unfortunate consequence was that while some children were provided with texts others were never so provided. In fact, some reports expressed the conviction that not more than two school readers could be found in some districts. Recognizing this evil, Mr. Bulfinch secured authorization from the town in 1887 "to purchase and sell schoolbooks and supplies to pupils at cost," and furthermore such pupils as were unable to purchase such texts were to be supplied "free by the town at the discretion of the superintendent." Such a provision was a boon to the education of the children of the poor — and there were many of these, how many and how poor, few of us in this day can realize.

Bearing on this point of poverty is a little story told to me by my teacher, the late and dearly beloved Susan A. Ludwig. It was in my primary schooldays well over a half century ago, when "Susie" Ludwig related that in a back-district in her early days of teaching in the town, there was a little girl to whom she had been helpful, and the child in her gratitude invited the teacher to her home one evening to be her supper guest. The entire meal was bread and molasses. There was nothing more and the whole family shared alike. This is a simple tale, but it was typical of a condition which Mr. Bulfinch faced and solved with Christian resourcefulness. Hereafter books were on sale or were available to the poor "at Mr. Percy Storer's place of business." He was to receive \$25.00 for this service.

It was Mr. Bulfinch's sincerity and his compassion for childhood that led to the row in District No. 6, in 1887. As early as 1885 there had been much sickness among the primary scholars. It was reported that green mold had collected on the walls of the primary schoolroom in the basement of the Brick Schoolhouse, and that the floor itself was within a few inches of the damp earth. Consequently a committee of two physicians and the supervisor after investigation reported that there was no way to make this room a fit place for a school. The district was not of the same opinion, but it did expend \$350 in improvements. Against this decision Mr. Bulfinch protested.

Further investigation followed including one by the Secretary of the State Board of Health. Mr. Bulfinch's judgment was thus again confirmed, and on the day when the school was opened by the district agent the Supervisor publicly notified the teacher and pupils that the room was not suitable for occupancy and dismissed the school.¹⁰ Mr. Bulfinch carried his fight before the Town Meeting of March 19, 1888, in which his report and recom-

¹⁰Data drawn from a paper read by Mrs. Jane Brummitt before the Waldoboro Historical Society, August 1940.

mendation were rejected, whereupon he resigned. He was succeeded by Dr. Francis M. Eveleth who served for one year and then relinquished the job with the observation that his supervisorship of one year cost him half his practice, and his salary (about \$183) did not compensate him for this loss.

In 1889 the town again turned to Mr. Bulfinch and elected him Superintendent of Schools, but he declined to serve. Thereupon Dr. J. True Sanborn, "Old True," was chosen and served for one year. The following year Dr. Fred C. Bartlett assumed the post and served until 1893. In this year Mr. Bulfinch again declined to serve, and Dr. Sanborn took over for several more years. Since his bill for services caused some arching of the brows among a people which had always regarded education as a commodity to be had at a trifling cost, the town at its April meeting in 1895 fixed the salary of its school supervisor "at \$2.00 a day for the time actually employed." Dr. Sanborn, unlike Dr. Eveleth, unwilling to sacrifice "half of his practice" to his zeal for public service, rendered a bill for \$375. This was an unheard-of sum for such a trivial service, and the town balked. Dr. Sanborn stood fast and a committee was appointed to investigate the facts and submit a report. The committee did not agree. A majority reported \$267 as being the total of warranted charges, while a minority held this sum to be insufficient. The town rather than face the expense of a suit accepted the minority report and settled for \$300. Dr. Sanborn resigned.

The mid 1890's marked the end of an era in the history of education in the town. This had come with the abolition of control by district agents, with the centralizing of control in the hands of a Supervisor of Schools, and with the establishment of a free high school on a permanent basis. This chapter would naturally conclude at this point save for the fact that it seems worthy of historical record to offer a swift insight into schooldays in the early years of the high school, based on data provided by one who completed the course and graduated.

In 1882 a class of twenty entered the re-established High School of District No. 6. It came from the grammar school on the recommendation of the teacher, Dora Howard [York], and from the ungraded schools of the town after examination by some member of the School Board. In the latter case fitness for high school work was to a considerable degree based on age, size and parental influence.

In these years the high school teachers rotated with considerable frequency, none remaining very long in the school. The examination to determine the fitness for Principal was rather informal. In 1882, Mr. Charles Sumner Cook, later a distinguished Maine attorney, a Bates graduate, presented himself by appointment before a member of the School Board. This gentleman from behind his counter peered at Mr. Cook over his glasses, offered him a problem in Algebra, selected a passage from

Caesar for translation, and asked him to spell *kerosene* and *molasses*. Having met this ordeal satisfactorily Mr. Cook became the head of a high school of sixty pupils.

The program of studies making up the four year course in 1882 was the following:

First year: English Grammar and Composition, Reading, Beginners' Latin, Arithmetic and United States History.

Second year: English Analysis, Reading, Elementary Latin (continued) Elementary Algebra, Physical Geography or English History.

Third year: Reading Caesar, Intermediate Algebra, Physiology, Bookkeeping.

Fourth year: Reading, English Authors, Virgil, Plane Geometry (four books), Natural Philosophy, Ancient History.

The second year of this class of twenty entering in 1882, began under the instruction of F. S. Forbes, "an off term," with the average attendance of the school at twenty-two. The other two terms of the year were under the direction of Mr. C. W. Longren, a Bowdoin undergraduate. Under his tutelage the average attendance rose to the encouraging and hopeful figure of thirty-three.

The third year of this class began under W. R. Butler who had previously taught a singing school in the town. Since the standard for admission to the school had been raised, there were none prepared to enter from the Grammar School this year. This reduced the number of pupils in the school to sixteen — certainly an interesting commentary on the level of intelligence in a town where so tiny a fractional part of the school population was continuing its education beyond the eighth grade level. The remaining terms of this year were taught by Irving W. Horne, and the number of admissions raised the school roll to thirty-three. It should here be noted, that of the many who taught in the High School of those days only Mr. Horne made teaching his life work. The others taught only as a means of securing money for continuing their professional studies in the fields of law, medicine or theology, and for an average weekly wage of \$13.75.

The fourth year of this class was taught by Mr. Will Donnell in the summer term, and in the fall and winter terms by Mr. J. H. Libby. At the close of the summer term Alice N. Benner, Dora Gay, Mabel F. Kaler, Susan A. Waltz and Elizabeth Winchenbach [the preponderance of females is worthy of note] had completed their four year course and received their diplomas on the last day at exercises held in the school-room. This was the first time in the town that diplomas were ever awarded to a class. A few diplomas had been granted earlier but only to the few who had made personal application for them. The following summer the remainder of this class entering in 1882 was graduated. This division in the class had come about through loss of time due to illness in the one case, and through the fact that three members had changed their course at the beginning of the second year. In this manner a year's work had been lost in Latin.

As the time for graduation approached these four with the approval and assistance of the Principal, Mr. Libby, planned to make a formal occasion of this event. The class parts were amicably distributed by agreement, Edna Young selecting the valedictory, Lena Kimball the salutatory, Abbie Storer the class history and Jennie Matthews the prophecy. Less amicable was the decision on an auditorium for the exercises. Since the class was half Baptist and half Congregational, the pull in the two directions was rather even. The weight of tradition was, however, with the

older parish, and so it was that the first formal exercises of a graduating class from the Waldoboro High School was held in the "old North Church" in 1886 — the same site on which such exercises are held in the present day.¹¹

No detail seems to have been omitted. There were class parts, class colors, a Latin motto, class pins, printed invitations, programs, and even a brass band. As soon as this event had been thus formalized the classical tradition, characteristic of the local gentry from early days, took over, and in the first of such exercises ever attended by me (1894) Alida Keizer delivered the salutatory in Latin, and Emma Sproul the valedictory in Greek.

On this bright note the record of one of the darkest phases of the town's history is concluded. Still ahead lay years of fumbling, ineptitude and sub-standard achievement, but from the mid-nineties the trend was toward a better day, and the new century was to witness the modernization of the town's whole educational system, and its rise to a parity with the systems in similar communities throughout the state.¹²

¹¹Narrative of Jane Matthews Brummitt.

¹²A list of the thirty-one school districts is offered at the end of this volume.

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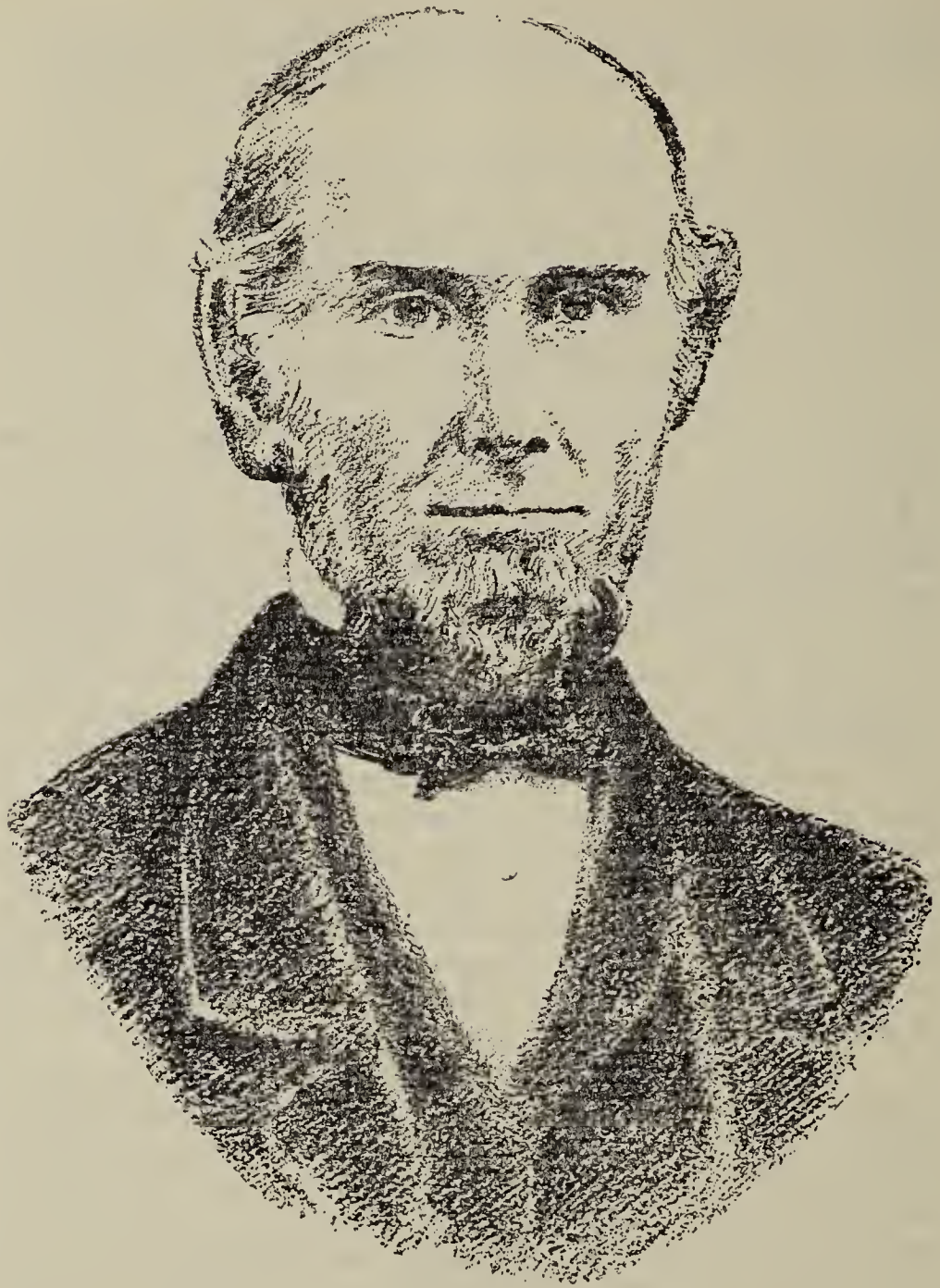
THE END OF THE CENTURY

These things I saw, and part of them I was.

VIRGIL

THE EVENTS OF THE CLOSING decades of the nineteenth century must almost of necessity be cast in the form of annals. Vitality was at a low ebb in the town. It was unquestionably a period of decay. The era of wooden ships was nearly at its end, and with its passing the creative drive that had produced these ships as well as the town's wealth and prosperity found itself without an economic goal. These last decades of the century accordingly resolve themselves into a record of the passing from the scene of those sturdy business figures of the Great Days, into a very considerable building program of many new homes, and into a blind groping after new forms of economic enterprise that would maintain the life of the town at those levels of well-being and wealth which a generation of new, though lesser, leaders could so vividly recall from the days of their childhood, when the town was one of the busiest and strongest economic units in the state.

The decade of the 80's was a veritable village Götterdämmerung, as one by one, in steady and swift succession the great figures of an earlier and happier era departed the scene. The first of the old landmarks to disappear (May 17, 1880) was George Demuth Smouse, a third-generation German, the son of the romantic trader, Captain George D. Smouse. Born in 1799 in "the old Smouse house" he was brought up by his stepfather, Colonel Isaac G. Reed, and throughout his life was closely associated with the Reed clan in banking and as a member of the great ship-building firm of Reed, Welt & Company. Mr. Smouse was in his own manner the first historian of Waldoboro. He left no record of his interest, but happily born as he was, his life span (1799-1880) brought him into association in his youth with the generations that had settled the wilderness, and carried him down close to the end of the town's most colorful century. The regrettable thing is that he made no written record of his rich knowledge drawn from firsthand sources.



ALFRED STORER

1815 ~ 1882

On September 19, 1882, Isaac Reed came to the end of his days. He was probably the most versatile figure in Waldoboro history. His last years were serene ones. His great political machine had crumbled because his personal ambitions had come to their end; his shipbuilding activities, or what remained of them, he had resigned completely to his son, Asa Redington. His sunset years were days of peace passed in communing with his cronies, young and old, on the streets and in the village stores, cultivating fruit and flowers in his spacious back lot, and ending his winter evenings with the invariable pitcher of cider, bowl of apples, and pan of popcorn.

Alfred Storer, another of the great shipbuilders, died in the same year. He was of a quiet nature but of a very substantial character, lacking perhaps the versatility of his great contemporaries. His interests were pretty strictly business, and he was one of the soundest in this field and probably the most prudent. He was a lifelong Democrat and while never active politically himself, his influence was always a strong one in the more liberal wing of the party.

It was not only the great builders but the sometimes more picturesque men who sailed their ships, whose ranks were becoming thinner. In this same year, 1882, Captain Andrew Storer came to the end of his voyage. As a boy he had served his apprenticeship at sea with Captain Joseph Miller. In his later years he built his stately home on Friendship Road,¹ and was through his years of retirement one of the flamboyant figures of the town, noisy, unpredictable, and with a well-developed sense of showmanship. Very old people have told me tales of his trips to his wood lot in the back-district over Thomas' Hill; how, seated on his ox-sled in his tall beaver hat, a red muffler about his neck, his under parts lightly clad, he directed his oxen with strong and lusty words; or of his hand-mowing by the roadside at sunrise in the haying season with small regard for the conventions of clothes.

The death of Colonel Atherton W. Clark in 1882 was a distinct loss to a community in which he was one of the younger leaders. He was not associated with the town in its great period, but he was a resourceful and civic-minded citizen from Civil War days on, and was the town's most distinguished soldier in the long War between the States.

On December 29, 1883, Elzira Ann, the wife of Bela B. Haskell, died at the age of seventy-three years. She was the daughter of William Sproul, who had come to Waldoboro early in the century, acquired the mill privileges at the First Falls, carried on a prosperous and varied milling business, and become one of the

¹Later known as the C. H. Lilly place.

town's wealthiest and most respected citizens. As the wife of Bela B. Haskell, Elzira Sproul was for a half century a leader in the polite society of her time. Her death marked the end of her husband's long and prosperous leadership in the town. The following May he sold Sproul's Mills — saw, planing, grist, plaster, and carding — to Milton McIntyre & Son, and thereafter made his home most of the time with his gifted daughter, Harriet, principal for forty years of Monticello Seminary, Godfrey, Illinois. It was there in 1887 that Bela B. Haskell came to the end of his days. His remains were brought to Waldoboro and laid in the Main Street Cemetery with the fast gathering band of his great contemporaries.

The year 1884 brought a further thinning of the ranks. In January William Fish died at the age of sixty-seven. He was born in Waldoboro on April 3, 1817, in the old family homestead at "Fishes' Corner" on the Warren Road. He engaged in trade and shipbuilding in the village to the end of his life, his shipyard being located on the west bank between the lower bridge and Smouse's wharf. He was appointed postmaster by President Pierce and maintained the office in his store until the present Federal Building was completed, in which he was the first postmaster. His home on Main Street was the house owned and occupied for many years by Will Achorn. He was a man of restless energy, and along with John Tibbetts was the builder of the Fish Block, the most impressive structure in the business district, destroyed by fire in 1900 and replaced by the present Gay Block.

On November 23rd of this year John Bulfinch, known as Squire Bulfinch, came to the close of his long life, dying at the age of ninety-two. He was born in Boston in 1792, a member of a distinguished family, and was the last surviving member of the class of 1812 at Harvard. He was attorney for General Henry Knox in the latter's later years. For the last fifteen years of his life he was inactive and resided quietly at his lovely home built in the 1820's on the upper Medomak. Educated in the classical tradition, he was a master in the field of Greek and Latin literature, and during his quieter years the great classical writers were his constant companions. The Squire's long life in Waldoboro was not without its negative aspects, but despite these he remains one of the town's great traditions.

Of far lesser note, but one of the town's eccentric figures, was "Dr. Wing," the herb collector and vendor who lived for so many years in his log cabin at the head of the lane in the pasture on the Moses Burkett farm. He died September 20, 1884, at the home of his son in Cushing. In this same year the remains of Mary (Kaler) Starman were brought from Rockland and interred beside those of her husband in the Lutheran Cemetery. Six years

later a son, Isaac Starman, presented the painting of his preacher-father to the German Protestant Society in the town.

On August 23, 1887, another of the major shipbuilders, Edwin Achorn, died at the age of seventy-eight years. In the town's great industry it is his claim to distinction that he was the least conservative among his contemporaries and was willing to experiment with clipper designs. Two of his major ships fell into this general class, and possibly others approached this type.

Two years later, 1889, Deacon George Allen died. He was born in 1801 and came to Waldoboro as a boy to live with his uncle, Payne Elwell. He was one of the pillars of the Established Church from its beginnings, and for thirty-eight years was the cashier of the Medomak Bank. He was a man who possessed to an almost complete degree the confidence and affection of the public, and was an outstanding example of the close, shrewd, but strictly honest conservative businessman and religionist of the great era.

Captain Harvey H. Lovell, one of the most distinguished of Waldoboro shipmasters, died April 20, 1889. He was born at Barnstable, Massachusetts, in 1817, took to the sea at the age of fifteen, was an officer at nineteen, and a master in his early twenties. He came to Waldoboro in 1851, and here married Sophronia, the daughter of Squire Bulfinch. His most romantic command was the clipper *Wings of the Morning*, built by Edwin Achorn. Her name was supposedly derived from his wife who sought the guidance of Scripture in this matter, and opened the Bible by chance to the hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm. This ship plied between New York and San Francisco in the gold days, but her most famous trip was from San Francisco to Shanghai in forty days, which with one exception was the fastest trip ever made by sail on this route. At the time of his death Captain Lovell had been living in retirement since 1873.

Another famous Waldoboro skipper, Captain Herman Kopperholdt, followed Captain Lovell in death two years later. He, too, had started from very humble beginnings, and went up the hard way to a distinguished career at sea. He was born at Aarhus in Denmark, January 22, 1814. He first came to Waldoboro in May 1839 on the schooner *Medomak*, and from this town shipped for a year with Captain Andrew Storer. This gave him a connection with the town, and he married into one of the old families, taking as his wife Miss Mary Razor (Reiser), who died of yellow fever in New Orleans in 1855. There were no children born to this union and in lieu of such the Captain brought two nephews and two nieces from Denmark. One nephew later moved to Oregon, and a niece, Mrs. John J. Hennings, reared a large family in this town.

In 1853 Kopperholdt took command of the "new clipper ship," *Ella A. Clark*, and sailed in Joseph Clark's vessels for the rest of his career at sea. In 1859 he took the *J. Webster Clark*, partly owned in the South, and proved himself a diplomat as well as a sailor. In the early days of the war, with a cargo of New Orleans cotton, he was chased by Yankee cruisers and blockaded at St. Thomas for several months. In 1863 he retired from the sea and bought the Charles Samson farm on Thomas Hill Ridge, where he passed the remainder of his life. This and the "Al Davis place" were one farm. The house now occupied by the Patricks was the second one built by Charles Samson, and is a place of local historical interest. It had originally a flat roof like the Waterman and Farnsworth houses. Captain Kopperholdt replaced this with the present gable roof. The ell was formerly on the east side of the house and ran out to the highway. Opposite this ell across the street was an old shop which was the town's post office in the 1820's. This building was torn down by Captain Kopperholdt and with it disappeared the focal point of a stormy episode in local history.²

In the decade of the 90's the pace of departures slackened somewhat, in large degree because few of the great figures still tarried on earth. On May 17, 1891, Daniel Castner died at his home on Main Street. For many years he was engaged in trade in the village and like so many traders of his day he carried on an active interest in shipbuilding. He occupied positions of trust and responsibility in the affairs of the town, and his two surviving children Annie (Sanborn) and Ozro Castner will be remembered for their contributions to the cultural life of the village.

On May 13, 1892, the last of the town's great shipbuilders, Augustus Welt, died at his home on Medomak Terrace. As in the case of so many of his able contemporaries, he started life with little more than courage and character. He was the second son of Deacon John Welt and was born September 12, 1809. His beginnings were typical of the German tradition. Of himself he once wrote: "When I was 21 my father John W. Welt, gave me my time, a suit of clothes and a yoke of oxen. I swapped the oxen for a horse, and the horse died. My start in life!"³ And so it was that Augustus Welt began work in the shipyards in the days when men worked from daylight to dark, and he rose to a master workman. In 1838 he built his first vessel in company with his brother, Charles, and Solomon Shuman. This group built two vessels and then two more in company with Henry Kennedy. In 1843 Mr. Welt went into partnership with Isaac Reed and George

²Narrative of Clara Hennings, granddaughter of Capt. Kopperholdt, San Diego, Calif.

³Narrative of his granddaughter, Rose Welt Davis.

Smouse to form the major shipbuilding firm of the town, Reed, Welt & Co. This trio continued to build ships until 1876, and in these years constructed more than fifty vessels large and small. After the dissolution of this partnership Mr. Welt continued to build with various of his contemporaries until he was eighty years of age. His last vessel, named after himself, was the four-masted schooner *Augustus Welt*, built in 1889, and continuously operative until torpedoed by a German submarine in the Mediterranean in the first World War.

Apart from shipbuilding Mr. Welt's community activities were many and varied. He was a director of the Waldoboro National Bank from its organization till the surrender of its charter. For three years he was a director of the Knox and Lincoln Railroad, served the town repeatedly on the board of selectmen, and for four terms represented it in the State Legislature. His wife was Sedonia Newbert. A contemporary characterized him at the time of his death as "a man of great business energy and sagacity, upright in all his dealings, a just and considerate employer, an excellent citizen and widely known for his many acts of benevolence and charity." In brief, Augustus Welt was one of the fine figures of the town in its best days.

In the death of Dr. Francis M. Eveleth, in April 1895, the town lost one of its most active and useful citizens in its hour of greatest need. He was born in Phillips, Maine, on May 30, 1832. He was a Civil War surgeon, a country doctor, supervisor of schools, local pharmacist, and always a backer and promoter of the town's business development. In fact, in the days of business decline there was no aspect of community life which did not receive the support of this quiet and energetic man. He operated his farm, now owned by Clifton Meservey, as an agricultural model of its day. His supervisorship of schools cost him in professional activity far more than the monetary return from the office. He backed every prospect of new enterprises in the town with his time and his money. His life here represented a marked deviation from that of earlier leaders. He was in the fullest sense of the word a community builder, and his death from paralysis at sixty-three represented the loss of a leader at a time when the town's sorest need was men of his character and vision.

Samuel Jackson, whose death occurred on May 25, 1896, was one of the town's prominent men in the second half of the century. He bore a rather close resemblance to an older type, and was in fact the last of the village squires. He was born in Jefferson on May 30, 1812, and came to Waldoboro in 1853 as Deputy Collector of Customs. He served in the Legislature as representative and senator, and was a director of the Medomak National Bank

for many years, and on the side was a good bit of a local investment banker. In fact, by a shrewd use of his capital he became a man of considerable means. His long association with the Baptist Church did not entirely serve to increase the confidence of the common people in one who enjoyed the reputation of being a highly successful man.

At the very end of the century, on October 22, 1900, Deacon Allen Hall died at the home of his son, C. B. Hall, in Belfast. He was the last of the minor shipbuilders. Born in Nobleboro in 1815, he came to Waldoboro in 1840, and purchased the farm now owned by John Burgess on the west side of the river. Due to the golden hue of his hair, he was locally known as "Dandy Lion Hall." In company with James R. Groton, he built the topsail schooner *Martha Hall* on the shore of his farm. Later, in company with Henry Kennedy, H. A. Flanders, and A. B. Austin, he built the *Fannie L. Kennedy*, and another vessel with Charles Vannah. These are but a part of the fleet of vessels in whose construction he was known to have had a hand. For fifty-seven years he was a Baptist and for twenty-seven years a deacon of the First Church. He was a man of simple and consistent piety, and as such a universally respected businessman and citizen.

The necrology of these decades has received an emphasis that is no more than its due because of the importance of these men in the history of their town, and because their passing marked the end of an epoch and the beginning of a period of groping for new leaders and a new economy.

Even though there had been a decided slackening in the economic life of the town as the century was drawing to its close, the fact should not be overlooked that there was a good deal of wealth in the community. Most of the sizable shipbuilding fortunes were well invested and were producing sizable incomes. There was a century of prosperity behind the town and it had reached down into the artisan class, and even to the back-district folk, who had had steady employment at sea and in the shipyards. The savings of these people accumulating over the decades had been handed on to children and children's children. There was a good bit of this capital that in these decades went into new, more commodious, and more comfortable homes. In fact, the center of the town underwent a very considerable development through the building of a large number of new residences and even smaller places of business.

As has been said elsewhere, houses are mute but eloquent witnesses. They tell a story of their own. They represent in physical form the projection of the personality of the builder into a community; they reveal his sense of form or fitness; his pretense or his

humility; his affluence or his need; his pride or his indifference; they measure his view of his own importance or lack of it in his world. To those who know the local scene and love it, each house is a source of wonderment, for in each the joys and tragedies of human life have been played through to a finish. Houses, too, have their hours of beauty as well as their years of neglect, and better than anyone or anything else they reveal to the critical eye the kind of community they are in and the kind of people who live in the community.

Irrespective of present-day occupants the thought of men in the present goes back to a builder and a date, as well as to the chronology of the successive generations which have kindled the hearth fires and lived out their allotment of time in a given spot under a given roof. And so there follows a miscellany of names and dates which will reveal something of the story of the relatively newer homes in the village area, and throw an additional light on the more distant past of a few old houses.

The present Anne Waltz residence at Kaler's Corner was for many years the home of Dr. Colby, one of the village physicians. In 1883 it was purchased by Horace A. Flanders, a shipbuilder, and remained the Flanders home until the death of the widow, Mary Flanders, when it was purchased and occupied by Captain William A. Keene. On Friendship Road, Mr. Orlando Kuhn, an old ship carpenter, built three houses: one now occupied by Earl Spear, another where Mr. Kuhn himself had lived, now Edward Genthner's, and the third, built in 1882, and for many years the home of Tom Kaler, a Civil War Veteran and the local truckman, now owned by Alfred Pinkham. In January 1883 Captain Albion F. Stahl bought the large residence on Friendship Road built by Captain Isaac Comery. It was purchased of Captain J. T. Carter. Built by a captain, it was occupied by sea captains down to the death of Captain Stahl in 1933. Also in 1883, Willard Eugley bought and moved into the old Woltzgrover place under the high ledge on the Bremen Road. The same year Judson Mink, a ship carpenter, a son of Hezekiah and a brother of Dennis, built the home in the Slaigo district subsequently occupied for so many years by Hiram Black. Thomas Hogue, a mason, Methodist lay-preacher, and a familiar and picturesque figure in the village for many years, acquired the Philbrook place on Jefferson Street next north of Soule's bridge, which was his residence up to the time of his death.

In the year 1884 the Sproul barn, an old landmark standing opposite the Post Office, was torn down. It had been built by William Sproul in the early part of the century as one of his set of farm buildings and was on the east of his house which stood

on the corner now the site of Clarence Benner's Shoe Store. This old structure, in fact, dated back to the days before the rise of the village at the head of tide. At the time this landmark was disappearing, another was taking on a new lease of life. The German Meetinghouse had received little attention since the public funeral of Conrad Heyer in the mid-century. In the summer of 1884 it was thoroughly repaired by popular subscription and was "put in shape to last another century."

Two new houses went up in the village area this year. John Keizer built the house on Friendship Road now occupied by Ronald Ralph, and Jesse Willett built the Dr. Coombs house on the Cook lot on Main Street. He was a local furniture dealer and a grandson of Thomas Willett, who came to the town in the first Puritan migration from Abington, Massachusetts, acquired one of the Matthias Römele lots just above tidewater, and erected for himself a log cabin on the river bank in the field back of the John Overlock house.

In 1885 William H. Gleason sold the Captain Willard Wade house on Friendship Road to Charles O. Dyer of Providence, Rhode Island, a commercial traveller. This home had been erected by Mr. Gleason, and was one of the three houses built in the town by the three Gleason brothers.

In 1886 Samuel L. Miller moved the small house from his lot on Main Street to the Washington Road, the first house on the left of the road north of the Atlantic Highway, and on the old site erected one of the more pretentious houses in the town, owned in recent years by Maude Clark Gay.

In September 1888 Captain Frank Hutchins set off land from the Hutchins farm and laid out Marble Avenue, named in honor of Sebastian S. Marble of Waldoboro, at that time Governor of Maine. Captain Charles Keene was the first to purchase a lot on the new street, and in 1891 erected the home now occupied by his daughters, Jessie and Faye Keene. In the same year Lyndon Keizer built his house next west of Captain Keene's. This year two other houses were erected in the village area, one on the North Waldoboro Road, built by Herbert Leavitt, now owned by Walter Sukeforth, and the other erected on Friendship Road by Mrs. Dana and now used by the Methodists as a parsonage. She had her millinery shop in the front room and occupied the other parts as her residence. It was also in this year that Leavitt Storer acquired from Captain Alden Winchenbach the property known at that time as "Castner's Wharf," earlier known as Razor's Point. The purchase price of this site was \$1,500. Subsequently the coal and lumber sheds were erected on the property.

In 1892 Fred Flint broke ground and erected the house on

Friendship Road now owned by Leland Johnston. The same year "Jud Kuhn" built his home on the northeast lot at Kaler's Corner, and Stephen Jones erected a home on Main Street, now occupied by his daughter, Mrs. Albert Riley.

In June 1893 Adolph Waltz, a local furniture dealer and undertaker, broke ground for the home on Jefferson Street now owned by Samuel Weston. The G. A. R. Hall was completed in June of this year, and Moses Richards completed and started operations in his "Pants Factory" on the hillside opposite the Waldoboro Garage. In 1895 Brown Waltz built the home on Jefferson Street now occupied by his daughter, Mrs. Henry Hilton. In 1896 Susan Ludwig and her sister, Lucy Bliss, by purchase brought back into the Ludwig family the old home just above the Maine Central Station. This had been built by Jacob Ludwig *circa* 1790 and had remained in that family until sold by Newell Ludwig, the father of Susan and Lucy, in 1862.

These data on Waldoboro homes have been offered here in the realization that the time will come when they will no longer be available to the occasional fact-seeker except as they are recorded here. The material in the main is of contemporary origin and is largely drawn from old files of the *Lincoln County News*.

The miscellaneous items of village life are matters of perennial interest but difficult to classify. These are such matters as people gossiped over by their firesides or in the village stores. To the historian they provide a local flavor without which his annals would be lacking in characteristic and needed essence. These decades like all others were rich in little things made big by becoming foci of interest and of nail-keg or cracker-barrel evaluation. A few such topics are reviewed here, humble to be sure, but not without their historical and social significance.

The *Lincoln County News*, in the March issue of 1883, noted that "quite a number of our young men have contracted the western spirit." This meant, of course, trending toward the prairies. Again in 1891 it commented at some length on the one-time inhabitants and natives of the town as being scattered all over the United States. These were years of visitors returning to old scenes from distant parts, of deaths in distant sections, of earthly remains returning for interment in native soil — burials nearly as numerous as those of the local population. For well over half a century this exodus had been going on, the best of the town being drained off into more active areas of the country, because the local economy could offer so little to its own born and youthfully bred sons and daughters.

At a meeting on January 31, 1884, the directors of the Waldoboro National Bank voted to dissolve their corporation. This act,

of course, was strongly symptomatic of economic decline, since local business had diminished to the point where it could support only one bank. Suggestive of the same trend was the retirement in 1884 of Thomas Wade, Captain of the packet *Henry A*, which he had commanded in local trade for twenty-four years.

Political life in the town, too, was in its ebb. The old Reed machine had fallen asunder these many years, and the town never witnessed its like again. On occasion, however, the old Democratic enthusiasm would mount to spectacular proportions. The presidential election of 1884 offered the old political tradition a chance to show its erstwhile spirit. In July the nomination of Grover Cleveland was celebrated by the burning of gunpowder and the ringing of church bells until two o'clock in the morning, and the houses of the leading citizens were all brightly illuminated in this old "Gibraltar of Democracy." In the election the town went 426 votes for Cleveland over Isaac Reed's old enemy, James G. Blaine, who polled 257 votes. The *News* offers a comment of interest: "Tuesday we noted the following veterans at the polls. William White, aged 91, was born under the administration of George Washington and has voted in every presidential election since 1814. Charles W. Kaler, the hero of Dartmoor Prison, deposited a Republican vote at the age of 89 years." It was all in vain, however, for Cleveland was elected, and once again the lights blazed in the homes, an enumeration of which would look like a local Social Register. The next day, Wednesday, "Mr. Nicholas Orff appeared on the street in full evening dress in honor of the Democratic victory."

This celebration was a sort of afterglow of the old Democracy. There had been a steady decline in the Democratic vote from the days when it could roll one out close to a thousand. In the national election of 1880 the Democrats had polled 666 votes to 257 for the Republicans. In the gubernatorial election of 1894 the Republicans carried the town for the first time in history, Henry B. Cleaves polling 321 votes to 257 for his Democratic opponent, Charles F. Johnson. This however, was their only victory of the century. On the other hand, the normal Republican vote did not show any increase. In the November election of 1896, in which William Jennings Bryan was not a very popular candidate, the Democrats carried the town by only eleven votes. In the election of 1900 the Democrats polled 384 votes to 242 for the Republican candidate, and this latter vote was just about average for the Republicans throughout the decade. It is true, however, that the political complexion of the town was undergoing a slow change.

One of the great neighboring institutions of these years was the Nobleboro Camp Meeting. The Camp Ground was located in

Glendon in a hardwood grove by the side of the Maine Central track, about due north of the former home of Carroll Winchenbach. The entire area was enclosed by a high board fence, and there was a large colony of cottages on the Camp Ground where the well-to-do families resided during the whole week of Camp Meetings, while the lesser folk made a daily pilgrimage in horse and buggy from the surrounding country, and literally moved in, in floods. This institution was in reality a Methodist project, but everybody was welcome. Here the deeply religious found ample balm for their souls in morning, afternoon, and evening meetings, and the more socially disposed were able to "re-une" with hosts of friends and acquaintances they seldom saw elsewhere. In short, it was a sort of family reunion for the many clans scattered over a wide area. The *News* offers an insight into what the meetings were like in its issue of August 22, 1884, where it observes: "Our streets morning and evenings have been filled with every description of vehicle passing to and from the Nobleboro Camp Meeting," and this we may add was typical of a condition that lasted for many years.

At 9:30 on a morning in October, A. R. Reed launched the largest ship ever built on the Medomak up to that time. This was the *George Curtis*, with a gross tonnage of 1,837 and a net tonnage of 1,745. Gorham H. Feyler was the master builder and the ship was commanded by a local captain, Thomas Sproul. The *News* observed that in this era "the best workmen command \$2.00 a day." It is also of interest to note that that perennial institution, the Pound, was still in full operation, for in 1885 the selectmen fixed the cost of keeping a horse in it at "\$1.00 per diem."

In 1887 J. M. Whittemore sold his photography studio to Edward N. Wight of Belfast, and so it was that "Eddie," one of the most original and eccentric figures of this era, began his long residence in the town in the house now occupied by Harold Rider. A somewhat more impressive event of this year was that the first Waldoboro citizen, S. S. Marble, became Governor of Maine on the death of Governor Bodwell. Mr. Marble in his career held practically every office, state or federal, in Maine. And to him not least, he managed with great pleasure and pride a model farm on the Friendship Road, an area extending from the northern bounds of Ralph Hoffses to the southern bounds of Richard Castner. The Governor's home on this farm stood opposite the Hiram Brown house and burned about a quarter of a century ago at the time of its occupancy by Fred Scott.

The death of William Fish led the *News* to reminisce on the various locations of the Post Office as it changed postmasters from time to time. The first office (1795-1820) was in the store of

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John Head on the west side of the river on the site of the old town house. Following this period it was located on the present Patrick homestead. During the incumbency of Isaac Reed it was on the second floor of a large wooden building on Balch's Corner, and Gorham Smouse, stepson of Isaac Reed, performed the duties. In 1846 the office was in a building on the site of Elsa Mank's store. In 1849 Moses Young took the office into his harness shop opposite the Medomak House, and William Fish located it during his postmastership in a brick building on the site of the Forest Eaton Block. From that location he moved it into the new Federal Building on its completion.

In the year 1891 Charles Rowe came to town from Corinna, Maine, and took over the duties of the Maine Central Agent. This post he held for over forty years, and he is still living today as one of the most respected and best beloved citizens in the town.* Another event of this year was a subject of intense interest and endless local talk. On the morning of September 28th, Edward F. Moore, a shoe factory worker, was found dead in the rear of the Exchange Hotel, at that time a brick building adjoining the present Gay Block on the north. The doctors and the coroner were called at once. A jury was impanelled, witnesses were examined, but little evidence was revealed beyond the facts that Moore was in the hotel around 10:00 P.M., and there was a disturbance around 11:00 P.M. Examination by two doctors showed that the man did not fall from the window, but that he had been choked sufficiently to cause death. There were also internal injuries. It was adjudged to be a case of manslaughter, and the town offered \$1,000 reward to anyone who would produce incriminating evidence. The mystery of the killer remained unsolved and the years passed, but tongues did not cease to wag. Those who knew something of the case became bolder in their talk, and lines of circumstantial evidence leaked out into the stream of gossip. The mass of such evidence convinced so many people that in 1896 the case was reopened, and Henry Soule was placed on trial, charged with involvement in the crime. Public opinion was pretty definite, but the evidence was not complete enough for a conviction and the defendant was acquitted.

In 1892 Waldoboro, true to ancient conservatism, rejected a proposed amendment to the State Constitution requiring that voters possess sufficient literacy to be able to read the constitution of the state. The amendment was not the only casualty of local conservatism in these decades. Road machines and hydrants likewise were having a slow, uphill battle. The back-district folk was well satisfied with roads as they were, hydrants as a village luxury

*Died, November 17, 1954.

only were things to vote down. It was the same story with the Knox and Lincoln Railroad. In 1890 the Maine Central proposed taking over the local road as a branch line. The town instructed its selectmen to attend the directors' meeting at Bath and to vote against leasing or selling the road. Since it was the only community taking this position, the branch line became a part of the Maine Central system and the town received for its interest \$72,000 of the bonds of the Penobscot and Shore Line Railroad, which it was able to sell at par and accrued interest plus a bonus. This capital was applied largely to the reduction of the town debt.

In this year and in the following the town suffered two devastating fires, the worst since 1854. The first of these broke out on the night of April 23rd. At 11:30 P.M., the mill of McIntyre & Son in the area of the First Falls, was in flames before any help arrived. The fire communicated with Boyd's Foundry and White's blacksmith shop. By this time the Triumph and Medomak were on the scene and the fire was under control at 1:00 P.M. But the loss had been heavy, McIntyre's grist, saw, stave, planing and plaster mill was a complete loss. It was valued at \$5,000, and there was no insurance. James P. Boyd's Iron and Brass Foundry represented a \$6,000 loss with no insurance coverage. The blacksmith shop of W. L. White and E. F. Simmons was completely destroyed, and a brick dwelling adjoining the shop, one half of which was owned by W. L. White, was badly damaged by fire and water. This residence was an old landmark. It had been built in the 1840's as a residence by one of the leading and most prosperous citizens in the town, Captain Charles Miller. The original Sproul mill, a part of the McIntyre property, had been built one hundred years before, and the Foundry had been in operation since 1855.

This fire was followed in 1893 by one that was even worse and in the same area. At 11:00 P.M., Monday evening, on the 12th of June, Charles A. Jackson, proprietor of the Riverside House, gave the first alarm as he observed fire coming from the roof of a small stable back of Willett's furniture storerooms. The blaze already had good headway and moved rapidly to J. K. Willett's store and Orrin Achorn's tenement house. The stables of the Medomak House were soon in flames and the area north of lower Main and west of Jefferson Street was in process of being gutted. The Triumph was placed at the Baptist reservoir and the hose led to the Medomak House. In a half hour the machine gave out and the village seemed at the mercy of the flames. By dint of the greatest effort only was the fire held to the Jefferson Street line.

Apart from the business structures destroyed, eleven families were burned out. The total property loss was \$33,500, including

the Medomak House located on the present-day parking lot. This old building, historic in the town, had been in part built by Charles P. Willett in 1854, and was completed by John Edwin Miller, its later proprietor. For decades it had been the stagecoach exchange. All mail and visitors to the town were deposited there and it was the center of community life. The town to this day bears the scars of these fires. In a way the effect was worse than that of 1854, for in the earlier year the town had the capital, the energy, and an object in rebuilding a better village, but in the 90's the town was at the economic crossroads, and its future was not sufficiently certain to entice capital to the venture of complete replacement of the ruined structures. Hence in our own day there is still ample evidence of the devastating force of these conflagrations.

The year 1898 brought a change in the ownership of the local weekly, the *Lincoln County News*. Founded as a monthly in 1873 by Samuel L. Miller, it had grown and prospered under his resourceful editorship, and had become a well-established town and county institution, when the property was taken over by George Bliss. The same year witnessed the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. The village was excited and angered by the dramatic destruction of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor in mid-February, but the war which followed in April was of decidedly minor interest in the town. There was no selective service in those days, and only eight of the younger men volunteered. Considering the scope of the military program in this war, this was a sufficiently generous record. Merrill R. Head, Orchard Sidelinger, Ira Oliver, and Frank Larrabee were in the infantry at Chicamauga, and John W. Shuman, William Shuman, William T. Howell, and Clinton Gross were in the Navy. There were no local casualties, and judging by the degree of the country's unpreparedness, the greatest danger arose among those who were in camp on the home front.

This weaving of miscellaneous data into the narrative quite fittingly comes to an end on the usual conservative note. It is a law of nature that water will run in or seep in nearly anywhere, but in its history Waldoboro has contravened many laws of nature and of man, and water proved no exception. In July 1900 the town rejected again the installation of hydrants, but water was insistent, as it usually is, and at a September meeting the water question, again up for action, was postponed and the selectmen were told to call no more special meetings on this matter.

The most important trend in these years was the scramble after new industries to revive the town's economic life. There was a clear realization that the great days of wooden ships had

passed and that there must be new forms of economic life to provide for the lost prosperity, if the community were not to become an economic backwater. As early as March 28, 1887, a resolution passed by the Town Meeting stressed "the almost absolute necessity of some additional manufacturing business." There was a strong preference for some form of the boot and shoe industry, and a committee was appointed to canvass the situation with a view of interesting such a business. Serving on the committee was a group of the town's leading citizens: Samuel Jackson, Lincoln L. Kennedy, Jesse K. Willett, Francis M. Eveleth, John Burnheimer, J. Tyler Gay, "George Albert" Benner, Edward O. Clark, and Samuel O. Waltz. The committee was an active one. It secured the business, but quite innocently it let the town in for a long period of exploitation. This is how it happened as related by Louis P. Hatch in his *History of Maine*:

During this period — the 1870's to the 1890's — numerous towns had unsatisfactory experiences with a type of person or firm known as "the tramp shoe manufacturer". . . . The practice was common for a town, through voluntary subscription on the part of its citizens, to provide factory buildings gratuitously for a given new concern, and to provide for its exemption from local taxation for a period of years, as well as to accord it other favors; followed by the firm's remaining in the town and conducting the boot and shoe manufacturing business only long enough to enable it to procure the special benefits accruing to it in the early years and then dropping out to repeat the cycle elsewhere.⁴

It was into this type of wildcat enterprise that the committee was drawn. At the April meeting of 1887 it reported, advising that the town provide a building and motive power, and that it grant tax exemption. The town voted to raise \$10,000 for the construction of a factory, and the search for interested parties was on in Maine and Massachusetts. In June 1888 the sucking-in process came to a head. Messrs. Henry & Daniels of Boston were interested in a factory in Maine. They considered Gorham, Rockland, and Waldoboro. For reasons best known to themselves — possibly the bait was juicier — they selected Waldoboro. The town agreed to furnish the necessary building, power shafting, etc., for a term of years. On their part, Messrs. Henry & Daniels were to furnish the capital and insure their best effort to build up a successful business with a minimum payroll of \$1,000 per week, and if under \$50,000 per year for an average of three years, the town under contract could terminate the lease.

The anxiety that had been hovering for years over the town in the matter of its future may be gauged by its reaction to this

⁴III, 672 (New York: The American Historical Soc., 1919).

news. An old-time celebration broke loose when the word came. At 8:00 P.M., Austin Keizer and Elijah Levensaler started a fifty-gun salute on Clark's wharf; church bells rang; a parade was started, headed by Reed's Cornet Band; nearly every residence in the village was illuminated; bonfires blazed in the streets, and fireworks and fire balloons followed. The population turned out *en masse*, and "for two hours and a half the streets were filled with happy people, old and young."

After a careful survey of possible sites it was decided to build the factory on the land of Walter Matthews on the site of a former shipyard. The contract for the building was awarded to J. A. Greenleaf of Auburn, and it was completed in 1889 at a cost of \$31,000. In the previous year the reservoir had been dug in the field of Dr. Eveleth to furnish the factory with its water needs.

At first, the business seemed to proceed smoothly. By 1890 the factory was employing 110 hands; but in 1892 the payroll was \$40,000, a figure substantially below the expected level. The project ran true to form. In June of '92, W. H. Daniels & Co., of Boston, closed the factory and notified the selectmen of their withdrawal. In fact, the factory was actually closed and the machinery was being removed before any notice was received by the selectmen. Popular indignation was as general as had been the jubilation of three years before. The *Lincoln County News* characterized the whole deal as "rather shabby treatment," but it was the customary fate in that generation of those naïve enough to be duped.

In subsequent years the shoe industry operated sporadically in the town. New adventurers took over the business, operated for a brief period under special privilege, and then relinquished the enterprise. The second group of these vagrant operators came in 1894, under the firm name of Evans & Bell. The following year Evans dropped out and was succeeded by Edward O. Clark. Part of the labor in this venture was imported, and it was Italian. A house was built on the river bank south and west of the factory where this colony of Italian laborers was housed. By 1896 the affairs of the factory were causing anxiety, and the creditors were near making an attachment of the property. The rush of these gentlemen to the town led to a careful examination of the business, which showed assets amounting to \$93,044.32, and liabilities totalling \$90,774.50. The margin was a narrow one, but it led the creditors to a decision not to press their claims, but to allow the business to continue. At this time there were 225 hands employed. This was in February. In September the factory closed and the property was transferred to J. J. Smith & Co., of Boston. E. O. Clark seems to have been the principal loser.

In 1898 Mr. T. P. R. Cartland of Portland resumed the game. After a survey of the situation he indicated his willingness to open the factory on condition that the citizens raise sufficient funds to compensate him for moving his machinery to Waldoboro. Such a suggestion, in itself evidence of the dubious character of the enterprise, found the hopeful citizens ever ready, and \$1,000 was raised by voluntary subscription in three days. Cartland leased the factory for a period of ten years and it started operations under the firm name of Jones, Cartland & Co. Like his predecessors Cartland continued operations for two years. Then in December 1900 the machinery in the factory was shipped back to Portland, which two years before had cost the citizens \$1,000 to ship from Portland to Waldoboro. With this episode the shoe business in Waldoboro came to its close. Cartland went to Mexico and there set up a \$500,000 business financed by New York capital.

Through these years when all efforts to establish a major industry in the town proved abortive, only a thin trickle from minor and seasonal enterprises provided the bread and butter of the local economy. Among these was the "Pants" Factory of M. M. Richards. This was essentially a one-man business, with the personality of Mr. Richards its greatest asset. In his prime and under his direct supervision a considerable business was done in jobbing in foreign and domestic woollens, which were turned into ready-made clothing. At its peak the factory produced from twelve to fifteen thousand pairs of pants, and three thousand suits, ulsters, and overcoats per annum. When Mr. Richards' energies slackened there was no one with his initiative, drive, and personality to carry on, and operations came to a halt.

The Waldoboro Packing Company was more persistent. This company was organized in 1888 with a capital stock of \$30,000. The officers were: president, Francis M. Eveleth; directors: L. L. Kennedy, Charles Comery, Gorham H. Feyler, George L. Welt, and E. O. Clark; clerk, S. L. Miller; treasurer, Samuel W. Jackson. The capital was furnished locally and by Portland parties. A start was made by the farmers guaranteeing to provide a minimum of 200 acres of corn, each man signing up for his quota. This was a crop which returned to the grower a gross of from \$50 to \$110 per acre. Peas, beans, fruit, and blueberries were also canned, and an adequate factory was built near the junction of Mill Street and the Augusta Road. In 1891 Luce and Magune purchased the factory which amid many vicissitudes has continued under one management or another down to the present day. In more recent times the business has been transferred to the Winslow's Mills district and here a thriving though seasonal business is carried on.

It was close to the end of the century that the town experi-

enced a minor business boom from its granite deposits. This stratum of rock lay on the property of Edgar Day and Christopher Feyler, one and one half miles north of Waldoboro Village on the line of the Maine Central Railroad. This quarry was first opened in 1860, and was operated for a local clientele in a small way by Messrs. Day and Feyler. The deposit is a muscovite-biotite granite of medium gray shade, and of a fine, inclining to medium, even-grained texture. In 1905 the quarry measured 400 feet N. 52° E. to 52° West, by 140 feet across and was sixty to eighty-five feet deep. Its operation at the end of the century by Booth Bros. & Hurricane Island Granite Company brought a very considerable influx of quarrymen and granite cutters to the town. In 1898 the business was employing one hundred workmen, and these together with their families increased substantially the population of the town and led to considerable residential building, including a huge boardinghouse, in the vicinity of the quarry and the area on the west side of upper Jefferson Street between Route 1 and the Maine Central tracks.

At the quarry itself the rock was extracted and then transported by cart a distance of 1,300 feet (and 120 feet down), to the stone-cutting sheds by the railroad tracks. After fabrication it was shipped nineteen miles by rail to the wharf at Rockland and there it was loaded on vessels for its ultimate destination. The products were used for buildings and monuments but not for polished work. The small sheets and waste were used for paving and road ballast. About 250,000 paving blocks were shipped annually, mostly to Philadelphia. The cut blocks went into the construction of some well-known buildings, including the Buffalo Savings Bank; the Armory, the Boat House and the Midshipmen Dormitory at the United States Naval Academy; the Chemical National Bank; "platforms" for the sidewalk around the Schwab Building on Riverside Drive, New York City.⁵ But like so many industries in swiftly changing times, this one too was soon dissipated by the march of science. Building and paving blocks soon gave way to steel and concrete in the structure of buildings, and to concrete in city streets, just as wood had yielded to steel in the building of ships. With the closing of the quarry in the new century the town settled back into some of its quietest days.

In addition to these larger industries there were a few smaller ones in the town providing occupation for a limited number of hands. Around 1890 Vannah, Chute & Co., were operating three sizable mills — the Medomak Flour Mill (Cohen's Poultry Plant) at Waldoboro, and a grain and lumber mill at Winslow's Mills.

⁵*The Commercial Granite of New England*. U. S. Geol. Survey, Bulletin 708, Wash., D. C., 1923.

The Medomak was a gristmill grinding flour, meal, and feed of all kinds. All grains ground were shipped in from the West. A large wholesale business was thus carried on. Small dealers along the line from Bath to Rockland were supplied with corn, meal, and mill-feed. An annex to the sawmill at Winslow's Mills was the cooper shop where four to eight men were employed constantly in the manufacture of lime casks which were shipped to the Thomaston and Rockland burners. Nearly 50,000 such casks left this little shop annually. These little industries, too, in their turn soon yielded to the monopoly of the Western grain growers and to the deposits of lime rock located more closely to the great industrial areas.

One by one, the little businesses, developed in the town to reinforce its waning economy, disappeared, and the community touched the nadir of its economic life. In the minds of many the dark question rose whether the coast towns of Maine had a future. The whole business and economic setup in American life must have seemed at this time directed against their destiny. To the most discerning it was clear that there would be no future unless some of the major economic currents in national life were to set again in this direction. Artificial efforts to bolster and boost the economy had failed. There was no clear realization that the town, though tiny, was after all a part of a great living social and economic organism, and that the day would come when the nourishing blood of this organism would pour itself more freely again into the sclerotic veins of these old centers and pressure their economic vitality to new levels. Such events were destined to take place in the next century to a reassuring degree.

XLVII

THE LIGHT BREAKS

*The sense of value imposes on life incredible labors,
and apart from it life sinks back into the passivity of
its lower types.*

ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD

THE END OF THE NINETEENTH century saw the turn of the corner in the drab annals of education in Waldoboro. To be sure, the change did not come as a quick illumination from Heaven, but it came slowly and at first with frequent reversion to the patterns of an older day. There was for a while a floundering period, with the town groping for an adjustment to an impinging world in which the tempo of change seemed to be ever accelerating. Many of the changes in the schools were forced rather than voluntary. The shrinking pupil population was compelling the town to consolidate some of its now numerous tiny districts, and to build new schoolhouses in locations sufficiently central to serve changing necessities. It was to meet such needs that the houses at Flanders' Corner and Winslow's Mills were built in 1897 and 1898, the two representing a consolidation of four older and smaller school districts.

There were also signs of a changing psychology in the town in its relation to its educational obligations. Some evidence of this may be found in 1897, when \$500 was raised for a "Free High School," and when, for the first time in the hectic life of this institution, no strings were attached as to location. The next year the same amount appropriated, specified that the school should be in District No. 6 (the village), and for the first time the Superintendent of Schools was elected by ballot in open Town Meeting. William H. Miller, a local attorney, was the first superintendent so elected. It is highly doubtful if this method of choosing the head school official was an unmixed blessing, for annually he was exposed to the spite and grudges of the electorate, and these were always numerous, especially so if the official had been competent and fearless in his administration of school affairs. And so it came to pass that there was a rapid rotation in office on the part of

superintendents. As the earth turned they came and went, Lawyer Miller in 1898-1899; Katherine F. Hennings in 1899-1900; Dr. George H. Coombs in 1900-1901, and Joseph B. Welt in 1901. Here the mad march slowed down for a time and the succession clung to Mr. Welt for a few years, in some degree, perhaps, due to his political adroitness, or perhaps to the fact that he was a representative of the back-district areas and successfully sensed the psychology of his fellow suburbanites. On the whole this method of selecting superintendents, which continued for many years, was an evil second only to that of the old district agent, for it rendered practically impossible the introduction of any program involving continuity into the schools, and it discarded the services of a man as quickly as he may have acquired a little experience and a spot of competence. Clearly the old era of bungling was not entirely over.

Around the turn of the century the high school appropriation was holding around the \$500 level, and the amount raised for "common schools" in 1900 had reached the \$3,200 mark. There was, however, at this time no real consistency in such financial support. It varied according to the mood of the voters, or as times were "good" or "hard." The time of the expert in education had not yet come, and the office of the top school official carried with it small respect. Year after year it was voted that "the salary of the Superintendent of Schools shall not exceed the minimum required by law," but as a matter of meager justice he was allowed \$2.00 extra per diem when he used a team to visit the schools in the outlying districts. In 1901 the appropriation dipped. The high school received \$300 and the common schools \$2,804. From this time on with occasional setbacks, however, the amounts raised for education climbed slowly, reaching in 1904 the \$800 figure for the high school and \$3,400 for the districts. There was also some further consolidation of schools, but this was an issue that could be handled only in repeated tries.

In the main the town voted rather consistently to have schools maintained in districts where the number of pupils was less than the minimum required by law, although it sanctioned no increase in appropriations for the maintenance of such schools. In fact, it was highly satisfied with this thin dilution of education, but even the sheerest stupidity seems ultimately to break over into a sense of awareness of itself, and in a December meeting of 1907, probably made up largely of villagers, a committee was appointed "to reorganize the number of the various schools in this town and submit a report." The warrant of the same meeting carried in article 37 the query "to see if the town will vote to join a school union in employing a Superintendent of Schools." This was the

first step toward a pattern which ultimately was to prevail throughout the state, remove from the hands of amateurs the educational destiny of the town, and place it under the control of men trained in this specific field. It was the beginning of the most fruitful educational policy in the town's history, but at this time it was a rather radical gesture, and the meeting voted to leave the matter to the discretion of the School Committee. This, to be sure, was the equivalent of a death sentence for the measure and so it proved, but it was an idea that would not stay buried.

In 1908 Joseph B. Welt's administration of schools came to an end. This tenure of eight years was a remarkable feat in Waldoboro education, and one that had required real political finesse. His regime in the schools had been a routine one. It was honest and conscientious, but followed the old rule-of-thumb procedures that had been the vogue in the schools since the time when men remembered naught. He was succeeded by Frank A. Perry, a native of Massachusetts, and a man of some academic training. Mr. Perry gave to the schools the customary routine administration, which was all perhaps that the town deserved, as it continued its annual practice of voting that "the Superintendent of Schools receive the smallest amount per diem allowed by law." The only merit in this stipulation lay in the fact that the town had reached the point where it recognized at least the laws of the state. Mr. Perry went out of office in 1914. His short and faltering step in the direction of modernization of the schools may possibly have had an echo in article 20 of the March 1914 warrant, which read: "To see if the town will vote to instruct the Superintending School Committee to issue a pronouncement to school teachers that henceforth more attention be paid to the far-famed three R's." This article was laid on the table. Its only importance probably lay in revealing the fact that that basic decay in education had set in which has reached rather shocking proportions in our own times.

The year 1915 marked a renaissance in public education in the town. From this point appropriations for schools increased steadily with only minor and temporary fluctuations. In March 1915, \$4,500 was set aside for common schools and \$1,300 for the high school. In 1920 the level had risen to \$6,000 and \$1,800 respectively. Five years later the high school was receiving \$2,500. By 1930 the figures rose to \$3,500 and \$8,500. The increase in appropriations has been a steady one down to the present, where the costs of education are the largest single item in the budget of the town. The long cultural lag has ended in our own time.

In this same time-span other basic developments were afoot. In 1915 Dr. V. V. Thompson was elected Superintendent of Schools and was allowed \$2.00 per day plus travel expenses. Two

years later the town voted "to join other towns for the purpose of employing a Superintendent of Schools so as to receive State aid." This move, made apparently under duress, resulted in the first school union, which was with Friendship for a three-year term. Dr. Thompson was elected superintendent of this union for a two-year term with a salary of \$450 per year, of which sum Friendship paid \$150. In 1923 the present School Union No. 73 came into being with Bremen, Nobleboro, and Warren the constituent towns. The Reverend Robert L. Sheaff was elected superintendent with a salary of \$1,850 provided jointly by the towns. Thus the administration of schools assumed the pattern which has continued its fruitful development into present times.

Meanwhile the Old Brick Schoolhouse, built to fit the more primitive needs of an earlier day, was demonstrating all too clearly its inadequacy and obsolescence. Accordingly in 1918 the town appropriated \$500 for "inside repairs." In 1924, \$700 more was raised; a central heating plant was installed and fire escapes were added. This generous gesture in the direction of modernization may have been prompted by the fact that in 1922 a committee of seven headed by Percy E. Storer had been authorized to investigate the feasibility of a new high school building. As usual the town dawdled along over the years with this expensive concept, and five years later, in 1927, it made its first concrete move by voting \$2,000 to start a sinking fund for the purchase of land and the building of a high school. In 1931 two articles appeared in the warrant. Article 17 proposed to appropriate the entire "Town Hall Account" and "transfer the same to a new school building fund." Article 25 proposed that the same account be transferred to "road building." The school builders won and thereafter events moved swiftly toward a new school. In 1932 it was voted to transfer "the overlay account and Bank Stock tax to the High School Building account."

The year 1933 came and the full weight of the Depression was making itself felt in uncomfortable ways, and the town was confronted by many vexing problems. This led in the March meeting to the indefinite postponement of an article "to purchase land, grade it and erect a High School building." At this point the *deus ex machina* was introduced for the happy solution of the little tragedy — or comedy. It came in the person of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and it came so unexpectedly that four months later (July 26) it was voted "that a Committee of Five" be appointed to act with the School Board to investigate the proposition of building a high school building, if advantageous arrangements could be made under the National Industrial Recovery Act. The committee reported favorably and on December 7, 1933, it was "voted to construct a new High School Building."

Another major move, as we have said, in the improvement of the schools was that of consolidation. In early days there had been thirty-one district schools in the town. This was the era when back-districts were back-districts, and families were large. With the shrinkage in population following 1860, the town found itself maintaining a goodly number of skeleton schools, with low-salaried, untrained teachers and a consequent deterioration in instruction. This condition, carried over from year to year, gradually became clear to the blindest. Hence some amelioration commended itself to common sense, but more especially to thrift. Accordingly in the March meeting of 1926 the moderator was authorized to appoint a committee "composed of members of the School Board and six others to investigate school conditions, to determine the feasibility of consolidation and the cost of the same." Thus was the issue raised. But there was plenty of the old inertia on hand, and substantial numbers of those who resisted stubbornly the closing of schools in their districts. For twelve years this issue writhed its way along like a wounded serpent toward the attainment of its goal, with some schools in this period first closed and then reopened by vote of the town. From 1938 on a marked acceleration set in, in discontinuing schools, and ten years later only one of the old district schools, that at North Waldoboro, was operating outside the precincts of the village.

The old district school to which the "districteers" clung so tenaciously until it became a landmark and a relic was at its worst an institution where some learned to read, write, spell, and "figger" in their fashion, and where a considerable minority fell considerably short even of this lowly standard. In the few districts where it functioned at times at its best, it was a center of loyalty and pride, and of considerable social effectiveness in the development of the young. Its day is now over. It has become the legend of the little red schoolhouse. The generations of the future will do little more than wonder smugly what it was like. That its traditions at their best may be preserved in a limited way as one of the landmarks of our past, there is added at this point an account of the closing day exercises traditionally known as "the Last Day of School" of nearly three quarters of a century ago in one of these old schools. The scene is the old Slaigo schoolhouse now the residence of Joseph Butters, a nephew of the teacher at that time. The period is the early 1880's on a certain Thursday in late winter. The writer of this somewhat florid account is Hugh J. Anderson Simmons, the Slaigo reporter for the local paper, whose home was the present Foster Jameson residence. His is the narrative which follows:

SCHOOL EXHIBITION AT SOUTH WALDOBORO

The Winter term of school in the Slaigo district, closed Thursday of last week. This school has been under the instruction of Miss Linda C. Stahl. Length of term 10 1-2 weeks; whole number of scholars in attendance, 12; average attendance, 11. Following is the roll of honor, the names of those not absent during the whole term: Genie Wiley, Frances S. Hollis, Nancy J. Collamore, Dora S. Hennings, Belle S. Sampson, Ina Fish, Inez Fish, Clara E. Hennings, Herman K. Hennings. The prize for not being absent was drawn by Frances S. Hollis. This is the third term that Miss Stahl has taught here. She is an experienced and efficient teacher, and has always given excellent satisfaction. The exhibition on Thursday evening excelled any entertainment that was ever put upon the boards in Slaigo, and we doubt if it was ever equalled by an exhibition in a country schoolroom. At an early hour the schoolhouse was crowded to its utmost capacity, and some were unable to gain admittance. Sampson's full orchestra furnished excellent music. The teacher was kindly assisted by a few of the young people of this and the Goshen district, because the small school was inadequate to furnish sufficient characters for all the plays. The program, which was ably and successfully performed, was as follows:

- 1 – The Greeting Song, by the school.
- 2 – Introductory Address, by Dora S. Hennings.
- 3 – Select Reading by Mimie T. Sampson.
- 4 – “1783 and 1883” by Inez Fish and Frances S. Hollis.
- 5 – Recitation by Kate Hennings, entitled, “My Little Pocket Book.”
- 6 – Recitation by Ella Simmons.
- 7 – Dialogue entitled, “Aunt Matilda and her Nieces,” by Belle S. Sampson, Dora S. Hennings and Nancy J. Collamore. This was nicely performed by each of the characters while Belle S. Sampson as the old lady, could not be excelled by a girl of her age.
- 8 – Song, by Mimie T. Sampson, and Belle S. Sampson.
- 9 – Recitation, by Clara E. Hennings, entitled, “My Favorite.”
- 10 – Drama, “A Thorn among the Roses,” the following being the cast of characters: Mrs. Candor, Principal of Rosebush Institute – Bernice D. Simmons; Patience Plunket – Linda C. Stahl; Lucy Woods – Ina Fish; Bessie Travers – Inez Fish; Jane Turner – Belle S. Sampson; Augusta Stevens – Frances S. Hollis; Maria Mellish – Genie Wiley; Bridget Mahoney – Mimie T. Sampson; Tom Candor – Cyrus Newbert; Job Seeding – Alfred B. Sampson.
- 11 – Select Reading, by Genie Wiley.
- 12 – “Who will be President?” Characters: Miss Jane Juliana Jenkins – Genie Wiley; Mrs. Dorcas Davenport – Linda C. Stahl; Miss Emily Eaton – Frances S. Hollis; Mrs. Fanny Furbelow – Mimie T. Sampson; Tommy Furbelow – Nelson Collamore. This play won the admiration and applause of the whole audience, and the witty retorts of Nelson Collamore just brought down the house.
- 13 – Dialogue, entitled, “How She Made Him Propose,” by Romeo and Juliet. It would be “too utterly too,” to speak of this production, except to say that it brought down the house, and that we feel like some other fellow, since we have had the question popped to us.

- 14 – Declamation, by Herman K. Hennings, entitled, "I wish I was Grown Up."
- 15 – Drama: "Witches in the Cream; or, All is Fair in Love," Characters: Harry Holystone – Cyrus Newbert; Hezekiah Rackofbones – Nelson Fish; George Gayford – Charles Fish; Mrs. Churndasher – Linda C. Stahl; Clementina Churndasher – Inez Fish; Miss Pickspiders – Ina Fish.
- 16 – "The Little Brown Jug," played and sung by Flora Fish, Ina Fish, Inez Fish, Nelson Fish. This was decidedly the richest presentation of the evening. Nelson Fish, who handled the "Little Brown Jug," and played the drunkard, is a born actor, and he was loudly applauded by the audience.
- 17 – Recitation, by Belle S. Sampson, entitled, "The Scholars Farewell."
- 18 – Closing Song, by the School.

The whole program was carried out without a single failure. The whole school, without exception, have done their very best, and the free and easy manner which they appeared upon the stage, without embarrassment, is worthy of commendation. We cannot refrain from speaking in particular of Miss Mimie T. Sampson, Miss Genie Wiley, Miss Ina Fish, and Miss Inez Fish, who appeared in quite a number of different acts and scenes; their graceful appearance, refined accomplishments, elaborate recitations, appropriate and elegant costumes, won the admiration of all present, and proclaimed each a star of unclouded lustre. We are proud of the graceful and imposing appearance of the young ladies of Slaigo, when upon the stage before the public.

ROMEO

Work on the new high school building, authorized by vote of the town at a meeting held December 7, 1933, got under way slowly. The cornerstone was laid in 1935 without ceremony, save that certain papers and photographs were sealed in a copper receptacle and placed in the cornerstone. Among these papers was one which detailed the incidents leading to the construction of the building, and since it contains most of the relevant facts, it is offered here as a portion of this chapter. It follows:

The lot upon which the new Waldoboro High School is erected was formerly the property of the First Congregational Church of Waldoboro and was presented to the town of Waldoboro for the purpose of this building.

The original deed to the church was from Samuel Morse and it conveyed the lot to Denny McCobb, Payn Elwell and Charles Samson, a Committee of the Proprietors of a certain Meeting House "now erecting in said Waldoboro" to be holden in trust for all persons who "now are or hereafter may become Proprietors in and of said Meeting House by paying their amount of their subscription for defraying the expense of purchasing land and erecting said Meeting House." This deed is dated April 13th, A. D., 1820 and is recorded in Lincoln County Registry of Deeds in Book 115 at Page 11.

Although later, many changes were made in the Church, and in the Church Society, the title to this lot remains as it was originally granted with the exception that each of the pew deeds given by the Trustees carried with it an interest in the land and a right of way to the pew.

Therefore, in 1935, when the conveyance was made to the town, it became necessary to bring a Bill in Equity in the Supreme Judicial Court for the purpose of having trustees named to make conveyance. This Bill in Equity was entitled "By Information of Clyde R. Chapman, Attorney General, First Congregational Church of Waldoboro, Maine vs. Property of Waldoboro, Maine, known as the property of the First Congregational Church of Waldoboro, and all Persons Interested Therein."

By virtue of a decree in the above named Bill in Equity, which was signed April 15th, A. D., 1935, a deed of the premises was made to the Inhabitants of the Town of Waldoboro by Emma Trowbridge Potter, Louise Bliss Miller, Josephine Storer, Mary I. Boothby and Mary E. Elkins as Trustees.¹ This deed is dated April 16th, A. D., 1935 and is recorded in Lincoln County Registry of Deeds in Book 409 at Page 28.

The pipe organ, which was formerly in the Church, was presented to the First Baptist Church of Waldoboro and is now installed in that Church. The bell of the Church, which was made by the Paul Revere Company, was presented to the town for the new High School building and is now on that building and is used for school purposes.

The New High School project was first started at a Special Town Meeting held on July 26th, A. D., 1933² when, by virtue of an article in the warrant, a Committee was appointed to investigate various lots suitable as sites for a new high school building and report at some future meeting. This Committee was composed of the following citizens: Victor V. Burnheimer, Percy E. Storer, Sanford L. Winchenbach, Lawrence T. Weston and Enoch B. Robertson.

This Committee reported at a Special Town Meeting held on November 30th, A. D., 1933 on the various lots suitable for the new school building and also reported that under the Public Works Act passed by the Federal Government, the Government would loan and grant enough money to erect a new school building. The Committee recommended making application to the Government for a loan and grant for the purpose of erecting a new High School building. The report of the Committee was accepted and the town voted to construct a new High School building on the Congregational Church lot which was offered to the town for this purpose by the Congregational Church Society at this meeting and was accepted by the town.

The town then voted to borrow from the Federal Government under the Public Works Act the sum of twenty-nine thousand, seven hundred dollars for the purpose of a new school building and a Building Committee of five was elected to act in conjunction with the School Committee in the erection of the building. This Committee was composed of the following citizens: Foster E. Jameson, Lawrence T. Weston, Thomas Brown, Charles Rowe and Agnes L. Creamer. The Superintending School Committee was, at this time, composed of the following citizens: Dora H. Yorke, Sanford L. Brown and Roland A. Genthner, and the Superintendent of Schools was Albert L. Shorey.

At the annual Town Meeting held in March, 1934, it was voted to accept the bequest of five thousand dollars left to the town under the will of Mary E. Storer and to appropriate the same and transfer it to the New School Building account.

The Selectmen made application of the Federal Government for a loan and grant and, at a Special Town Meeting held on August 21st,

¹The last surviving members of this church.

²This chronology of events is not identical with that recorded elsewhere in this chapter, which is based on the Clerk's recording of the minutes of this and subsequent meetings.

A. D., 1934, the town voted to authorize the Selectmen to sign the contract with the Federal Government for a loan and grant for the erection of the School.

The first agreement with the Federal Government was dated September 10th, A. D., 1934 but this agreement was amended on March 2nd, A. D., 1935 and was signed by the Selectmen. This amendment raised the amount of the loan and grant to cover the equipment for the building.

It was later discovered that the town could dispose of its bonds to be issued for the erection of the building at a lower rate of interest by selling them to the citizens of the town, so on application to the Government, a further and superceding agreement was made with the Government for a grant only, which grant was not to exceed the sum of seventeen thousand one hundred dollars. This final agreement was dated June 17th, A. D., 1935.

The town secured the services of Bunker and Savage, architects, of Augusta, Maine, and the plans were drafted and accepted by the town.

After the call for bids, J. R. Partridge of Augusta, Maine was declared the lowest bidder and was awarded the contract. On the 3rd day of June, A. D., 1935 a contract was signed by J. R. Partridge and by Fred Y. Winchenbach, Fred L. Burns and Thomas Benner as Selectmen of the town, for the erection of the building at the base figure of \$49,065.29.

The Federal Government first sent to Waldoboro Engineer Inspector Louis C. Wood and later, in July, 1935, sent Wallace F. Brown in place of Mr. Wood.

Henry P. Mason, Esq., of Waldoboro, was appointed Attorney for the Town and Representative of the Building Committee in the matter of the construction of the School Building under rules of Federal Government.

Work was actually started on the project on June 19th, A. D., 1935 when J. R. Partridge, with a force of men, began tearing down the Church building. It later became necessary to dynamite this building on account of unsafe conditions.

The above data, together with local papers and a few photographs, were sealed in a copper receptacle and placed in the cornerstone of the high school building without ceremony.

The school building was actually accepted by the selectmen on January 15, 1936, but the work on it was not fully completed until late in February, and the building was occupied this latter month. The total amount expended on its construction was \$60,941.62. There remained an unexpended surplus of \$1,934.11, which was turned over to the Town Treasurer and applied to the amortization of the loans. Under this contract Mr. Partridge lost \$62.41.

In the meantime, a valuable adjunct to the building was effected in the Philbrook field, so called, which was presented to and accepted by the High School Athletic Association as an athletic field on October 21, 1935. In subsequent years the Waldoboro Athletic Association and the town by the expenditure of labor and capital has converted this into one of the best playing fields in the district. A further incident related to the new school came on March 8, 1937, when by vote of the town the name Church Street was changed to School Street.

The dedication of the building was held June 25, 1936, in conjunction with the graduation week end of that year. While guests were arriving on this Thursday evening, music was furnished by a chorus of sixty voices from students in the combined schools of the town under the direction of Guy Irving Waltz. At 8:00 P.M., the formal dedicatory exercises began. The program follows:

Prayer	Rev. Horace M. Taylor
Music	Chorus
Greetings from Citizens	William G. Reed, Esq.
Greetings from School	Earle Spear
Greetings from Alumni	Jessie L. Keene
Music	Chorus
History of the Building (compiled by Henry P. Mason)	Supt. A. L. Shorey
Poem (by Henry P. Mason) "The North Church Speaks"	Ruby Miller
Poem (by Henry P. Mason) "The High School Answers"	Olive Piper
Music	Chorus
Address	Edward E. Roderick (Dept. Comm. of Education)
Singing: "America"	The Assembly
Benediction	Rev. J. Reid Howse

It may be fairly said that public education in Waldoboro took on an unwonted vitality on July 1, 1937, when A. D. Gray became Superintendent of Schools. Mr. Gray was a graduate of Columbia University and completed his training for educational work at the Teachers' College of the same institution. Thus he was the first technically trained man to assume the headship of the Waldoboro school system. He was unquestionably the first in this position to realize that education should train the individual to cope successfully with a complex and swiftly changing world, and that to achieve this goal it would have to be based on an understanding of that which is the real essence of contemporary society. Briefly summarized, the educational philosophy of the new superintendent was the following:

Largely through the fast and uncontrolled evolution of science and technology the world is, and possibly will for ever continue to be in transition from a one-time static to a more and more functional form of society. Man's attitudes and points of view have been responding to these fast-moving forces until he no longer regards change as merely incidental to an otherwise fixed form of society, but as the dominant and perpetual characteristic of its growth. These propositions do not mean an interpretation of human society as a blind, squirming organism without shape or direction on the one hand, or a predetermined world

order controlled by a small segment of itself on the other, but a vast unending stream of humanity striving constantly for higher levels of culture and economic well-being. The lack of vision necessary to understand these trends in American society is responsible for the inadequacy of education in many of the rural states and smaller communities, where the needed broad objectives of tolerance, understanding and unbiased and effective thinking in the processes of education have been held in check by the rote-ridden traditions of a state educational ritualism.

To the discerning eye such a viewpoint clearly bears the hallmark of Teachers' College, but it does possess to a degree the power to invigorate. This philosophy the new superintendent sought to work into the thought patterns of the citizens of one of the most conservative towns in one of the most conservative of states. Such an effort on his part provided the proverbial oil and water combination, with which he was compelled to contend for eight years, but he did carry his program far, introducing concretely into the high school curriculum the conviction that the student should receive the kind of vocational training which would best fit him for the field of his aptitudes, abilities, and interests, and, at the same time the cultural training that would lead him increasingly to higher levels of living and of civic participation.

To this end Mr. Gray succeeded, in March 1938, in inducing the town to appropriate \$900 to establish an agricultural course in the school. Other vocational courses met opposition which was, however, slowly and steadily ground down. In March 1942, \$360 was raised for musical instruction in the high school, and the next year, in March 1943, the home economics course was approved. It is doubtful that the cultural part of Mr. Gray's program was quite as successful. After the school had done the work, he pictured the pupil as "able to return to a home environment and family life of his own and of his family's creating, where good books, good magazines, good music and inspiring art abound; where neighbors' children are welcome and an atmosphere of magnanimity and good will prevail." However desirable such objectives may be, we fear that there are few indeed of such modern Edens in the town. Rather than a quick transmutation of his cultural values into family living, he found his program checked by a thick-shelled bourgeois Philistinism, which, as an all-pervasive and well-nigh irresistible trend in American life, is the greatest road-block to any community on its way to educational and cultural progress.

Apart from giving to education in the town a new philosophical goal, the new administration also set before itself a concrete program, some of the objectives of which were already many years overdue. This program follows:

1. The centralization of the schools.
2. Provision for proper housing facilities to precede centralization.
3. Provision for proper conveyance equipment.
4. The adoption of sufficiently high teacher qualification requirements to secure the type of teaching necessary to the attainment of the objectives set.
5. Reconstruction of the curriculum to provide the courses necessary to the objective.
6. The provision of textbooks and other materials necessary to the integration and continuous development of the subject matter and growth of pupil understanding.
7. The horizontal correlation of courses for broadening and strengthening the foundation of subsequent learning.
8. The establishing of as much vocational orientation and training at the secondary level as would fulfill the philosophy outlined and still come within the allowance of the budget.
9. The provision of adequate health and physical education and recreation as a necessary part of the general program.

This in brief was the long-range program laid down by Superintendent Gray when he took over the administration of the local schools. The situation confronting him contained many survivals from the earliest days. There were the new and old high school buildings in the village, and in the rural districts schools were still operating in North, East, South and West Waldoboro, at Feyler's Corner, Orff's Corner, Dutch Neck, Gross Neck, and Winslow's Mills. All these rural schools housed eight grades. The average annual salary of elementary teachers was \$545.09; of secondary women teachers, \$800, and of men teachers at this level, \$1,053. Of the fourteen elementary teachers only four had two years of normal training or the equivalent. In the rural schools the number of daily recitations ran to more than thirty in number each day, which was an allotment of about ten minutes for each recitation, when two recess periods of twenty minutes each were deducted. As was to be expected under such conditions, recitations in all schools were omitted at random. Physical teaching facilities comprised faded globes and a few ragged maps, in dust-covered cases.

Despite this educational lag reaching back nearly a century the new superintendent started his work. Faced by opposition at every novel step, he proceeded as rapidly as he could secure the money and public support. Rural conveyance was reorganized so that there was no duplication in territory served, stimulating intense invective on the part of former beneficiaries of unnecessary service; teachers were required to attend summer schools to improve their teaching skills. The unrecorded conversations addressed to this proposal by people whose daughters or other relatives and political friends held teaching positions would undoubtedly make interesting reading. Other advances included a state-

subsidized course in health and physical education in 1942, reaching all levels from the twelfth grade down to the first; the setting up of a central administrative office in 1937 for the entire union, and shortly thereafter a budgetary and accounting system, a payroll plan, and a pupil recording system designed to yield all the data essential to future needs of the pupil in his school career.

The problem of consolidating all schools in the village was a difficult one. For a time only a partial solution was possible. This comprised the appropriation of two rooms in the new high school building and using them to house all seventh and eighth graders in the town. The fifth and sixth grades, which had been previously housed in a single room in the new building, were removed to the Old Brick School and housed in an empty room on the top floor. Here the consolidating process was halted and destined to wait until the public could be brought to realize the need of a new building. At this moment there came a hiatus in the program of long-range pupil welfare planning. This was precipitated by a chimney fire in 1941, at "the Old Brick," which damaged the building so badly as to make it unfit for further use without remodelling. Then the fact came to the surface that the people were far from ready to countenance a new building, hardly ready, in fact, to face the necessity of repairing the old one.

But the human usually does what he has to do when the consequences of not doing become more intolerable than those of doing. And so it was that after a season of griping in which the sense of outrage had partially spent itself in talk, the voters, in May 1941, appropriated \$10,000 to remodel the building, despite the fact that the architect's estimate had called for \$18,000. This, perhaps, was the last manifestation of the town's ancient reluctance to spend money for education. An effort was made in a September meeting to boost the appropriation. This failing, the work proceeded and as funds became exhausted the town was compelled to authorize additional amounts — \$2,816.94 for completing basic work; \$3,500 for plumbing, heating, and lighting, and then, in March 1942, a further \$1,500 to finish the two upper rooms. When completed the building which in its early history had provided room for twelve grades housed five grades for the whole town at the population level of 1942.

During this fifth decade of the century appropriations for education rose to their most generous levels in our history, augmented, to be sure, by state subsidies and state requirements. Since the state had taken over the certification of teachers, and its bounties were available only to teachers so certified, the standard of teacher qualifications rose and with it the necessity of paying larger salaries to meet such standards. There were many other changes in this decade. In 1940 the Dutch Neck, Orff's Corner,

Hahn and East Waldoboro schools were discontinued, and the Winslow's Mills school in 1948 was turned over for use to a civilian organization with a recapture clause in the terms of the sale.

In the year 1941 the town was the beneficiary of a bequest for educational purposes under the terms of the will of George G. Genthner. Mr. Genthner was born and grew up in what is now known as the James Storer house, directly across the road from the Ada Carroll home on the North Waldoboro Road. As a young man he had joined the local migrations in the 80's to the Massachusetts "straw shops," and located in Westboro. In the fullness of time he became the owner of the factory where he had started as an apprentice and at his death left the sum of \$25,000 to be known as the George G. Genthner fund, the sum to become available on the death of his wife, and the income to be used for "the education of worthy and needy poor children of Waldoboro," preference to be given to those of his old home District No. 11 (North Waldoboro). This bequest was accepted by the town at a meeting on October 10, 1941. A copy of the terms of this will are recorded in the official records of the Town Clerk.

In July 1945 A. D. Gray's term as educational director in Waldoboro came to an end. In the brief period of eight years he had overcome the lag of decades in the development of the town's schools, and he left them on a basis of organization comparable to that of any small-town system in the state. It is indeed ironic that the man who had done most for education in the town in a period of two centuries should have been compelled to step down, but reforms, especially if drastic in character, are usually disturbing to existing privilege and private advantage, and there are always those who set "individual rights," fancied or real, above public gains. By reason of these general principles, applicable everywhere, grievances accumulate, fictions circulate as facts, acts are distorted and the distortions magnified until they become the prevailing force in public opinion. It is in this manner that the effectiveness and influence of good public officials are destroyed, and when in a democracy such a point is reached, a man's work is done. So it was with Mr. Gray.

In 1945 Earle M. Spear succeeded to the office of superintendent. He had been the principal of the local high school since 1927, and had worked with Mr. Gray through the latter's eight years in office. He was a man seasoned in educational work, cognizant and appreciative of the great contribution of his predecessor. He recognized clearly that the necessary pioneer work in the field had been done by Mr. Gray, and that his program and progress lay in correcting crude organizational details and in perfecting the many hasty improvisations necessarily existent in a system so rapidly revamped. Hence between the two administrations there

was no hiatus, no reversal of basic policies, no interruption in the steady educational advance.

Under the present state organization of the public schools Waldoboro is the core town in "Union 73." The periphery area under the direction of Superintendent Spear includes the towns of Bremen, Nobleboro, Jefferson, and Warren. Under the setup Waldoboro, as if mocking her own past, has become something of an educational center, drawing into its high school as tuition pupils a considerable part of the secondary school population of the adjacent towns. This has been of substantial advantage to the town and its school, providing as it does a sizable accretion to the school budget and tying the adjacent towns up to Waldoboro as a trading, banking, social, amusement, and cultural center.

During the last two decades, and as a result of Mr. Gray's radical reorganization, and the wise, carefully planned work of Mr. Spear, the town has reached a position of educational excellence in its schools comparable to any community of similar size in the state. To reach such a status the town has taken two and one quarter centuries. In this chronicle considerable space has been devoted to educational history. This has been unavoidable, for the beggarly state of public education in years past begat a degree of ignorance and illiteracy in the voting population that blossomed forth into attitudes, prejudices, and hatreds which modified and colored the town's entire history. We need but remind ourselves that a century ago there was a school population of 1,661 with only about fifty per cent attending schools of a sort and with the town expending for schools a little more than \$1.00 per pupil. Such a state of affairs created a citizenry in which fourth, fifth, and sixth-grade educations, or less, represented the normal or average level in the town. The consequences of such a condition have been disastrous.

Today, a century later, the school population has shrunk to 470. In 1950 the per capita cost of education in the elementary grades was \$90.19, and in the high school \$140.46. Here there is clearly a difference, for today every child in the town under sixteen years of age is required to attend school, and today the boy or girl who does not follow through and graduate from high school is an exception. In this simple fact one may reasonably discover an augury for an era of greater intelligence, understanding, civic-mindedness, cooperativeness, and cultural development in the decades that are to come. In fact, such a condition is already apparent, and the town in its present-day renaissance may possibly find some of the seeds of its rebirth in its new invigoration of education.



ALVRA D. GRAY



THE UNION BLOCK

XLVIII

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The real trouble is that people here are from birth to death at the mercy of great social forces which move almost like the march of destiny.

ROBERT A. WOODS

AS THE YEAR 1900 DAWNED on the world with its debate between Kaiser Wilhelm II and Theodore Roosevelt as to whether it was the nineteenth or twentieth century, the little town on the Medomak seemed to be on a fairly firm economic footing. At least so it seemed, for a fleet of mammoth five-masters was being built in the old Reed & Welt yard, and the size of these schooners had drawn all the old, able-bodied master workmen back to familiar tasks, along with a good many hopeful novices. In addition, the old granite quarry of Day & Feyler was in full operation, and this had brought a sizable influx of new blood and life into the town. The village streets on a Saturday night, or on any weekday evening, offered a prosperous picture in pleasing contrast to that under a sagging economy a few years earlier.

This prosperity was in reality a transitory and illusive one, for the main tide in the American economy was still setting out and away from the Maine coastal towns. There were also further misfortunes at hand from the old and destructive enemy of fire, by which the town lost its finest business block and one of its few remaining small industries. From my boyhood I clearly recall the morning of June 5, 1900. It was a bright and pleasant morning. As I was making myself ready for school the church bells in the village started their noisy clangor. The sound carried far up and down the valley in the clear and quiet morning, and soon the suburban population was pouring hurriedly into the village to man the pumps on the old tubs. The fire had started in the attic of the Union Block, and shut off as it was from air it burned very slowly downward, but burn it did, and by noon the south and east walls had collapsed into the streets. A steamer from Rockland and a handtub from Thomaston placed on platform cars and rushed over the Maine Central lines arrived too late to aid in averting the

catastrophe. It is clear that where the start of the fire was discovered so early a few modern extinguishers would easily and quickly have checked it in its inception.

The loss of this structure was never made good, for the present wooden block erected in 1902 on the same site by Gay and Matthews was a poor and ugly substitute for a brick building of some architectural merit. The second fire loss followed ten days later when the large two-story wooden structure known as "Steve Jones Sail Loft" was destroyed in a blaze believed to have been of incendiary origin. Since the fleet of Palmer schooners was being built at this time, and the loft was a busy place, the building was immediately restored by the present one-story structure now occupied by the Colonial Craft Rug Company.

The destructive effect of these fires led to renewed agitation among the villagers. The town was now in the twentieth century and possessed no water works, no protection against fire, and no lighting system. The village back-district feud had been weakening for a decade now, but it still revealed some political vitality, and its hand was still traceable in the vetos invariably imposed on the insurgent modernism of the village. On July 14, 1900, the village made its bid in a Town Meeting for twenty hydrants, to cost \$1,000 annually, but the proposition was rejected by a narrow margin. Undismayed and determined, the central area tried its luck again in a September meeting, but here, too, action on hydrants was deferred, and the selectmen were told "to call no more meetings on this matter before the annual meeting" in March.

Over the decades village progress had been a matter of private initiative engaging itself in enterprises over which the voters had no veto. Thus it was that early in the new century the Waldoboro Water, Electric Light & Power Company acquired the Achorn Mill and its water privilege at the Great Falls of the Medomak, rebuilt the dam, installed a turbine water wheel, and in the spring of 1902 was selling its power in the village for electric lighting. It also sought the water franchise and on this point it encountered the customary opposition, whether bona fide or dummy is not clear. But there does seem to have been some movement in the direction of municipal water works, for at the March meeting of 1901, the town voted to instruct its representatives in the Legislature "to oppose the extension of the charter of the Waldoboro Water & Electric Light & Power Company, and to advocate the passage of the Municipal Water Charter on behalf of the town."

Apparently this advocacy netted nothing, for shortly the Legislative Committee recommended unanimously the extension of the charter of the existing company. The town, however, was successful in blocking any action on the part of this company,

and in the meeting of April 15, 1903, the article to allow the citizens to extend hydrants from the Methodist Church to the "Pants Factory" of M. M. Richards as a protection against fire only was lost. The *Lincoln County News* (April 23, 1903) made the following revealing comment: "This article gave the orators from the outskirts of our town a chance. . . . When the question was put to a vote, the back people were a solid body against it." This could have been nothing more than downright malice, for no appropriation was involved, since the village folk planned to raise the necessary funds by private subscription. It is clear that the ancient back-district antagonism was still alive, and since it had the votes it held the high trump, for the source of the water supply was the town-owned reservoir on the farm of Dr. F. M. Eveleth.

There was slow progress even in the face of unreasoned opposition. In March 1905 the villagers were granted access, but "for fire only." This was an entering wedge and the village folk kept hammering. In an August meeting of 1907, most probably with a minimum of back-district folk present, permission was granted to the proposed Waldoboro Water Company to enlarge and use the reservoir, "the town reserving all rights it now has to use water from said reservoir for the factory." But even this vote did not lay all the dust of battle, for at a meeting of December 2, 1907, an attempt was made to reconsider the August vote. In March 1908 the controversy was finally settled when it was voted to permit use of the reservoir to the Water Company "providing it furnish free water to the Factory operating for any purpose."

This act made possible the organization of the Waldoboro Water Company on September 26, 1908, with the following officers: president, Elmer E. Jameson, Sr.; secretary, Moses W. Levensaler; treasurer, John T. Gay, Jr. These officers with the addition of Captain John B. Stahl constituted the board of directors. The reservoir was considerably enlarged and the mains laid in the streets, only to discover that the source was inadequate. In consequence, artesian wells were drilled to a depth of 225 feet on the present property of J. J. Stahl on Friendship Road, and thus a supply was tapped which proved adequate down to the year 1947. This data in itself is of somewhat minor historical moment, save for the fact that it does reveal the strength and duration of that underlying social force, back-district hostility, which has proved a crippling factor in the development of the town down into the present century.

In 1907 another abortive attempt was made to revive the shoe business in the town. Duncan C. Rood of Roxbury, Massachusetts, a superintendent in the factory of R. H. Long Company

of South Framingham, in seeking terms asked for a loan of \$20,000 from the people of Waldoboro, for which security was given and the interest fixed at five per cent. Mr. Rood was to provide \$30,000 of his own capital to open and operate the factory. At a meeting held in Clark's Hall, sixty citizens subscribed \$14,000, and Mr. Rood was invited to come to town and inspect. The factory again swung into operation and at a meeting of April 21, 1910, the town "voted to sell to D. C. Rood of Roxbury, Mass., the shoe factory, lot, engine, boilers, shaftings, pulleys, belts and all other appurtenances . . . and all rights in the shoe factory water system for \$500, providing factory machinery, etc., shall not be torn down or removed from the town." It was also voted to exempt the factory from taxation for a period of ten years. Less than two years later, in March 1912, the town authorized its selectmen to resort to legal processes "to retake the factory from D. C. Rood." Two years after that action the factory was in the hands of a syndicate of the citizens of the town, and taxes were again being abated on the property. This was the last time the structure was ever used for the purpose for which it was originally constructed.

In the history of any community there are always those small developments and incidents which defy integration in the major trends of group life, but which withal remain matters of popular curiosity and interest. A few such are appended here. In February 1904 the Medomak River was frozen over from the village down beyond Bremen Long Island. Teams crossed at the Narrows and moved from Waldoboro to all points in Bremen on the ice. On February 18th this condition had continued for forty days.¹ In March 1906 the town appropriated \$800 for a steel bridge across the lower Medomak. The contract when issued in April provided for a main passage twenty-four feet wide and a four-foot foot-passage. In July 1907 a similar appropriation was made for a steel bridge to replace the old wooden Bulfinch bridge. In the warrant of the March 1907 meeting article 22 asked for the first budget committee, and article 24 sought street lighting in a modest way. Characteristically both articles were indefinitely postponed.

Almost without exception the town has been suspicious of all innovations when proffered and has invariably voted them down. An example may be found in hydrant service, first proposed in 1900 and first accepted in 1909, when the town agreed to ten hydrants at an annual cost of \$50 each. In the same meeting the purchase of a few chemical fire extinguishers was proposed for the first time and defeated. Yet, given a few years and the town would not be without them. Seldom did the conservative spirit of the town crack, but crack it did in 1908 when it voted 396 to

¹*Lincoln County News*, Sept. 5, 1907.

124 to incorporate the principle of the Initiative and Referendum into the State Constitution, and to elect United States senators by direct vote of the people. About tobacco it was not so open-minded. Article 18 in the annual warrant for 1910 proposed that the town offer "an award of \$25 to the farmer raising the best half acre of tobacco." Action: postponed, apparently in perpetuity. Articles for street lights, appearing annually in the warrant since 1907, secured their first appropriation of \$300 in March 1913.

Around the year 1910 there was a new nuisance in the town. An automobile was seen occasionally in the village and on our country roads, to the great consternation of both man and beast. Our society was beginning to emerge from the horse and buggy era. Skittish and rearing horses, wrathful and cursing farmers, a deep sense of outrage in all parts of the town! Something had to be done, "Fast! Fast! Fast!," and done it was. A special Town Meeting was convened on May 10, 1911, and strict traffic ordinances regulating the speed of cars were laid down with a remarkable unanimity. A brief digest of these ordinances follows: When an automobile on Friendship Road reached the residence of Foster Jameson it was to slow down to a speed of eight miles per hour and proceed at that rate to the village; on the North Waldoboro Road the residence of Herbert L. Leavitt (now Walter Sukeforth's) was the place to reduce speed; on the Winslow's Mills Road the residence of Chester Light marked the point; on the Bremen Road it was the residence of Rodney Creamer, and other roads leading in and out of town were similarly restricted.

It is the irony of history that this "horseless wagon" which came as a curse, was in reality a disguised blessing in one respect at least, for more than any other single factor the automobile has dissipated the old back-district and village antagonism; it has made the back-district denizen a villager and the villager a frequent caller in the back-districts; it has brought the back-district children to the village for equal educational advantages and amalgamated them with village children; it has made village industries accessible to the entire town; it has given to fire protection the same value in the back-districts as in the center of the town; it has fused the back-district and the village in a common social life. In short, it has unified the town so hopelessly and damagingly divided for two centuries.

During these years the wage rates in the community were largely determined by the rates paid for work on the highways. Here a man received twenty cents per hour for a nine-hour day, and a man with a double team received \$4.00 for his services. In 1912 the channel of the Medomak River was dredged, it is believed, for the first time in its history. The warrant of March 1913

contained an article to raise \$100 for the purpose of celebrating the dredging. The article in question was indefinitely postponed — perhaps to the second dredging in the years 1948-1949. With the slowing down and gradual closing of the quarry toward the end of the first decade of the century, Waldoboro entered on the slowest and lowest period in its history. The main tide of the national economy was still setting away from the Maine coastal towns. In the period between 1900 and 1910 the town sustained its greatest loss of population of any period in its decline, the 1910 count of 2,656 registering a ten-year loss of 489.

Early in the century Waldoboro had become the scene of a considerable foreign colonization. Happily for the town, these colonists stemmed from one of the fine races of the world, the Finns. In their own overcrowded homeland they knew to the fullest degree the meaning of the economics of scarcity. As a consequence of their national tradition of hard labor for scant returns, they possessed virtues which, once American, had been lost in a large measure by our own people, long accustomed now to a life of less toil and much larger returns. Moreover these Finns were a hard-muscled people, thoroughly disciplined by centuries of the hardest sort of toil as the price of survival. They possessed the will to tackle any dismal economic project with unceasing toil, provided it furnished any promise of a simple and comfortable life.

The first Finn, in all probability, to come to Waldoboro was Oscar Ellison, who reached here in 1898, was naturalized in 1900, and worked in the quarry so long as it was in operation. In July 1904 he bought his farm near the Friendship line in the southeastern part of the town, where he was still living in 1950. In the year 1905, Joel Sutinen with his wife and daughter came and settled in the same section. Soon, however, he sold his farm and purchased the old Creamer farm and sawmill now owned by Herbert Tibbetts. He operated the mill until his death in 1937. His wife, Mary, and daughter, Mrs. Albert Mattson, are still living in Waldoboro. From the turn of the century down to the present a thin stream of Finns has kept dribbling into the town, the earlier ones acquiring farms and settling in that southeasterly section of the town known to the old-timers as Goshen and sometimes as Sodom, but now rather generally as Finntown.

A half-century ago this was generally regarded as the least desirable area of Waldoboro. Deep in the woods, it was isolated, lonely, far removed from the center of life; its terrain was rough, rocky, and uneven, and its soil poor. In former times it had offered little more than a scant subsistence. As the population of the town shrank, this area was the first to be drained free of its inhabitants, leaving an entire section of deserted farms. It was these farms that

the first Finns took over. Since that time they have reoccupied them, restored their productivity by modern methods, and clung to them. I inspected this area in the summer of 1948 and found that a complete revolution had been effected. It was neat and orderly, buildings had been restored and painted, lawns were well kept, and flowers bloomed in profusion; fields had been wrested back from the advancing forests, and an atmosphere of comfort and well-being was everywhere prevalent—a living testimonial to the zeal, industry, and determination of a good people.

At the time this chapter was written (1950) there were well over a hundred people of Finnish blood in Waldoboro. They have long since spilled over the bounds of their original settlement and scattered over the whole eastern section of the town, picking up their farms here and there wherever such might come on to the market. About ninety of them speak the Finnish language. This includes those born in Finland, and children whose parents are both Finns, but even these are for the most part bilingual. In 1932 Arthur and Lydia Autio and their son, Aulis, were the first of their race to settle in North Waldoboro. Within sixteen years this area contained more than half the Finnish people of the town. Nearly all the Finns are American citizens. The second generation still speaks the native tongue, but not as well as English. After the first generation they all think of themselves as Americans and not Finns. Many of the younger generation have been satisfied with a grade-school education and have returned to the life of the farm. Many others are high-school graduates, and between ten and a dozen have gone on to Business College, North Eastern University, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Simmons College and the University of Maine. Their record in peace and in war has been of the best, and in all ways they have proven themselves useful, cooperative, and welcome citizens.²

Since 1873 the *Lincoln County News* had been a welcome inmate in Waldoboro homes. It was an intimate, chatty organ with a thorough coverage of local and county news, and the little human details which gratify harmless curiosity and add savor to the unleavened sameness of country life. George A. Bliss had acquired ownership of the paper in 1898, and after an unsuccessful try at journalism by himself and his son, Edward, announcement was made in 1907 that the paper would be sold. It was acquired by William Murphy and Myrtie Knowlton of Damariscotta, and the publication of the paper was continued, but it was a failing venture, and around the middle of the second decade of the century the last issue rolled off the press and the equipment was sold for junk.

²Based on data made available through the courtesy of Frank Salmi, Esq.

The last item that we have in our files from the old paper is the report of a big celebration in the town on July 4, 1912. This was the last of the old-time village jamborees, reminiscent of the old days of militia musters, wolf-hunts, the Conrad Heyer public funeral, and the centennial celebration of 1873. Throughout the morning of the Fourth, the long line of a parade rolled through the streets; the afternoon was taken up with competitive sports at the old Marble farm, and with boat races. Fireworks of intricate and lovely pattern blazed in and over the village during the evening, and a "Grand Ball" in Clark's Hall brought the great day to a climactic close. One detail from the morning parade is cited here as typical, in the words used by the *News*:

A float representing the News Agency of Clinton B. Stahl made one of the hits of the parade. It was decorated with bunting and in the shape of a throne, on which sat Clinton Burns of South Waldoboro, weighing 400 pounds. He was dressed like the "Boston Globe Man" with tall hat and a belt on which was inscribed "Largest Circulation in New England." This was a particularly bright idea as Mr. Stahl is a news dealer. On the back of the throne was a placard reading "Eat Stahl's Ice Cream and grow fat." This float brought rounds of applause from the on-lookers, which Mr. Burns received with his customary good nature and self-possession.

This little episode is furthermore a reflection of one of the town's beloved citizens of these days, C. B. Stahl, whose invariable gayety, broad and spontaneous humor, and genial hospitality to hosts of people in eastern America was a fresh and endearing quality in village life down to his death in December 1948.

In the mid-period of the second decade dark clouds were beginning to lower over the European world. On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, was assassinated by a Serbian at Sarajevo, Bosnia. This was the end of the fuse which reached down into the powder barrels of the world. The match had been applied. There were certainly few indeed among the simple folk of the little Medomak town who could sense the full implications of this far-away episode, and realize that the clouds would spread and spread until their own green, quiet valley would be a tiny part of a darkened world.

Events followed one another in swift succession. Austria declared war on Serbia; Russia mobilized to defend the Slavs of the Balkans; on a fateful August 1st, Germany declared war on Russia; France, Russia's ally, mobilized, and Germany swept through Belgium to deliver a knock-out blow to France before Russia could bring her unwieldy mass into action. England, a guarantor of Belgium's neutrality, entered the struggle on August 4th, and the First World War was under way. President Woodrow

Wilson at once proclaimed the United States a neutral, but neutrality could not keep the war of propaganda away from America's shores. The land was literally deluged with it; the inevitable horror stories and atrocity tales gradually became fixed convictions in the mind of credulous America. The German violation of Belgium neutrality had slanted opinion strongly against her case, which was in part counteracted by British insistence on the search of American ships. Then came unrestricted submarine warfare, and on May 7, 1915, the torpedoing of the big British liner *Lusitania* in the Irish Sea, with a loss of 1,200 lives including Americans, some of whom were prominent citizens. The reaction was instantaneous and the sense of outrage well-nigh universal. President Wilson kept his head and in a series of brilliant and vigorous notes to Germany effected a degree of respect for neutral cargoes on the high seas, but, stalemated on the French front, Germany announced her resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1, 1917. American ships were sunk and American lives lost. This was the last straw. On April 6, 1917, the United States entered the war and within a year 2,000,000 American soldiers were on the battlefields and in the trenches of France, and this force included over one hundred young men from this town. The struggle that started at Sarajevo in Bosnia had reached Waldoboro in Maine.

This was the first major war involving the United States in over half a century. Since it had started in Europe in 1914, a clear pattern of conflict had developed, and America knew from the beginning the exact type of warfare for which she must prepare. In every state, city, and town, big and little, the procedure was well-nigh identical. France and England in three years had been bled white, and need was for American manpower on a large scale to administer the final, crushing blows to the Germans. This need was met by the draft, a system of selective service, whereunder all males in 1917 between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one, and in 1918 between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, were registered. A man's call to service was determined by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, who, with a blindfold over his eyes, drew numbers from a "fish bowl."

This time there was no escape from the draft by the hiring of substitutes. Fair and impartial though the method was, no American liked such compulsion, and in Waldoboro, as throughout the country, there were plenty of soreheads and gripes. Mothers objected to their sons being called, but once a son was called his parents showed small sympathy to their neighbors who protested their sons being called. "Your Jim is no better than my John," was the unanswerable argument. It was much like a swimmer hesi-

tating on the brink of a cold pool. Once he was in with other neighbors' sons, peace and harmony were restored. There was no open protest in the town, only private sputtering. The local board of the draft was headed by Fred Scott, and Dr. G. H. Coombs was the examiner; draftees were inducted at Wiscasset, the shire town of the county. The first enlistment from the town was Roland L. Black (April 10, 1917); the first inductees under the draft (September 18, 1917) were Frank L. Duffy, Linwood V. Castner, and Astor J. Winchenbach.³ Under this method an army of 3,500,000 men was trained, and 2,000,000 of these saw service in Europe.

It was in this struggle that Waldoboro first learned the meaning of total war. Everyone was called on to contribute through the armed services, industrial jobs, Liberty Bonds, Liberty Gardens, or Red Cross. There were few indeed in the town, who, in one way or another, directly or indirectly, were not veterans of this struggle. Liberty Loan Drives came in swift succession — six in all, and in the first drive there were definite difficulties and prejudices to overcome, for to the mass of people in Waldoboro the whole question of investing in "securities" was a book with seven seals. When my uncle, Captain J. Astor Keene of Bremen, appeared voluntarily at the Waldoboro Bank at the beginning of the first drive and purchased \$5,000 in bonds, it created something of a sensation in the town, and many held him to be of dubious sanity, for by and large the town in these days knew of but two savings institutions, the savings banks and the old straw or corn-husk mattress.

In view of this attitude there was plenty of work for "the Four Minute Men." These, led by Dr. George H. Coombs, carried the campaign of education to all households in the outer areas of the town. At a later date Dr. Coombs expressed his amazement at the amount of money that came forth reluctantly from mattresses to be exchanged for Liberty Bonds. In each drive the town was able to meet its allotment, for behind each drive there was a good angel in the person of John Jacob Cooney, who gave the quiet assurance that he would buy any unsold portion of any allotment. These drives were further facilitated by a certain uneasiness. There were a goodly number in the town overcome by the certainty that sooner or later the Germans would appear and take over everything. In fact, it required a good deal of patience on the part of the cashier of the local bank to make clear to anxious depositors that monies on deposit there faced no risk in this regard.

³Letter Adjutant General of Maine to me (March 4, 1949).

On the local front the drive for cooperation was vigorous and constant. When it became necessary to divert great quantities of food to England and France, the people promptly met the deficit in their own fare, caused by this drain of foodstuffs, by raising their own food. Nearly everyone locally turned a hand to a Liberty Garden, and while some of these truck patches produced more weeds than vegetables at harvest time, the most of them were faithfully serviced during the growing season, and vast quantities of food were canned and stored in the cellars, along with roots of every description. There was, indeed, little waste. I can recall among other things that my own father was one of those who planted wheat, and in one season harvested about twenty bushels for family use. This was done to meet the shortage of flour, for under the existing rationing system each family was compelled to purchase a pound of substitute for every pound of flour bought. In all ways people sought to produce those items representing a shortage in the national economy, and so it came to pass that most of the rock maples in the town were compelled "to do their bit," and many a family sweetened its tea or coffee with maple sugar or syrup.

Mr. Van Buren Hagerman devoted full time to these multifarious activities, but the real spark plug was Dr. G. H. Coombs. He was everywhere heading nearly every movement, in a word, the commander in chief of the home front. Under his direction the local Red Cross Chapter was a veritable beehive. Here Dr. Coombs was assisted by Maude C. Gay as secretary and Hadley H. Kuhn as treasurer. The M. M. Richards' Pants Factory was the headquarters, and from this tiny center bandages, ditty bags, service kits, socks, sweaters, mittens, knitted helmets, in short, everything needed to minister to the men in the field, in life, in sickness and in death, was dispatched profusely to a thousand points of need. Pageants and plays were put on to provide funds, and in one of the war years the local chapter raised \$1,500 in money alone. In the homes everybody who could knit knitted, and those who could not learned how. The yarn was issued by Dr. and Mrs. Coombs. Even the schools were organized for service, and this Junior Red Cross was an active and productive adjunct to the main Chapter.

There was, of course, a rise in living costs, but nothing comparable to that of the Second World War. Commodities that could be purchased with one dollar in 1914 cost \$1.57 in 1918. This was the high point of inflation. A few scarce commodities such as sugar were somewhat higher, and local farmers sold their eggs as high as \$1.20 a dozen. Wages rose to 192 over the 1914 figure of 100, and labor was conspicuous in its customary wartime

fashion, there being 4,000 strikes in the year 1917. The restrictions on individual liberty in the community were cheerfully accepted, and the meatless and wheatless days were generally and faithfully observed by families throughout the town. This was, in fact, the first of America's major wars in which there was no sizable group of dissidents in the area.

The total casualties coming out of America's participation in the conflict were 111,422, or about one casualty for every thirty-one men in service. The loss of life among Waldoboro youth was just about average for any American town of this size. The local service flag crossed Friendship Road between the Sproul Block and S. H. Weston's Hardware Store, and in its field gold stars commemorated the town's honored dead. This gold star honor roll was made up of the following:

Ernest B. Deymore. Enrolled: U.S.N.R.F., Bath, October 31, 1917. Seaman. Served as Section Commander, Bath, October 31, 1917 to January 24, 1918; U.S.S. *Cobra*, Bath Section January 24, to March 31, 1918. Section Commander, Boothbay Harbor, March 31 to June 12, 1918. Died Naval Hospital, Chelsea, Mass., September 18, 1918.

Maurice B. Eugley. Inducted at Wiscasset, April 1, 1918; Private, 22 Co., Bn. 151, Depot Brigade, to April 15, 1918; Co. H. 304 Infantry to July 31, 1918; Co. K., 163 Infantry to August 7, 1918; Co. A. 39 Infantry to Hq. Co., 304. Killed in action, September 26, 1918.

Charles C. Lilly. Inducted at Wiscasset, April 1, 1918; Private 1st Cl., 22 Co., 6 Trng. Bn. 151 Dep. Brigade to May 1, 1918; Co. K., 39 Infantry to July 19, 1918; Aisne-Marne defensive Sector. Killed in action, July 19, 1918.

Samuel Shuman. Inducted into service at Portland, Maine. Private in the 55th Field Artillery. Killed in action, September 26, 1918, in the Meuse-Argonne offensive. Remains brought back from France and interred in the Benner Cemetery on the North Waldoboro road.

When the local American Legion Post organized here in 1939, its establishment commemorated the name of one of these local boys who fell on a battlefield in France. Charles Castner Lilly was an exceptional human; exceptional in his mental and character endowment, exceptional by reason of his highly trained and educated faculties, and exceptional because during his entire young life his rare powers had been dedicated unselfishly to the promotion of human welfare without thought of financial reward or personal prestige. The conditions surrounding his death are recorded here by his lifelong friend as a monument to his superb distinction and as a permanent memorial to a life of such promise that made the final surrender so young. They are also justified historically because of the brief inside glimpse which they may

furnish of life on a transport, of training at a military center in France, and of actual battle conditions in modern war. Twelve days after Charles C. Lilly fell in battle the chaplain of his unit in France sent the following letter to his family in Waldoboro:

Somewhere in France
July 30, 1918

Mrs. Frank L. Boothby,
R. F. D. No. 3,
Waldoboro, Maine

My dear Mrs. Boothby:

One of my duties as Chaplain is to superintend the burial of our heroic dead. And yet even though painful, it is a privilege.

Heroes live forever. This war is necessarily appalling for its toll of human life. It cannot be otherwise. One can read upon the faces of these heroic French a story not written in books.

They have suffered, oh so patiently, and are still suffering. We Americans will also show our true American spirit.

Our first battle was one to be remembered. Nothing could stop our gallant troops. They charged the enemy, driving him before them.

This regiment was cited for conspicuous bravery in action, a citation well deserved. Your brother was numbered among the gallant dead. He is honored by his officers, his comrades, and all who love the principles for which we are fighting. I hope you will not think of him as dead, but rather living in the hearts of all who knew him.

As Chaplain of this gallant regiment, I extend to you my sympathy, not as a matter of form, but from my heart. May the good God help you to bear your loss with patience. Remember as you think of him that he died in a cause that will eventually make the world safe for all liberty-loving peoples.

Very sincerely yours,
James R. Shanks
Chaplain, 1st Lt. 39 Inf. A. E. F.

Nearly one year later Mrs. Boothby received a letter from one of her brother's comrades in action, who gave her in some detail the story of Charles C. Lilly's last months and days as an American soldier. Sergeant Knudsen's letter follows here in full:

Company "K" 39th Infantry A.E.F.
Sinzig, Germany
June 12, 1919

Mrs. M. I. Boothby,
Waldoboro, Maine

Dear Madam:

Your letter inquiring as to the circumstances attending the death of your beloved brother, Charles Castner Lilly, was received by the Company Commander today, and as our present Company Commander was not with this company previous to the time of your brother's death he referred your letter to me. I consider it a privilege to give you all the information that I possess concerning your brother's death.

Although your brother was a member of this company for only a short time, we had all learned to love him, and he held a very dear place

in our hearts. He joined this company only a few days previous to our departure from Camp Mills. We sailed for France, May 10, 1918 and were on the water for thirteen days arriving at France, May 23, 1918. During our trip across he spent his time doing everything possible to keep the boys in good spirits. He was a great asset to the company morally, and evenings the boys would gather round him while he would read and explain to them from the Scriptures, being a great lover of the Bible, and took a big personal interest in the moral welfare of the men.

After we landed at Brest, France, we proceeded to Benzingham, France, via Calais, arriving at Benzingham a little better than a week, during which time we went through some very intensive training, that we might be better fitted for the action we were so soon to see. During our training at Benzingham, Charles spent all his spare moments, which were very few at the time in teaching the men the French language. He always seemed to be the happiest when he could be doing some good for the boys, and was very much loved by every one.

We left Benzingham June 8th and hiked to Acy, France, arriving there on June 15th. We remained in the vicinities of Acy until July 15th, during which time we continued our intensive training. During all this time your brother continued his good work and was a big factor in keeping up the morale of the men. We left Acy July 15th, and hiked to the front lines.

July 18th we went over the top for the first time and it was a day I will never forget. We were attached to the French and were cited by them for the gallant part our Company and regiment played during that day and the few days that followed, and played our part by driving the Germans back and beginning the German retreat that did not stop until the armistice was signed.

During action your brother was a very cool and brave soldier, always upholding the fighting qualities of the American soldier. He would have loved to live through this war, for it would have meant a great deal to him, as he said this to me while we were training with the French before we went into action the 18th day of July.

During the morning of the second day we were in action July 19th, your brother was shot through the brain by a machine gun or sniper's bullet and died instantly. At the time he was shot he was in a kneeling position and was cleaning or fixing his glasses. It happened so quickly and we did not think that we were in a dangerous place, as the front line was being held up by heavy machine gun fire. He was one of the first men from this company to make the supreme sacrifice. His death was mourned by all, as he was much loved by all the officers and men.

After July 19th we kept advancing for another day until we were relieved by the French, the morning of the 21st. We suffered heavy casualties during this action and encountered as heavy fighting as we saw at any time in the battles that took place later. This battle is called the Aisne-Marne Offensive and is also referred to as the Second Battle of the Marne. During this battle we reached all of our objectives and succeeded in capturing several towns. At the time your brother was killed we were situated in an open field a short distance from Chouy, France. He was buried by Chaplain James R. Shanks of the 39th Infantry in a field one eighth of a mile north of Chouy, France, and one hundred yards from the main road.

Personally I do not know of any one who was wounded and returned to the States that lives in your vicinity, and that was acquainted with your brother and went into action on July 18th. However, I have

no doubt that there might be such a person that does not live a great distance from you, as so many of our men were sent to the hospitals and never returned to the Company. At present there are only about seventy of the old men left in the company out of the two hundred and fifty men who arrived in France with us. Our Company has seen many hard days of fighting, first on the Aisne-Marne, then the "Vesle," "St. Mihiel," and the "Meuse-Argonne Offensive." At the present we are stationed in Germany doing guard duty and fatigue work, and look forward to an early return to the States, that is, if peace is signed.

Hoping this letter will give you all the information that you desire and wishing to extend my sincere sympathy to you for the loss of your brother and whom I love to remember as a very dear acquaintance, I am

Sincerely,

(Signed) Sgt. Ole Knudsen

No list of the Waldoboro men of World War I has ever been compiled. This is by no means a simple task. The records of the Adjutant General's office in Augusta are complete, but only for those men who were inducted into service in this state, while actually men who were born and grew up in the town entered service from many states. The records of these men could be secured were their names and places of induction known. Without such data the search is as vain as seeking a needle in a haystack. In compiling the list all known sources and individuals have been consulted. The aim of the local roster has been to include all those known who were inducted from this town, and all veterans inducted elsewhere who since the war have become permanent residents in the town. With these objectives in view the roster has been completed and is attached as an appendix at the end of this volume.

World War I ended with the signing of an armistice by the Western and Central Powers on November 18, 1918. The news reached Waldoboro around two o'clock in the morning. By breakfast time the word had spread throughout the town, and Waldoboro joined all the other little towns and big cities in a nationwide jubilee. The strain had suddenly ceased; the shadow of death was lifted from over many firesides; the entire country relaxed. In Waldoboro church bells rang throughout the day; a big ship's bell was brought from one of the shipyards and set up on the corner outside Gay's Store. Everybody who passed took a hand in keeping it clanging intermittently throughout the day.

When night came, homes throughout the town were illuminated, and while the lights blazed from doors and windows, there was a spontaneous demonstration in the streets. Long lines formed, fell into parade formation, and coursed through the streets headed by Dr. G. H. Coombs. His appearance at all points was the signal for applause and cheers, for he was generally and gratefully acknowledged as the field marshal of World War I on the

home front. America had entered this great struggle as a crusade "to make the world safe for Democracy." It ended in a firm conviction that the trials of mankind were over. In the retrospect of lapsing decades has come the sad realization of how illusional was this hope. The epitaph of the struggle might well have been written in the bitter words of the prophet, Micah: "Thou shalt sow, but thou shalt not reap; thou shalt tread the olives, but thou shalt not anoint thee with their oil."

All was not war in the war years in the town. Out of the ceaseless activity and ferment of this period a large surplus of energy was generated which, among other things, was successfully channelled into a Public Library Association. To this end there had been sporadic attempts during the preceding century, and for brief periods loan libraries, circulating libraries, and reading clubs had sprung up, had their day, and withered at the root. The library which came into being during the war years has endured. It is noteworthy in this once conservative town that every forward step in its cultural life has come to pass through the interest, energy, and vision of one, or of a small group of individuals. The present library was no exception. The main driving power was furnished by Ernest A. Glidden, ably seconded by Dr. George H. Coombs. The plan apparently was first proposed and discussed at a banquet held in the Oddfellows Hall late in 1916 or early in 1917. The Association actually came into being at a library luncheon held in the vestry of the Baptist Church on February 17, 1917. The first officers were: president, George H. Coombs; vice president, Ernest A. Glidden; treasurer, John M. Richards; secretary, Hadley H. Kuhn; trustees: Gertrude Coombs, Mrs. E. A. Glidden, E. A. Glidden, Hadley H. Kuhn, Alfred Storer, Charles W. Wallace and George H. Coombs. A fund of \$430 was raised, and steps taken to secure incorporation.

From its beginning the library was located in its present room and the first librarians were volunteers. Of these individuals serving without pay, Mrs. Lucy Bliss was notable in her generous contribution of time. In February 1919 the library had gained sufficient public support to secure a paid librarian, and Anne Gay served for \$170 per annum. In 1920 the circulation of books was 3,735, which had risen to 5,629 in 1926, the end of Anne Gay's period of service. She was followed by Ella L. White as librarian and Sarah Lash as substitute librarian. In recent years the library has been the beneficiary of public-spirited people, not only in gifts of books but bequests in wills. Such latter donations have come from the Charles C. Lilly Memorial Fund, and from Charles E. Ewell, James S. Walter, Lena Heron, Edna Young, and Elizabeth Poor. In 1928 the library's present home, the Willett Block,

was purchased by the Association, and in 1930 Sarah Lash became librarian and in her long service has successfully built up a wide reading public. At the present time the annual circulation averages around 11,000 volumes with a maximum of 13,000, and the library stands at the peak of its interest, popularity, and public support.

In these early decades of the twentieth century Waldoboro was certainly not yet on the move economically, but in other, smaller ways it was taking up its cultural lag and following the trails blazed in the larger world in modernizing and adjusting itself to new practices and procedures. It is invariably true of our history that there has been little in our collective life that has been accepted when first proposed. We were slow in coming to a hard surface road in the village, and once that step was taken, we could not quite accept the necessity of keeping that surface clean. In the March meeting of 1915 a \$200 appropriation for a clean village street was laid on the table. A year later Dr. George H. Coombs and twenty-five like-minded citizens, moved by health considerations, succeeded in getting an appropriation of \$150 for this purpose.

Once a practice has been accepted and initiated the issue is usually settled, for it then becomes a part of our sanctified past. In 1916 Ernest Glidden and others were able to secure a modest appropriation of \$100 for the library, and this too became an accepted part of our annual fiscal procedure. In 1917 the services of a medical officer in local schools with a compensation of \$50 was rejected, but come it did ultimately and unquestioned it has remained. In 1919 the present town seal, prepared by the selectmen, was approved, but this was not the case two years earlier with the constitutional amendment providing for woman suffrage. This was too radical a morsel for local conservative taste, and it was rather emphatically rejected by a vote of better than three to one, the exact vote being forty-six in favor and one hundred and forty-three opposed. On the day when the polls in the state were first opened to women, Maude Clarke Gay took her stand at the ballot booth before the arrival of any other voters, male or female, and became the first woman to vote in this town's long history.

At the close of this second decade the town's waning economy received another shock. In 1909 Isaac Gardner Reed had opened a shirt factory in the quarters now occupied by the store of William Brooks. Here at one time there were fifty hands employed in the manufacture of work shirts of blue chambray, of black and tan drill, and printed percale. In 1920 this little enterprise was closed, another small business sacrificed to the machine

and mass production of the great centers of population. The man of thoughtful foresight living in the 20's must have often wondered whether the small town economically was not a withered twig on the great branching growth of American free enterprise, and whether the future might not be a slow, lingering, economic death.

It has been repeatedly stressed that in the 1870's, when Isaac Reed through age became indifferent to politics, the political face of the town started on a slow change. When Reed ceased to exercise his potent magic, machine cohesion weakened. Death slowly laid low his lieutenants and their faithful following. Only the binding force of a once powerful tradition remained. This had been so strong that its waning power continued on for half a century. The Republican vote did not increase as markedly as the Democratic vote slowly decreased. Through the first decades of the twentieth century the Democrats led with a regularly consistent margin of 150 votes, the vote fluctuating in both parties according to the popularity of the candidates. The closest approach made by the Republicans in a state election to the Democratic majority was in 1918, when it fell short by a margin of ninety-seven votes. In 1904, due to the great popularity of Theodore Roosevelt, he had received fourteen less votes than his Democratic opponent. In 1908 William H. Taft was only ninety-two votes behind William Jennings Bryan; in 1912, in the three-cornered race, Taft polled sixty-eight votes; Roosevelt, 147; and Woodrow Wilson, 358.

The first Republican sweep in the town in both a state and national election came in 1920. War weariness, the desire for change, disapproval of Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, and the petty grievances and grudges accumulated against the Government during the war years led to the inevitable upset. In the September election the Republicans polled 501 votes to 376 for the Democrats. In November the town gave 425 votes to one of the weakest of American Presidents, and 229 to his Democratic opponents, James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt. This result was in line with a pattern of voting that was common to this election throughout the nation. This vote should not be construed to mean that the town thereafter was Republican, but it did mean that an ancient tradition, after many years of weakening, had at last been broken, and that Republican power was waxing as that of the Democrats waned. It was not until the 1930's that it seemed to have reached a definitive ascendancy in the political life of the town.

XLIX

THE DECADES OF REBIRTH

To prepare the Society of tomorrow we must first grasp the reality of today.

ALEXIS CARREL

THERE ARE CERTAIN GAINS that undeniably accrue from having history written by those who are contemporary with its unfolding events, and who move with it on the tide of its blind inexorableness. Whither that tide trends no man knows, and he embarks on a hazardous enterprise, indeed, who presumes to foretell those "grains" which will bear either good or evil fruit in an unforeseeable future. There are some things, however, that the historian dealing with contemporary life can do, which can be done by no one at a later date. He can endow events with a wealth of accurate detail, evaluate the background from which they evolve, and truly picture the clash and struggle of forces which either block their birth or bring them into being. Hence it is probably the part of wisdom that the life of his own time should be cast by the historian in the form of annals, along with an analysis of those forces which give shape to events through their origins. This and little more will be undertaken in this chapter which involves a coverage of Waldoboro history in the third, fourth, and fifth decades of the present century.

The creeping anemia which had afflicted the economy of the town from the decline in the building of wooden ships reached its deepest point of acuteness in the 20's of the present century. This fact was reflected in all respects of community life. At the end of the decade in 1930 the population had reached its lowest ebb in the long decline that had set in after 1860. In this census it numbered 2,311 and the drop of 115 since 1920 showed that the town did not possess sufficient economic vitality to meet the needs of its own birth rate. In seventy years it had lost approximately one half of its peak population reached in 1860. Its standard of life was one of plain comfort, but not of prosperity. The town's one major industry was a button factory. This was supplemented by

a number of small industries, each employing a few hands. The fisheries were undeveloped, the blueberry and poultry industries were operating only on a limited scale, and the remaining income came from some diversified farming, and from a goodly number of fortunate families who were living wholly or in part on the income derived from invested capital.

All in all, it was a quiet, serene, but unprogressive life. There was little real poverty, and such as there was, was met by appropriations for the support of the poor, averaging \$2,200 through this decade. The town supported its needs and followed a program of limited physical improvements on a budget of less than \$40,000 — a sharp contrast with a budget of \$100,000 twenty years later. There was progress, not the progress of a money-lush community, but the slower progress of a town developing within the area of its limited fiscal resources.

Through the slow years of this decade the fast-changing outside world was providing the pattern for improving the physical life of man. The community was alert to these changes, and one by one incorporated them into its own standard of living. It consistently increased its support of education; as early as 1922 it began to play with the idea of a new high school building; in 1921 it sought to purchase "the Moose Lot" for a new municipal building, a move which lost out, but the idea lived on, and in 1925 it agreed that "all monies that may accumulate in the Overlay Account and from the State Bank Tax be added to an account to be designated as a fund to build a suitable Town Hall." By 1931 the new high school idea had developed to the point where the voters generously agreed "to appropriate the entire Town Hall Account and transfer the same to a new school building fund." It was also in this decade that hydrants, and to a limited extent the lighting of streets, became fixed adjuncts of community life. In 1924 the town was ready to insure preservation of its records, and to this end the sum of \$200 was appropriated. Twelve years later the idea had reached its full maturity in a sizable fireproof vault in the new high school building, and the town voted an additional \$500 for the construction of this vault.

It was clear that the community was becoming more conscious of the values inherent in its past and of the responsibilities in its present. A point reflecting this changing attitude is the "Broken Shaft," a monument to its war dead in the lovely little memorial park on the west bank of the river. This idea originated with an alert and loyal Waldoboro-Boston Club back in the early 20's, and on its solicitation the town in 1925 voted "to raise \$1,000 to supplement the fund of the Club for a suitable memorial to the Soldiers and Sailors of our wars." With this money the present

park lot was purchased — an area extending from Medomak Terrace Road on the west to the river on the east. The slowly progressing plan was checked by the Great Depression of 1929, when the fund raised by the Waldoboro folk in Boston was tied up in the failure of a Boston Trust Company. This fund emerged from liquidation around 1939, reduced to a little more than \$800, which was supplemented by a balance of \$200 from the town account in the hands of the local Memorial Committee, sparked by the combined energies of Dr. G. H. Coombs and Charles Rowe. In 1940 work which had originally started on the landscaping phase was resumed and completed. The shaft memorializing the Waldoboro men of all wars was brought from Clark's Island. Mr. Rowe handled the details in Waldoboro, and Dudley Hovey effected such arrangements as could only be handled in Boston. The legend on the bronze plaque on the face of the broken shaft was written by me, and it reads:

This place is dedicated to the honored memory of those men of Old Broad Bay and Waldoboro, who served home and country in the War of the Austrian Succession, the French and Indian War, the American Revolution, the Second War with Great Britain, the Mexican War, the War between the States, the War with Spain and the World War.

Some day the letter *s* will be added to the last word of the legend, which will date the memorial in the present. The term "broken shaft" is of later date than the monolith itself and is of folk origin, a beautiful testimony to the poetic sense inherent in the folk consciousness. To the best of our belief the memorial was never formally dedicated, but from the beginning and through the years it has remained the focal point of Memorial Day exercises.

In 1926 the town took its first step toward consolidating its schools. In the March meeting of that year Alfred Storer, Maynard H. Kuhn, Annie Thompson, Sanford Winchenbach, Clifford Winchenbach, and Victor Burnheimer, Sr., were appointed as the committee to study the problem and report. From this time the town moved slowly toward the consummation of this goal, despite checks, frustrations, and the mulish antics of a remnant of the old district mind, so that by the year 1950 all education was concentrated in village schools with the exception of that of North Waldoboro, which was still taught as the first five grades of an old district school. In this, as in other ways in these years, the town kept inching ahead, the more easily now, since with the advent of the automobile and the hard surface road, it was fast becoming conscious of itself as a single social organism, and the back-district system of "checks and balances" had all but dis-

appeared. This same year, 1926, the town voted \$4,000 to install a system for supplying water to the Paragon Button Corporation. Before the coming of the automobile, a quarter of a century before, such moves would have been drowned under a deluge of back-district opposition. It was similar in the case of the fire siren, approved in 1928 and implemented with a \$500 appropriation, for with the telephone and motor fire trucks the back-country could share in this dispensation equally with their village friends.

As the slow current of life in the town drowsily meandered into the late 20's affairs were growing crazier in the big outside world. Values on the New York Stock Exchange were trending toward fabulous levels. Some of the good local folk found themselves growing rich—on paper—when, with seemingly little warning the bottom dropped out of the national economy, and over the country the paper tycoons started hurling themselves from twenty-story windows. There were no such lofty eminences in Waldoboro, but spot-wise all over the town the paper fortunes evaporated, and the recent and buoyant rich grew decidedly sadder and greyer. Local philosophy in general stood up smilingly under this terrific impact, there being but one casualty, the cashier of the Medomak National Bank, who apparently elected to face death rather than an altered status.

With the first major sag in the stock market, millions who had accumulated large paper profits threw their securities on to the market in the hope of salvaging some portion of their illusive riches. Thus the market was glutted with securities. Demand for them was limited; the supply was seemingly unlimited. Stocks did not move at all except at absurdly depressed values. Thus the vicious cycle was started. The public husbanded its purchasing powers and limited them to bare and basic necessities. Demand for necessities was limited, and demand for unnecessaries dried down to a trickle. This threw millions out of work; industry operating at low levels could show only deficits; its bonds shrank in value, a condition which rendered the banks holding such securities insolvent. Unemployment ran into millions; men working for bread were willing to work at any wage.

The effect of the collapse was not felt immediately in the slow and stable Waldoboro economy — except for those who suddenly found themselves the owners of shrunken and worthless securities. The first general effect was felt in the prices of consumers' goods; the dollar began to buy more and more flour, sugar, tea, coffee, bread, and meat. This would have been fine, but wages shrank with prices, and by 1931 unskilled labor was offering its services for as little as a dollar a day. Carpenters were working for \$4.00 and masons for \$5.00 a day, that is, those who

were fortunate enough to find any work at all. Local conditions were further aggravated by the fact that many of those born in the town who had found employment in larger centers, dislodged from their jobs, returned to the old town where living was cheap and where a home roof offered free shelter. This served further to glut the local labor market, creating a condition where the labor supply far exceeded the demand, and Waldoboro began to acquire a clear comprehension of what was taking place.

The year 1931 was the nightmare year. The market value of securities held by the banks had fallen so far below par, that there were few left in the land in a position to pay their depositors "a hundred cents on the dollar." As soon as the public sensed that their banks were no longer solvent, panic set in and "runs" were started on banks in all sections of the country. In Waldoboro rumors circulated in reference to the dubious solvency of the local bank, and depositors began to withdraw their funds. The run was on and panic spread. Cars would drive hastily into town, park, and the occupants would pour out and run for the bank. Men and women stood in long queues before the bank with shoe boxes under their arms or satchels in their grasps. There was fear in their hearts and unreasoning anger on their tongues.

The run lasted for several days, while inside the bank the tellers slowly counted out the withdrawals in one and two-dollar bills. By this means the run was delayed while the directors devised ways and means of riding the storm. The old Fidelity Trust Company of Portland, one of the larger stockholders, backed the bank by shipping in currency from its own vaults. When the run was at its height, Archibald Kaler waited patiently his turn in the line, and when he reached the teller's window, made a deposit, to the amazement of those waiting near him. There were also some citizens who ridiculed the panic-stricken mob and loyally and stubbornly refused to draw out a single penny of their deposits. When the run came to a halt the bank was still open and doing business. In fact, some of the frenzied mob returned shamefacedly with their shoe boxes a few days later and redeposited their money, sheepishly apologetic over their stupidity.

The Medomak National Bank continued to do business until Franklin D. Roosevelt became President of the United States. One of the first acts of his administration was to close practically all banks in the nation for the purpose of a necessary reorganization. In the local institution those bonds (representing some 40 per cent of its deposits) which had depreciated markedly in market value were sequestered and placed under the trusteeship of a committee made up of Frederick Hovey, Sherman Jameson,

Stephen Jones, Alfred Storer, and Percy Storer. Thus when the bank reopened the depositors had access to 60 per cent of their deposits. In the meantime as the country righted itself, bonds began to appreciate in value, and as the sequestered securities again reached the level at which the bank had purchased them they were sold. By this procedure plus the accumulated interest on these securities, every depositor had by 1934 been paid back one dollar for every dollar deposited. When this liquidation had been successfully completed and the last penny paid, the management received *one single letter* of appreciation and commendation from among its many depositors, for its fine work in fully reimbursing all depositors.

By 1932 the community was feeling the full weight of the depression, and it began to tighten its belt. In the March Town Meeting of this year there was every evidence of economy, and all superfluous services were denied appropriations. School nursing, resurfacing Friendship Road, hard surfacing Dog Lane, advertising natural attractions, and painting the interior of the town building were among the cases of postponed action. Other appropriations were rigorously pruned, and the selectmen were forbidden to overdraw any account except in the case of "wash-outs, conflagration and health." They were also instructed "to use all their influence to procure work for citizens of the town on the new Trunk Line." Wages paid on this project were \$2.50 per man for a nine-hour day, \$5.00 for a team, and \$8.00 for trucks.

In 1932 default on payment of taxes had become general, and collectors' advertisements were issued for the sale of property of ninety-five resident owners. In the March meeting action on the disposition of tax deeds was postponed. This issue became a hot potato, and in most cases action was postponed through 1936. It was only a few years later that the boom preceding the Second World War got under way, providing work at high wages for everyone. It was then that the delinquent taxpayers were able again to secure titles to their property by paying back taxes and costs of advertising and carrying charges. Within a decade some, who a few years before had lost title to their own homes, were riding about in Lincoln and Cadillac cars. The town definitely had felt the loss of tax monies, and in 1933 the budget dropped to \$33,170.00. Despite economy the debt was reduced annually through the depression by \$1,000 per annum. The town would not, however, keep down its pauper account, and in a meeting of January 4, 1934, it was "voted to overdraw the poor account by \$2,000." This same year \$6,500 was appropriated for "the support of paupers." It was all like an evil dream, to be over in a few years when the town would be entering on the most prosperous period in its history.

The Great Depression left its marks on the life of the town, and these for the most part seemed of a beneficial character. The presence of want, distress, and danger proved a sort of shock treatment in a period of acute struggle for survival. Men and women emerged from it spiritually invigorated by the experience, more courageous, more resolute, more willing to gamble for a good future, more sensitive to the values inherent in group action, and more conscious of the real significance of team play. Something had been born during these dark and evil years, a spirit, not a rebirth of the old spirit that had marshalled the town on to greatness in the period from 1790 to 1860, only to become enfeebled, blind, and helpless when the tide of the national economy set in against it, but a spirit acutely conscious of the ebb and flow of the economic tides, able to calculate the character of these forces making for and against a good destiny, and bent on shaping such forces in the creating of a stable and strong economy. In short, Waldoboro had ceased to be a tiny, independent microcosm, but had integrated itself into an understanding of one world and had become a part of this world — the great world. There was a new leadership of younger men in the community, who had gone through the lean years fighting, and who when they emerged scathed but triumphant into an era of “corn and wine,” possessed the know-how of staying there. This group today is providing the town with a wise, experienced, and veteran generalship, which in a considerable measure is responsible for the present economic renaissance in the town’s life.

There also emerged from these years a community more sensitive to progress, more bent on keeping pace with the big evolving world of which it had become a part. Time-honored practices had lost something of their hallowedness. The Australian ballot in the election of town officers came in 1935. The budget was moving upward under the pressure of enlightened understanding. The rise in the costs of supporting the needy brought the question of a poor farm to the fore. There were repeated insertions in the warrant of articles authorizing such an institution, but it was not until 1940 that the voters were able to overcome their repugnance to this idea, and the farm on Flander’s Corner in the northwestern section of the town was acquired and the paupers housed in it. This was never a popular idea with the poor, and it provided a very considerable incentive on their part to self-help and self-support. The advent of more prosperous times and the development of a state pension system, which was a far more humane solution, rapidly decimated the numbers of the needy. By 1943 the “poor account” had fallen to \$2,000 and by 1945 dropped to \$500, and in 1947 no monies were needed for the sup-

port of paupers, and the dwindling patronage of the poor farm warranted the closing of this institution.

Through these years other institutions of a more positive and promising character were springing up in the town. In 1935 *The Twin County Messenger*, founded in 1932 and published by Thomas Holmes, was discontinued. In 1937 it resumed publication under the editorship of George E. Bliss, Jr., only to falter feebly until January 1938, when its meager facilities were purchased by Maynard Genthner, and a slender start was made on what has developed into a fine undertaking. Mr. Genthner had little more than courage, vision, and determination, and his first years were a struggle. The light broke for him in 1941 when the advertising started to pay. In the beginning the paper was staffed by two men, Genthner and Paul Winchenbach, who printed 200 copies. The total circulation was 150 copies. The paper, its name changed to *The Waldoboro Press*, grew steadily. By 1948 its circulation had increased to 1800 — a modern printing business had grown up, equipped with modern machinery and employing a staff of eight persons. The paper has a concentrated circulation in the towns of Knox and Lincoln counties accounting for forty-five per cent of each issue. The town of Waldoboro absorbs forty per cent and the remaining issues reach all parts of the United States. The paper has been a consistent backer and promoter of community welfare and development. In tone it is bold, vigorous, and vital and in its short lifetime it has become an invaluable adjunct to the renaissance of local life.

Another enterprise — a lovely adjunct to the cultural life of the town, was the Waldo Theatre which became a reality in 1936. The town cooperated by granting a \$50 flat rate tax for five years, and thereafter a flat rate tax of \$100 for five years. The major part of this enterprise was directed and financed by Carroll T. Cooney, Sr. The architect was Ben Scholanger of New York City; Myron Neal was the master builder and Clyde Winchenbach the master carpenter. The theater was built on the site of the old Isaac Reed Mansion, in the disassembling of which the town lost a century old landmark, but gained a fine amusement center and an attractive structure in true colonial style. The building has a seating capacity of 447, is air-conditioned and fireproof. It was built in the depression years at a cost of \$75,000. Today it is estimated that its replacement value would be near \$250,000. It was opened on December 9, 1936, and its first film was "Pennies from Heaven." It operates under the management of John J. Cooney. Considered by the film business as one of the best small theaters in the United States, it is widely patronized by citizens of two counties.

All the happenings in the community through these years did not reflect the new progressive spirit. There were atavistic intervals in the local consciousness. One such came in 1937, when an article was placed in the town warrant to restore and preserve the last of the community's relics, the old Town Pound, but lost out. In such matters Waldoboro has never exhibited much imagination or a fitting interest. It destroyed its old powder house on Prock's Ledge, has failed to mark the site of the mass burial of those colonists who perished in the winter of 1753-1754, and has overlooked the site of the only Moravian Mission in the State of Maine. The old Lutheran Church is preserved by its custodian, the German Protestant Society. The Pound is the last of these ties of the town to its past. It is a structure of roughly laid stonework, which in its massiveness is somewhat reminiscent of the great circle of monoliths of the Druids at Stonehenge. For decades it was virtually lost to mankind, tucked away as it was, invisible from the roadside, in its thick screen of baby brush. It is only in the present decade of the century that the jungle growth has been cleared away and this old relic been restored to the light of today as a quaint and fascinating monument to the past.

An attempt to preserve the old courthouse (in later years the town house), whose history is narrated in an earlier chapter, likewise proved fruitless. In the first March meeting of 1938 the voters justly refused to sell the structure, but in a second meeting at the end of the same month, it was voted "to sell the town house to Merton Winchenbach for \$100." There then followed one of the blindest acts of ignorance that could be recorded in the history of any community. For over 150 years this building had been the place where all business had been transacted by town officers, and all papers and records involved in these transactions had been stored in the top of the building. These documents dated back to 1773, and were the richest single source of the town's history since its incorporation in that year. No apparent effort was made to ascertain the value of this material or to preserve it. Vast in bulk and quantity — all documents were in longhand — it was trucked away and dumped off a wharf into the Medomak River. It was truly a case of the river swallowing down her own human past. Fragments, dimly legible, were later picked up and preserved by a few enlightened souls on whose shores some of the material happened to be cast up and left by the tide.

On a brief Easter vacation trip to town from Pennsylvania, I learned what had happened, and getting help gathered together those few remaining documents that had been left scattered on the upper floor of the building. Such papers furnished a true index to the amplitude and wealth of the material which had been

destroyed. This act of blind stupidity, of course, was in no sense deliberate, but nevertheless it did blot out forever much of that which was most human and revealing in the earlier life of the town. The old building itself was moved to a near-by lot and put into use as a public garage. Its storied and varied past came to an end in 1948, when a spark from an electric welder accidentally reached a gasoline and grease soaked floor.

In late 1939 another old Waldoboro institution passed into history. The bank, founded in 1836 as the Medomak Bank, became a national bank in 1865, and terminated its own existence in 1939, at the end of more than a century. It closed solvent, its house in order, its responsibilities, financial and moral, liquidated, its capital stock at a premium, and the sale of its assets a profitable solution for the stockholders. After the preferred stock had been retired at par and all expenses paid which had been incurred in the dissolution and sale, there remained a total of \$67,664.07 for distribution to the holders of the common stock, or \$17.80 per share. This represented a twenty-five per cent appreciation in value to the holders of this stock. The bank reopened under the ownership and management of the Depositors Trust Company of Augusta, as one of its dozen or more branch banks in Maine.

The fifth decade of this century dawned under the dark cloud of a general European war. Otherwise the auspices were favorable and all signs augured the beginnings of the second great period in the town's long history. The census of 1940 left a warm glow of confidence and satisfaction. The town was growing. The long period in the decline of population beginning in the 1860's had come to a halt, and in 1940 the community registered its first gain in eighty years. The population rose from 2,311 in 1930 to 2,497 in 1940, the largest gain of any town in the county. In all other areas of community life gains were equally marked, and in the ten years following the town forged steadily forward, achieving the most diversified, productive, and durable economy in its history.

On a quiet Sunday morning in early September 1939, many Waldoboro people sat in their kitchens listening to an unbroken stream of broadcasting from faraway England. Little did they reckon that for many years at least the end had come to their quiet and happy destiny, and that they were being drawn into the area of one of the mightiest social convulsions in human history, vast upheavals of human nature, as it were, which are still erupting with volcanic force, and still shaking the social structures of the world to their very foundations. The old philosophy still held fast in America, but elsewhere in the world new ideologies — strange, subversive and destructive — were obsessing the minds of men. The dark tide of Fascism seemed to be blotting out human

freedom everywhere in Europe, regimenting the bodies, minds, and souls of Western man, and inaugurating a new regime characterized by the systematic application of science to the task of changing the face of human society by torture, intimidation, indoctrination, and the wholesale extermination of whole racial groups — the complete deracination of age-old and age-proven human values by methods unparalleled in human history for fiendish cruelty, devilish ingenuity, and sheer bestial barbarity.

Translated into concrete historical terms, Adolph Hitler on that Sunday morning was liquidating another “inferior race,” the Poles, and France and England were uniting to check by war the forward movement of Fascism. The Red Menace, destined later to outdevil in all ways the Fascist fiends, was still a latent force, in reality unknown and hence unfeared. These forces and their later eventuations were to prove the decisive and dynamic factors in Waldoboro history throughout this decade, and probably in a longer future yet to unfold.

The early successes of Fascist arms in Europe was noted with horror, and the realization became ever more and more clear that the democratic way of life would survive in the world only through the intervention of American power. President Roosevelt had clearly discerned this eventuality, and in a speech in Chicago, in 1937, had cannily pointed to what lay ahead. At this early date he had been designated by the myopic bourgeoisie as a war-monger, but his wisdom and foresight was made more than manifest by events themselves, and as the war developed, America under his brilliant leadership girded herself to become “the arsenal of Democracy” — a policy presaging an almost revolutionary change in Waldoboro life and economy.

The war pattern in the town followed rather closely that of the First World War, but on a far larger scale. There were rationing, conservation of food and fuel, Victory gardens, Red Cross work, the draft, bond drives, and the most telling factor — everybody went to work, night or day, at fabulous wages on a basis of time and overtime. The old Reed & Welt shipyard in the town was reopened. Private and government contracts were hurriedly executed, and four and five craft were on the ways under construction simultaneously. Furthermore, yards opened in Boothbay Harbor, Camden, and Rockland, and the Hyde Windlass and the Bath Ironworks literally mushroomed in growth. Everybody in the town had a job. Bath and the local yard employed large numbers of men, and there were many who travelled to the other centers for their day or night of work.

For a period of four or five years the Medomak River yielded up \$3,000 per day in clams, and all other industries in the town operated at their peak. The town suddenly became

wealthy. The working class became the moneyed class. The widest distribution of wealth in the town's history was under way, and this wealth was in the main wisely used. While there were those who occasionally on the Four Corners would ostentatiously light their cigarette from a five-dollar bill, for the most part this wealth went into savings banks, Government bonds, the liquidation of mortgages, or the purchase outright of homes and farms. The economy of the town was placed on a sound basis, and nearly everyone found himself in possession of a surplus of wealth. Hardship of course there was, since labor was not available for the normal needs of farm and home. Housewives who formerly had had the aid of maids did their own work. As a result of this absence of leisure, social life underwent a change. The old spirit of neighborliness disappeared because everybody was busy and there was no time for the usual social amenities. It was in this manner that a new pattern was set up in the social life of the town, which has carried over into times of peace. This, together with the advent of the automobile, which has greatly widened the mobility of man, seems to have brought to an end forever the old neighborhood as the main social unit in the life of the town.

In the investment field the local horizons were widened markedly, and a new generation received its lessons in finance. Approximately \$700,000 in Government bonds were sold to the local folk by the bank and Post Office. This figure does not include the payroll deduction plan of bond purchasing which was in vogue in the out-of-town yards and factories, in the Government services and military branches where so many Waldoboro people worked at the highest wage levels in the country's history. A conservative analysis of the entire investment of local people in this period reaches a figure substantially over \$1,000,000, which the town added to its reserve wealth.

The effects of this world struggle on the life of the town reached far beyond its economy, for in a period of less than five years of war, 350 men and women answered the call to the colors in nine different branches of the military services. In a town with a listed population of 2,547 this meant that one of every seven persons saw service in the war, by all odds the largest participation of the town in any national emergency. The numbers of ten Waldoboro men were among the first 2,000 to be drawn from the Gold Fish Bowl in Washington. These were Ernest G. Castner, Carroll T. Cooney, Jr., Warren S. Colwell, Lowell B. Wallace, Ernest C. Eugley, David Oxton, Aubrey J. Palmer, Alton A. Prock, Murray O. Benner, and Joseph Tait. This chapter will not set forth the service records of the town's sons and daughters, for this task has already been done in a thorough and

competent manner by Maynard D. Genthner and Carroll T. Cooney, Jr.¹ One name not listed in this honor roll is that of Ann Wood Kelly, who was a ferry pilot across the Atlantic for the British Air Transport Auxiliary, and was stationed at Leicester, England, from 1942 to 1946. Of the 350 men and women in service there were twelve casualties. In order to honor their sacrifice by making it a matter of perpetuity the names of the Gold Star young of the town are here recorded: Elmer A. Achorn, Joel Anderson, Arthur Genthner, George W. Genthner, Paul Ilves, Howard C. Kaura, La Forest B. Mank, Allen Palmer, Frederick Scott, Ralph Skinner, Warren Vannah, and James P. Young. Those wounded in battle or decorated for good and valiant service are enduringly recorded in the Waldoboro Honor Roll.

The effect on the town of this wide participation in the war is simply incalculable. Its young men and women in these five years moved over the whole surface of the world, its civilized and uncivilized areas — Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the North Atlantic and the South Pacific. As C. T. Cooney has phrased it in the Waldoboro Honor Roll:

Waldoboro was represented from the sands of Libya to the frozen wastes of Baffin Land, from Alaska to New Guinea. They, the former residents of a quiet, coastal community, flew 30,000 feet in the sky over Japan, trudged through the mud in Normandy, rolled and tossed on the North Atlantic, or slid slowly under the green Pacific.

They returned home changed and altered. They had seen the great world, its giant cities, foreign civilizations, civilized and barbarous peoples, luxury beyond belief, hardship, toil, dirt, and death unimaginable. They were no longer the same. Their erstwhile narrowness had expanded into an understanding of many things, and an open-mindedness toward all things. These men and women brought back with them an end to the blind and confining sets of small-town life. They radiated a new point of view and infused a different and a larger outlook into the life of the town. With them the parochially-minded era receded. A great, new liberalizing force was released in the town. These "imponderables" constitute the slow ferment of history, and their ultimate effects are to be discerned only in the unfolding scroll of the decades to come. Through this chapter there are scattered only the merest hints of possible outcomes.

On August 16, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the town for a period of about five minutes. On this date I made the following entry in my notes:

Today President Roosevelt landed at Rockland from the yacht, Potomac, returning from his historic conference at sea with Prime Min-

¹Waldoboro Honor Roll of World War II, Waldoboro 1948.

ister Winston Churchill aboard H.M.S. Prince of Wales and the U.S.S. Augusta. The President's private train of seven cars with all curtains drawn passed very slowly through Waldoboro at 5:25 P.M. There were about fifty people assembled on the platform in the hope of catching a glimpse of the President through a car window.

This was the second occasion of his being in the town. In 1936 during his campaign for a second term he had passed through Waldoboro on his way to embark at Rockland for a cruise along the coast.

In 1942 the town reached what had heretofore been supposed to be the end of its second century of continuously settled life. As early as the summer of 1939 preparations were begun for a grand observance of this second century birthday, and on September 1st of this year the selectmen, Fred L. Burns, Chester Light, and Alton Winchenbach — all descendants of early settlers — appointed a Citizens' Planning Committee of forty members to plan and execute this second centennial observance. In the interim I had in the normal course of my research laid bare evidence in the Office of the York County Registry of Deeds which made it indubitably certain that the first continuous settlement on the Medomak had had its beginnings in the year 1736. The real bicentennial year had already slipped past, and the town never knew it. It was well on its way into the third century of its existence even while it was planning to celebrate the end of its second century.

During the years of war, while so many of the town's erstwhile hunters were in service or working long and frequently irregular hours in industry, wild life in the adjacent forest lands had a long armistice and increased to a pestiferous degree. It was somewhat reminiscent of an older day when on June 11, 1945, Clifford Porter discovered a bear raiding one of his chicken coops just off Jefferson Street. The animal was shot by Mr. Porter and since its demise came at a time when meat was scarce and on the rationed list, the bear's meat was sold at Gay's Store on an unrationed basis.

The old Waldoboro shipyard of Reed & Welt, which had been purchased in 1941 by a corporation headed by Scott Carter of Friendship, went into the hands of a receiver in 1947. In the interim years, over thirty craft of varying types had been built in this yard. The last flurry of building came in 1948, when Alton Prock rented the yard long enough to construct a cabin cruiser for himself. This craft was forty feet in length with a ten and a half foot beam. Irving Simmons of Waldoboro and Stewart Webster of Jefferson were the carpenters. The lines of the craft were laid down by Frank Day of Friendship, assisted by Mr. Prock. Two hundred horsepower General Motors Diesel engines

were installed, designed to give the boat a speed of sixteen miles per hour. For normal cruising the craft easily accommodated twelve persons and provided cabin space for five. The launching took place in June 1948, and as the craft slid from her ways the history of shipbuilding in Waldoboro, begun 175 years before, came to what in all probability was its final close.

There are always those events in the life of a community which seem to lie somewhat outside the areas of causal sequence — chance projections, as it were, into its history from the larger areas beyond its own framework. The dredging of the Medomak River was one of these events and it seems to have been something of a political accident. It was started in November 1948, about six months after shipbuilding in the town had come to an end, probably forever. Operations were carried on by the Bay State Dredging Company of Boston, and were continued into the month of December, when the formation of ice in the river forced a suspension of activities. They were resumed again late in March and continued until the work was completed in June. At this time about 59,000 cubic yards of mud had been removed from the channel and dumped in a deep hole about four miles down the river south southwest of Hollis Point in about thirty feet of water. This operation left the Medomak, for a distance of two miles below the head of tide, with a channel of five feet at low tide with a one-foot allowance over depth — a channel seventy-five feet in width with a 150-foot width in the elbows or bends in the river. In addition it provided a turning basin 150 feet in width opposite “Fishermens’ Wharf.”

While the local folk were grateful for this service, they were also mildly amused, realizing that the operation served no necessary navigational aid. This fact was also recognized in Washington and drew some caustic comment from Senator Paul H. Douglas on the floor of the Senate. In a minor way, however, it does bring to the town a twofold advantage in that it enables an occasional small summer pleasure boat to cruise the river with greater ease, and an occasional yacht to reach the town at head of tide. A further possible gain is to be found in the general conviction that it will result in an increased run of fish, especially the smelt, and will make ice fishing in the winter a considerably more lucrative occupation.

During the past few years there has developed in the town a wide and active interest in athletics. This interest has led directly to the construction of the finest outdoor athletic field in the county. The movement on behalf of the field started in 1947. Backed by businessmen and citizens a fund of about \$1,500 was raised, and through 1948 work continued on the Philbrook Field

adjacent to the Waldoboro High School. The work was, for purposes of use, complete in 1949, and a field came into being amply sizable for football, baseball, and track athletics. In addition it has provided a fine playing field for the summer baseball team of the Waldoboro Athletic Association, and as a further invaluable asset, a playing field for large numbers of hopeful young athletes, a far more constructive environment than that provided by the street. This field may be justly looked upon as an embodiment of the town's present-day vision and vitality in reference to its own needs and those of its growing youth. It is an outgrowth of intelligent and determined community effort, sparked to a considerable degree by the generous labor and contagious enthusiasm of Percy Moody.

In the year 1948 the community was intrigued and excited by what was probably the most notable wedding ever to take place in the town, that of Ann Carroll Hemingway, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Hemingway of Waldoboro and Syracuse, New York, to Arthur Kittredge Watson, son of Thomas J. Watson of New York, President of the International Business Machine Corporation, one of the major units of world industry. The ceremony took place in the old Lutheran Church, at noon on July 10th. A pipe organ was installed temporarily in the church for the service. The officiating clergyman was the Reverend Colonel Clayton E. Wheat, U.S.A. (ret.), Chaplain of the Military Academy at West Point. The soloist on this occasion was the Metropolitan baritone, Laurence Tibbett.

The local folk were intrigued by the distinguished guests invited. These included the President's daughter, Margaret Truman, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, James Melton, Gladys Swarthout, Lilly Pons, Laurence Tibbett, and a host of other notables. Such names served to alert a normally curious public, and many were the rumors that swept over the town with the speed of the wind, such as the one that General Eisenhower had been seen at Stahl's Tavern. So piqued was the public interest that crowds of the uninvited gathered on the church grounds and in the adjoining streets to watch the guests pass and to listen to the singing of Laurence Tibbett. To be sure, such an event has small historical significance save for the fact that it did offer in local setting a brief but highly colorful scene from the social pageantry of a larger world almost mythical to many local folk, and hence to them an unforgettable experience — a sort of quick flight from their Cinderella kitchens to the Prince's ballroom.

During this period, as has been noted, the Isaac Reed Mansion, the old town house, and other ancient landmarks disappeared from the local scene. These form oftentimes a strong senti-

mental attachment linking the present to the past. There was one other to which local ears had been attuned for over three quarters of a century. It is the multiplicity of little things which impart the poetic overtones to human experience, and this was a little thing — the whistle of a locomotive. All railroad systems use a uniform locomotive whistle, and in all systems the whistle is different, each characteristic of its own road. Since 1871 at least a half-dozen generations of Waldoboro folk have listened to and loved the rich alto notes of the Maine Central blowing in the distance, or in its rush down the valley — a link to a bigger world and so often the harbinger of joy, of reunion, or of grief. But to this too, as to all things, there came the beginnings of the end. On July 27, 1949, the first Diesel engine with its thin, piercing, and discordant shriek drew its first passenger train over this division of the road. It will now be only a matter of time when some old, black, puffing and weary steam monster will sound its last melodious call down the valley.

Amid the swift shifting of the scenes in these recent decades not least important are the major developments in the town's political metamorphosis. The first and perhaps the change of most basic significance is to be found in the fact that in these decades Waldoboro became a Republican town. Such a shift was inevitable considering the town's unswerving allegiance to a basic political pattern. This fact requires some elaboration. In the first place, let us point out that in its local affairs the town is properly nonpartisan. Consistently it supports at the polls the men and women best qualified for a given office, erring on occasion, to be sure, by supporting the candidate who is most popular or most trusted, but irrespective of party. A few illustrations will make this fact clear. In the election of 1940, when Senator Owen Brewster, a Republican, polled 594 votes, and his oponent, Fulton J. Redman, a Democrat, received 356 votes, Dr. George H. Coombs, a local Democrat running for the Legislature, polled 595 votes. During the 1940's while the town was giving large majorities to Republican candidates for state and national offices, it was electing and re-electing with the same consistency boards of selectmen made up largely of Democrats. Illustrations might here be multiplied, but they would only reveal the same basic attitude and trend.

At the state and national level the town is rock-fast Republican. This is no unusual phenomenon, for from its beginning the town has adhered strictly to a characteristic pattern in its political life, that of an extreme conservatism. For over two centuries now it has thrown its support to that party which was most conservative in character. In the beginning it was overwhelmingly

Federalist, the most reactionary party in American history. It hewed to this line until the last vestige of Federalism had disappeared in the nation. Following the Federalists the Whigs became the party of conservatism, carrying on in part the Federalist conception of political control. Waldoboro promptly turned Whig. It was in the latter days of the Whig Party that the political genius of Isaac Reed became dominant in the town, and from the time when the slavery issue first became acute the Democratic Party began to veer in the direction of conservatism more especially on this issue, and Waldoboro veered with it. On this conservative foundation Mr. Reed built his machine and with such stability that over the years a block of 900 votes came under his complete and unquestioned control — a strength that made him a power to be reckoned with and placated in state politics. As the War between the States drew on the Democratic Party became more and more conservative on all fundamental issues, and Waldoboro became more and more Democratic. The Copperhead sentiment in the town developed strength and only became partially latent with the outbreak of war.

The Republican Party when it came into being in 1854 was essentially liberal in its philosophy and outlook. Waldoboro, true to its ancient tradition, would have none of it, and since the Democratic Party represented the strongly conservative element in national life in the 60's and 70's, the town continued to build its Democratic strength. When in the 1870's Isaac Reed's political ambitions had tapered to their end, and after he had paid off political debts and settled long-standing scores with his foes, his interest waned and his mantle fell on the shoulders of some of his pro-consuls who were not magnetic leaders. Under their headship this powerful machine carried on. It had become a tradition destined to maintain its rigid cohesion until its framework was shaken and loosened by radical political changes and innovations in our national life. In the 90's and early 1900's lethargy and indifference began to register their effects on this old structure and to sap its vitality.

In the interim the Republican Party, once young, vigorous, and liberal, slowly underwent changes. During its long period of national ascendancy special privilege and moneyed interests kept boring toward the center of its controls. It was becoming more conservative. At the same time radical forces — so they were called — personalized in a series of great dynamic figures began their bid for control of the Democratic Party on the national level. The first of such men was William Jennings Bryan, under whose leadership the party started moving in the direction of Liberalism, a movement which probably reached its peak at the mid-century.

Waldoboro reacted in terms of its characteristic pattern. It began to veer toward the conservative Republicans, and its once great margin of victorious votes began narrowing down to slimmer majorities. The liberalism of Woodrow Wilson hastened the trend, and in 1920 at the end of Wilson's second term, the Republicans in the September election outvoted the Democratic Party 501 to 376. For a number of years following, down to 1928, success in elections seesawed between the two parties. In this year the Catholicism of Alfred E. Smith was a dose that the Democrats would not swallow. The vote? Hoover and Curtis 505, Smith and Robinson 157. The result was to widen the seams in the frail bark of the Democratic Party in the town.

From this time on the Democrats rallied only rarely. Despite the great distress of the Hoover administration, the President, in his campaign for re-election in 1932, carried the town by a slight margin over Roosevelt, an election in which the nation broke loose from its Republican moorings. In succeeding years, while the whole nation was moving vigorously in one direction, the little town on the Medomak vehemently countered the trend and moved in an opposite direction. The local Republican majorities in state and national elections grew wider and wider, a trend clearly manifested in the following campaigns: in 1936, Landon 639 votes to 293 for Roosevelt; in 1940, Wilkie 596 votes to 388 for Roosevelt; in 1944, Dewey 561 votes to 287 for Roosevelt, and in 1948, Dewey 529 votes to 149 for Truman, and it may be added that in state elections the town's vote had been Republican with an equal decisiveness. From 1896 to 1948 the Democratic Party underwent a political metamorphosis under the impact of a sequence of great popular leaders: Bryan, Wilson, Smith, and the second Roosevelt. While this party was emerging as the liberal force in American life, the people of Waldoboro, as they had ever done throughout their history, re-aligned themselves with the conservative party — the Republican, which since the days of the first Roosevelt had openly faced the nation as the frank exponent of conservatism. Waldoboro, too, was conservative, had always been conservative, and that is why it became Republican when that party turned conservative. Actually there was nowhere else to go.

Since Maine became a state in 1820, Lincoln County had furnished four of the fifty-six governors. The first of these was Samuel E. Smith of Wiscasset, elected in 1831. Then followed Edward Kavanagh of Newcastle who was governor from March 7, 1843, to January 1, 1844, succeeding to the governorship as President of the Senate, following the death of Governor John Fairfield. Similarly in December 1887, Sebastian S. Marble of Waldo-

boro became governor on the death while in office of Joseph R. Bodwell. Prior to this time Frederick R. Robie had been a practicing physician in Waldoboro for a number of years. Later he moved to Gorham and was elected governor from that town in 1882. Since 1889, the expiration of Mr. Marble's term, there had been no governor from Lincoln County until the election of Frederick G. Payne of Waldoboro in 1940, as the fifty-sixth governor of the state.

Frederick G. Payne on entering the state field in 1948 was no political novice. It was his war experience that gave the initial impetus to his campaign in 1948, for toward the end of 1947 a group of veterans initiated a state-wide movement to draft Colonel Payne for the office of governor. This movement, the veterans alleged, was entirely spontaneous and represented their own views. It placed the Colonel in a position where he was compelled to accept or refuse, and at the end of 1947 he announced his candidacy on a platform which was based on the problems faced by the people of his state at the close of the war. There were five candidates in the field, and the Colonel was by no means the favorite of the Machine. With the financial support of loyal friends he literally toured the state from end to end and single-handed, as it were, built up a large reserve of support and good will against primary day.

In June the Colonel won the nomination against the field. His majority over his nearest competitor, George D. Varney of Berwick, President of the State Senate, was between seven and eight thousand votes. He carried fourteen of the twenty-one Maine cities, and in his home county of Lincoln he polled 2,919 votes against a total of 1,906 polled by the other four candidates. The state election in November was now a foregone conclusion. On election night some 1,500 people from all parts of the state gathered at the Waldoboro Garage on Route 1, for election returns. Refreshments were served and joy in all its varying degrees of exuberance was the prevailing tone. By the time the last returns were reported Colonel Payne had rolled up a total vote of 145,274 against 76,310 for his opponent, Louis Lausier, the many times Mayor of Biddeford. In Waldoboro, party lines had broken down and the governor-elect polled a total of 774 votes. Only eighty ballots were cast against him. On January 1, 1949, Colonel Payne was inaugurated as the fifty-sixth governor of Maine and the first governor from Waldoboro and Lincoln County in sixty years.

In the year 1949 the town witnessed in its midst something that was little short of a political revolution. After one hundred and seventy-six years of civic control under the ancient and venerable institution of a board of selectmen, it voted to place the

administration of its affairs in the hands of a town manager. The movement leading to this change had started two years before in the March meeting of 1947, when a committee had been appointed and instructed to investigate the feasibility of the manager form of government, and to report in the March meeting of 1948. At that time the committee failed to report, due perhaps to the fact that some of its members were opposed to the town manager system. Thereupon the meeting discharged its committee and named a new one made up of Gardiner Mank, Leslie Borne-mann, Willard Fowler, Roland Genthner, and Kenneth K. Weston. This latter committee was most active, and after diligent research it reported its findings on November 12, 1948. It found that the town manager plan was first adopted in Sumpter, South Carolina, in 1912, and since that time it had spread to over 800 cities and towns in the United States; that the plan conceived the affairs of a town as big business (which it is), and control is accordingly centered in the hands of an expert who administers affairs on a strictly business basis, and that ninety-two towns in Maine, many of them the size of Waldoboro, were operating successfully under the manager plan. The report concluded by advising a trial in Waldoboro under the so-called Enabling Act.

Opposition to the plan was immediate and vigorous. Both sides marshalled their forces and the struggle was on, increasing in intensity up to the March meeting. In mid-February, Bernard Allen, City Manager of Auburn, was invited to come to town and explain the system in detail. A heavy ice storm resulted in a meager attendance, and in consequence a second citizens' meeting was held on the 9th of March, with Messrs. Elden Shute and Paul Powers of Freeport discussing the system and its workings in that town. There was a large turnout representing both sides of the issue. Not entirely content, the committee circularized the town at the last minute with a flyer, placed in all mail boxes, which explained the system and sought to dissolve all objections by printing a long series of questions and answers in reference to the plan. On March 14th the citizens met in Town Meeting and cast their ballots. The vote was a close one, 277 votes having been cast for the system and 259 opposed to it. The question had been listed at the very bottom of the printed ballot, and in consequence was passed perhaps unnoticed by some. Hence there were sixty-seven blank ballots, a fact which still left the issue a burning one, since it was alleged that the plan had been adopted by a minority of those voting.

The reaction to the defeat of the old system was definite and prompt. The Board of Selectmen, apparently lacking interest

in the new method of administering town affairs, resigned, and in consequence it became necessary to convene the voters in another meeting to elect new town officers. The town received the action of its Board of Selectmen in resigning office as somewhat unsportsmanlike, and a strong undercurrent of disapproval developed. In the meantime a warrant had been drawn up for a Town Meeting on the 7th of April, and the opposition to the manager plan, unwisely and inexpertly led, inserted an article to rescind the action of the earlier meeting, which had adopted the new plan. Again the political pulse registered high speed, but this time, to use a mixed figure, the tide flowed all in one direction.

The April meeting was a memorable one, a revelation of Democracy at its most vigorous best. Those who could talk were there to talk, and the rest were there prepared to enjoy the spectacle and to vote. After hours of arguing and crude parliamentary maneuvering the article to rescind came to a vote and was literally overwhelmed. Only eighty-nine votes were cast in favor of rescinding the manager plan, and 284 votes were recorded against such action. The new Board of Selectmen was made up of John H. Foster, Chester Light, and Herbert L. Stahl. In due season Mr. Ralph Irving of North Berwick became Waldoboro's first town manager. The new Chairman of the Board of Selectmen, Mr. John H. Foster, a retired vice president, treasurer and director of the Florence Stove Company, resident in the town since 1946, has most generously and effectively devoted his leisure to the public interest. He has been responsible for giving the town the most efficient administration of its affairs in the present century. He, too, more than any other, has led and promoted the economic development of the community, the Waldoboro Locker Plant and the Sylvania Electric Corporation here today being monuments to his intelligent and vigorous leadership.

There was a further episode in the closing months of 1949 which was basic to the expanding economic life of the town. This concerned an adequate and palatable supply of water for domestic and industrial use. Since the ownership and control of this service passed out of the hands of the original Waldoboro Water Company, the property has repeatedly changed ownership, and it is now controlled and operated, along with a number of other small water services in the state, by New York interests. When this service was first installed in the town there were relatively few users and the supply was drawn from artesian wells located on my property and the adjoining Fred Scott estate. As the service grew a supplementary supply was drawn from the old Shoe Factory reservoir on the farm of Dr. F. M. Eveleth.

Over the years users have multiplied and the growth of town industries using large quantities of water has rendered the old supply insufficient. Matters came to a head following a series of severe droughts in the summers of 1947, 1948, and 1949, during which users were without an acceptable water supply at times, and the town without adequate fire protection. In the face of general complaint the attention of the State Utilities Commission was directed to the matter, and in consequence a public hearing was held at Waldoboro on August 25, 1949. About a dozen witnesses appeared for the town, and the company was represented by its attorney, Edward N. Merrill of Skowhegan. The wrangle lasted for several hours, from which some witnesses emerged battered and confused and others triumphant. The company contested every inch of ground, defending the use of chlorinated water pumped into mains from the Medomak River between Soule's Bridge and the Great Falls, despite the fact that the refuse from the plant dressing three million pounds of poultry annually and the raw sewage from several homes were discharged into the river at this point. On the basis of evidence submitted at this hearing the Commission decreed the service inadequate and ordered the company to file in writing within twenty days a report showing steps taken to remedy the deficiency.

In due time the company countered with the proposition to install a filtration plant on the river, to cleanse the water by a diatomite filter using diatomaceous earth, a slurry tank, and a chlorinator at a cost of from five to ten thousand dollars. This proposal did not meet the approval of the Commission. In consequence the company after a long battle capitulated, and in late October purchased the old Booth Brothers quarry on the height of land about a half mile beyond the railroad track. As a result of excavations made in solid rock a half century before, it now has a reservoir ranging in depth from sixty to eighty feet, and a reserve of water roughly estimated at more than a million gallons. The work of piping the water down to the mains south of the railroad track was begun in the late autumn of 1949 and completed in the spring of 1950. In case the quarry reservoir, as it now seems, is well fed from seams deep in the rock, this reserve source should meet the town's need for service far into an unforeseeable future.

With this chapter the history of Waldoboro has been brought down to the year 1950. From this point looking backward for nearly three centuries there seems discernible a rather definite cyclic rhythm. The period from the 1660's to the 1740's was a long sequence of hanging on and intermittently letting go. From

the 1740's to 1800 the rhythm of development was slowly upward, attended by tragic hardship and the convulsive shocks of three major wars. In the era from 1800 to 1870 the upward surge was a proud and mighty one, denominated in this history as the Great Days. Around 1870 the swing turned again downward, and the decades became quieter and quieter, another period of hanging on reaching down into the 1930's, when again there was a sudden renaissance of energy, confidence, and hope, and the sweep of this long, historical rhythm curved sharply upward, where we leave it in the year 1950.

L

IN THE YEAR 1950

History is life and life moves as a whole. It moves with the impetus of the past but it moves towards realization. The present is pregnant with the future.

JOHN ELOF BOODIN

THIS CHAPTER ESSAYS THE TASK of a frank evaluation of the present. In it I will at times step on to the historical scene in the mantle of the seer, and will attempt a sociological essay. Using history as a springboard I will occasionally take off into uncharted and, as yet, unexplorable seas. I will assume that the economic, educational, religious, social, and cultural life of the town in the present is susceptible of a competent evaluation.

In essaying such a task certain risks are unquestionably incurred, for history is made from day to day, from year to year. The human flux is ever in motion. It does not stabilize for long at any single moment. Hence an evaluation of the present is always hazardous, for today the swiftly changing scene suggests one interpretation, tomorrow another. Indeed, the trends of the future more often than not belie the predictions of the present. This chapter is frankly an attempt to catch history on the march; to depict a condition as though it had come to a stop in a single year. By the time this book is in print developments will have refuted portions of it. Especially is this true of the town's economy, for the economic tides sometimes move rapidly and strangely, and no man, so far as the present is concerned, can predict their course. In other areas it is different. Social, religious, educational, and cultural patterns are more fixed. They are rooted in conduct and custom. There will be certain changes in these areas, too, in the direction of value and virtue, it is hoped, but they will be almost imperceptibly slow. Hence such evaluations will stand for some time by reason of their own strength. It is not as an apologist that I have offered these words. I know quite well how ephemeral human judgments can be, and have written this paragraph to dispel on the part of the reader any illusions that an historian does not know the difference between solid rock and shifting sands.

I

The economy of present-day Waldoboro is in itself sound, diversified, and productive, more so, perhaps, than any other social unit in this area. This condition is, however, a comparatively recent development. In its inception it stemmed from two major sources, the war industries in this region and the lowly clam of the Medomak River.

The disparaging conception of the clam as "lowly" goes back to the earliest periods of colonial New England, when the poor survived periodically on clams, since there was nothing else to eat. Thus it was that the clam came to be thought of as the diet of poverty, a stigma of indigence which adhered to it unshakably for centuries. It is, in fact, only in the modern period that this plentiful bivalve has achieved dietary respectability. In the earliest days of mankind on this river it proved itself a saving sustenance, and in his later days on the river it has proved itself a restorative force in his economic life.

Only in the last decade has the potential of our great river "flats" been fully — perhaps too fully — exploited. These Medomak flats are one of the largest flats areas of any Maine coastal river. In fact, the three rivers of Lincoln County produce only a little less than half of all the clams dug in the eight coastal counties. Taking the year 1947 as a measure of clam production — and it is a good yardstick — of the 7,898,292 pounds of clams dug in the coastal counties, valued at \$1,496,642, 3,190,034 pounds were taken from Lincoln County,¹ and of these rivers the Medomak flats are the most productive. According to Warren A. Hume, supervising warden² of this district, the flats of the Medomak River yielded in 1946 better than \$3,000 daily — the hundred and fifty diggers averaging from two hundred to three hundred barrels per day. A conservative inference from this figure would warrant the conclusion that \$630,000 worth of clams were taken this year from this single river, bay, and coastal area.

Not all this profit accrued to Waldoboro diggers, though they were by far the most numerous. Operations had started on a large scale in 1941, and by 1947 there were forty-eight dories going out from Storer's wharf, fifteen from the Back Cove and twenty-five from Dutch Neck.³ In this year one of the seven buyers bought one hundred barrels daily, covering a period of six months, and disbursed \$147,000. The best diggers cleared \$5,000 for the season, and one man and his son banked \$8,000 in the single year. In this period (1941-1950) it is conservatively

¹*Fifteenth Biennial Report*, Me. Dept. of Sea and Shore Fisheries (Augusta, Me., 1948).

²*Waldoboro Press*, Oct. 17, 1946.

³John L. Stevens, Second District Warden.

estimated that the clam added \$3,000,000 to the town's wealth. The results from this bounty of nature were highly beneficial, for many of those least favored by Fortune became a moneyed class. Houses were bought, fully repaired and modernized, a high standard of living was realized, homes were freely cleared of mortgages, and substantial bank accounts were set up.

For a decade the clam beds were a gold mine, and, if adequate controls were set up regulating their use, they would be still. The life history of the clam is so well known to science that by intelligent control of the flat-beds, they could easily become a source of steady and substantial revenue. This would involve state regulation, for man is too greedy an animal ever to be willing to inaugurate voluntary or local controls.

The digging of clams is only one phase of the exploitation of the bivalve. There is also the employment furnished to buyers, shuckers, processors, canners, and distributors. This secondary process is also a part of the Waldoboro industry; for in 1948, Soffron Brothers of Ipswich, Massachusetts, acquired a part of the old Reed & Welt shipyard property and erected there a sizable factory which employs five trucks delivering and collecting clams. These are hauled in from Kittery to Jonesport. In 1949 a third of those processed came from the Medomak River. The plant gives employment to seventy-five people. A considerable part of the processed product is packed raw in gallon cans for distribution to the Howard Johnson chain of restaurants. All told, when this industry is analyzed in its varied ramifications, it nets the people of the town an income ranging from \$100,000 to \$200,000 annually.

The lobster fishing in the town is a considerably smaller activity. It is carried on by about ten fishermen from Goose River district, fifteen from Back Cove, five from the Necks and five from the village area. By using motorboats, they can trap lobsters in the outer reaches of the bay. During the war years as many as 330 barrels were sold in one day, and the largest individual catch for any one day netted the fisherman \$54.00.⁴ These are maximum figures, substantially above the seasonal average, but from such data as can be obtained, it appears that the industry nets the fishermen \$75,000 per annum.

Another phase of the fishing industry is the catch of smelts taken through the river ice by "smelt shanties." This is a winter industry lasting from three to four months. Each year there is an average of one hundred houses on the ice, forming a colorful winter scene on the river, with smoke soaring up from little black funnels which project through the roofs of "shanties" of every conceivable hue. A maximum seasonal net is \$500 with a maxi-

⁴John L. Stevens, Second District Warden.

num of \$161 for a week's work by Clinton E. Matthews in 1945. A good winter average would be \$300 per fisherman. The fish are of all sizes, ranging from five to fifteen fish per pound. They are expressed to the Boston and New York markets. The recent dredging of the river will unquestionably leave a greater depth of water under the thick ice at low tide and result in a better run of fish.⁵

An important phase of the Waldoboro agricultural economy is the blueberry industry. The town's great geographical area includes many hundred acres of land in pasture and cleared-off woodland that are highly suitable for blueberry growth. Some of the berries are sold fresh on the Boston and New York markets, but the major portion of the crop each year is canned, frozen, and dehydrated. The annual harvest is sold to so many different buyers and factories that its value is difficult to estimate. In 1948 the Bird Factory at Winslow's Mills canned and packed 100,000 pounds. One hundred thousand dollars annually is probably a very conservative estimate of the income derived from this source. It may be further noted that only a small fraction of first-rate land for blueberries is devoted to this industry. With relative ease the town could increase excellent berry land tenfold.⁶

Closely connected and supplementing the blueberry industry is the plant of the Medomak Canning Company. There are few people in the town with any clear notion of the scope of this industry, located at Winslow's Mills, two and one half miles from the village. It was established in 1917 by Henry Bird of Rockland and is one in a chain of factories. The local plant is under the management of Edwin Hussey. It operates from April to December, reaching its peak production during the blueberry season. During the past ten years it has canned many products in the fish, vegetable, and fruit line. In the year 1943, by early August, its pack had reached a total of 760,000 cans. Broken down into specific products this included 150,000 cans of sea herring; 120,000 cans of mackerel and alewives; 20,000 cans of shrimp; 100,000 cans of mussels, and 250,000 cans of blueberries. By the end of the season of 1943, the pack far surpassed 1,000,000 cases. During the year 1948, the factory turned out 1,872,000 cans of blueberries, which it processed at the rate of 1000 bushels a day. At the peak of a good season this work employs eighty hands, with the season's overall about forty hands.⁷

The most productive branch of the town's agricultural economy is poultry, a field in which Waldoboro is one of the state's major producers. Its 1940 census showed more poultry per square

⁵Data furnished by Clinton E. Matthews.

⁶Based on data furnished by Frederick H. Bird, Ivan Scott, and other local growers.

⁷Data furnished by Frederick H. Bird and Edwin Hussey.

mile than any other town in the state, and since the 1940 census this field has been expanding rapidly and continuously, until at the present time the poultry population is around 200,000 birds. The rugged climate seems to breed a hardy stock, since it calls out everything there is in the adaptive mechanism of the birds, thus producing a greater weight for marketing at the end of the growing period. The prevailing breed is a sex-linked cross of the Barred Rock hen and the Rhode Island Red cockerel.

There are about ninety people whose major business is the raising of poultry. Their flocks range in size from 1,000 to 7,000 birds; 1,500 provides a good living and from 2,500 to 3,000 birds is the economical size for management. The largest flock, of about 7,000 birds, is probably that of Russell McLeod and is handled by three men. Profit per bird per year ranges from one to three dollars with a year-long average of two dollars per bird. Egg production is but one phase of this business. Closely related is the hatching of chicks. There are three major hatchers in the town, Melville Davis, Wilmot Dow, and Foster Jameson, and these hatcheries produce 300,000 chicks annually. Another phase of the business, broiler-raising, nets the poultrymen between \$50,000 and \$75,000 annually. Most eggs are sold to local buyers, who transport them by trucks to the city markets. Hence some of the middle man's profit is retained in the town. The same holds true of the subsidiary grain business which at present price levels reaches an annual total of around \$5,000,000. The poultry business is a flexible one, expanding and contracting to meet economic demands. Judged by long-range net income, it is a safe assumption that it is the town's million dollar industry.⁸

An allied business is the big live and dressed poultry plant of Phillip Cohen.⁹ In 1935 Mr. Cohen acquired the old Medomak Flour Mill which he converted into his headquarters for the purchasing and shipping of live poultry. In 1943 he began the dressing of poultry, a business which has undergone a rapid expansion. At the present time the plant employs fifty workers as truck drivers, pick-up crews, and processors. The trucks range through the south and central counties of Maine and into Canada. All poultry is brought to the Waldoboro plant for dressing and packing, and from there is shipped to the Boston and New York markets in refrigerator trailers. The scope of this business may be seen in the fact that it ships more than 3,000,000 pounds of poultry annually and has a yearly payroll of \$175,000.

To some degree related, but a business of a more varied scope, is the new Frozen Food Center of the Waldoboro Lockers, Inc. The idea of such a plant was initiated in 1947, when the plan

⁸Data furnished by Wilmot Dow and Foster Jameson.

⁹Recently destroyed by fire.

was first formulated. It was discarded, then revived over the following two years. The Center was finally built in 1949 at a cost of \$65,000 raised through the sale of stock. It is the only industry of its type between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers, and has 537 individual lockers with space for the addition of 210 more. The plant is set up not only for processing and storage, but will serve as a center for the distribution of frozen foods, grown locally and otherwise. The Locker Plant was opened on December 3, 1949, and on that day was visited and inspected by 1000 persons. Today it employs eight hands and has an annual payroll of \$16,000.

The "tourist trade" in Waldoboro is not as highly developed as in some other towns in the county, such as Boothbay Harbor, and this is in a degree fortunate, for it is a seasonal industry and hence an unsteady source of income. There are a goodly number of homes in the town owned by seasonal visitors and occupied from three to five months. A half-dozen houses, the cabins owned by James Wood on the Benner Hill, and four other places are open to visitors during the season. The four resorts are Medomak Farms at North Waldoboro, Quiner's at Butter Point, Moody's Cabins, and Slaigo Ledges.

The Medomak Farms, located on a hill overlooking Medomak Pond, received 270 guests in the year 1949. The little resort known as Slaigo Ledges is a smartly managed guest-home with a maximum capacity of ten persons. During the year 1949, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Butters entertained eighty-seven long and short-term guests. Quiner's at Butter Point is a somewhat larger resort, a big, old expanded farmhouse with smaller lodges adjacent. For a number of years it has operated at its full capacity of forty guests and is served by a staff of eight people directed by Frances B. Quiner, who imparts to the place an atmosphere of genial warmth. During the season this resort provides rest and relaxation for several hundred people and is a decided asset to the town on the economic and social side.

The largest tourist center in the town is Moody's Cabins, and under the efficient and energetic direction of Percy Moody, it handles a larger volume of tourist business than any resort in the county. Picturesquely located on a plateau at the top of Willett Hill on the site of the old Deacon William Cole-Everett Simmons farms, are seventeen cabins. Each accommodates from two to six persons, and their total capacity at any one time is sixty-four people.

Here guests come from June to November, some for overnight and some for a stay of weeks. Being reasonably priced and serviced, this place is popular far and near. In the year 1948, 6,800 persons were housed in the cabins. Down under the hill on No. 1



FREDERICK G. PAYNE
Governor of Maine
1949-1953
United States Senator
1953---



highway is the picturesque adjunct known as Moody's Diner, frequented all day and all night by a colorful feeding population drawn from every stratum of American society. Here as many as 1,000 people have been fed in a twenty-four hour period. The cabins and diner are staffed by about twenty people. Food is good, the price range is fair, and here has grown up an institution known all over eastern America — one of the best managed and most substantial businesses in the town. The full extent of the tourist business in Waldoboro may be in part inferred from the fact that in 1949 these centers cared for 7,400 guests.

Under the long hill next to the river at the foot of Main Street, in the old "Steve Jones" sail loft is an active braided rug industry, the Colonial Craft Rug Company owned and operated since 1947 by Mrs. Grace Bean. This is a national enterprise as well as a centralized home industry. Here on file are the names of 220 braiders, 175 of whom live within a fifteen-mile radius of the local center. A staff of nine sewers works at the plant under the direction of Mrs. Bean. The market is nationwide, and the product is handled by the most widely known dealers, such as Paine in Boston, W. & J. Sloane in New York, Marshall Field in Chicago, and Meyer & Frank in Portland (Oregon) and San Francisco. While Colonial Craft will sell rugs retail, ninety-five per cent of its business is done wholesale with big, national dealers. These rugs vary in size from two by three feet to sixteen by twenty-four feet, but any size is made on order and can be designed to harmonize with hangings and upholstery. The productive capacity of the shop is about 4,000 square feet per month.

Over in the deep, cool recesses of the Waldoboro Woods, on the down slope of the long hill, in a log cabin made with his own hands, lives picturesque Perry Greene, half Anglo-Saxon and half Mohawk, guide, woodsman, sled-driver, champion axe-man of the world, and sole owner of the noblest breed of dogs known to man, the imperial Chinooks. This breed originated in southern Maine with a dog named Kim, a biological sport (died in Little America, January 11, 1909), which was crossed in 1900 with a dog of a breed now known only to Perry himself. In 1920 the name of Admiral Bird's famous South Pole lead dog, Chinook, which died in Little America January 17, 1929, was applied to the cross breed. In 1940 Perry Greene purchased of the originator of the stock, the late Arthur T. Walden of Winalancet, New Hampshire, the entire breeding stock of twenty-two dogs. On January 5, 1947, he moved to his cabin in the Waldoboro Woods, and all the Chinooks were housed under one roof for the first time.

Let a man invent a new mousetrap or own a princely breed of dogs, and all the world will beat a track to his door. So it is

with Perry Greene. Cars from all states in the Union park daily before his door. His dogs are distributed throughout the United States, and customers wait for dogs in every state in the Union. Only males and spayed females are sold, and in this way the breed remains a small monopoly. The dogs, full-grown, range in weight from ninety to one hundred and twenty pounds. They are trained by Greene and are sold from \$250 upward depending on their individual intelligence. The whole setup of dog and man in these "woods" is one of the most unique establishments in the United States and one of the most lucrative small enterprises of the town.

There are a number of smaller enterprises in the town. Among them is the huge auto graveyard of Calvin L. Bragg & Sons, dealing in new and used car parts; The Mack Bottling Works; Alton L. Prock, contractor for grading, excavating, and heavy steel work; and Burkett's Mill in the old shipyard, the home of fine cabinet work where the tradition of Granville O. Waltz and Lewis Kaler — that the priceless quality in any work is the integrity of its maker — is still carried on.

Another small but unique industry perpetuates in the town an art brought to this place by the earliest German settlers — the making of sauerkraut. At the very northern boundary next to the Washington line lies the farm of Virgil L. Morse. Here about three acres of land are set out yearly to cabbage plants, and yearly the harvest is converted to an output of twenty-five to forty tons of sauerkraut. From October to March it is made and shipped raw, carrying the name of this old sauerkraut town all over the east and to California on the Pacific coast. In this same area and utilizing the water power of the upper Medomak is the lumber mill of Ellard Mank — a mill site since the end of the French and Indian War. Here throughout the year a force ranging from ten to eighteen men processes lumber into barrel heads and staves, the greater part of which goes to The Consolidated Lobster Company of Gloucester, Massachusetts, where it is used for packing and shipping live lobsters. The annual output of this mill is about 65,000 casks.

The largest strictly industrial plant in the town is the Paragon Button Corporation,¹⁰ located in the Old Shoe Factory building, which was acquired in 1919 by interests represented by Paul Duscha. In May 1920 the Holub, Duscha Company began here the manufacture of button machine parts. This was shortly discontinued and in the latter part of 1920 the whole plant was converted by the present company to the manufacture of pearl buttons. The shell material which is used is shipped in via California from

¹⁰Since the preparation of this chapter in 1950, the Sylvania Electric Corporation has established a plant in the town and is its largest industrial unit.

Australia, Manila, and the Fiji Islands. The plant when working to full capacity employs eighty-two hands and is a non-union shop. The finished product is shipped to a distributing center in New York City.

In the main, the economic agencies here sketched form the sources of the town's food, clothing, shelter and surplus wealth, and provide support for its education, luxuries, religious, social and cultural life. Certain important supplementary facts, a few of which are here set forth, provide a further index to the community's material well-being. In the past ten years seventy new houses and three large garages have been constructed in the town. In the year 1950, 1,020 motor vehicles were here owned and operated, 695 of which were pleasure vehicles. This is an impressive figure, for a pleasure car to every three and one half inhabitants is indicative of a high standard of living.

Of even greater importance is the question of economic leadership. At the present time the direction of such affairs is in the hands of a sizable group of men who possess financial means, business intelligence, resourcefulness, imagination, civic-mindedness, courage, and initiative. It is rare to have such a combination in so large a group. Their influence and power are a major constructive and regenerative force in the life of the town, perhaps its best asset, but these men are not infallible, and even now are committing a fatal blunder that has its parallels elsewhere in our history.

When the Great Days came to an end in the sixties of the last century, and the local titans of those days laid down their business responsibilities and yielded up their virile leadership to the weight of years, there were literally no men of major stature to take over, and, in consequence, the town entered on a long period of decline. Against such a recurrence the part of wisdom for businessmen would be to select a couple of the more promising boys graduating each year from the Waldoboro High School, provide them with jobs in local business, and offer them the prospect of promotion on a basis of merit. As our history would show, no town can consistently export its best brains and character to other parts without paying dearly for its folly.

Another important feature in the economy of the present may be found in the large number of new people who have acquired homes and settled in the town. This has provided the community with a rich endowment; for many of them are people of means and quality. In many cases they have given generously and immeasurably of their business experience, their education, and their culture, but they are far from making the town entirely new, for the old persistent stock lingers on numerously. From the

present voting list of 1,500 names those of many of the old pioneer families have disappeared forever. But the ubiquitous Winchenbaches, Creamers, Benners, Minks, Genthners, Eugleys, and Waltzes still maintain their statistical ascendancy. Names do not, however, tell the whole story, for of the old pioneer families nearly everybody's blood courses in nearly everybody else's veins. 'Tis all like a huge knitted coverlet, where every stitch is linked with every other stitch. Verily the old-timers come close to being a single family.

In the local economy there are shadows as well as lights which must do merely with a passing reference. In this area lies the fact that the town has not realized its potentials as a trading center, a condition which tends to drain off to a degree some of the life blood of its otherwise productive economy. This unfortunate state can be laid largely to the door of some of the town's own merchants; for less attractive stores, less rich and varied stocks of goods, higher price levels, and the abuse of monopolies have led local consumers to trade in other centers. Such a condition calls for a revaluation of existing outlooks and practices. A Chamber of Commerce would be a fitting agency for a restorative program, but here we are reliably informed that inertia and local jealousies raise a road-block to a concerted program of making the town an active trading center. It would seem, however, that self-interest could undo what it has so short-sightedly done, and that the merchants themselves through united and intelligent action could repair this damage to the structure of their economy.

Another unlovely aspect of the town's productive potential is the rapid rate at which cleared fields and meadows are reverting to baby brush. These fields so laboriously cleared over the decades of their rocks, boulders, and tree stumps are fast becoming unproductive waste lands. They give to the community a shabby, unkempt, and abandoned appearance. There is much of this unused land which could provide pasturage for the fencing and hay for the cutting, great quantities of which are now given to farmers in Nobleboro, Jefferson, and Union, who know how to put it to profitable use. It needs only intelligent action to convert this area once more to productive purposes in the local economy. While this waste goes on, and fair meadows disappear under a ragged cover of alders and willows, the country continues its importation of wool from England and other lands, and its beef from the Argentine. Even in the face of the fact that there are a few farmers in the town who have been successful with beef and dairy herds, their example passes unnoticed.

A live, intelligent, and energetic Chamber of Commerce, were there such an organization, would certainly make as its first

order of business a complete survey of the town's undeveloped potentials, and would foster and stimulate latent sources of wealth wherever such gave a certain or even a fair promise of added profit, strength, or well-being to the community's economic life. Assuredly, herds of cattle and sheep, grazing contentedly on green meadow lands and hillsides would lend an air of prosperity and beauty to our countryside and become a new source of profit to the husbandman.

Ofttimes in the course of human history *what is not done* is just as significant as *what is*. Here the reference is to long-range planning. In many towns and cities today such planning takes on a large importance in community life. Indeed, it has become a recognized branch of architecture, and courses are offered in universities and technical schools in this special field. In progressive towns today plans are drawn up for community expansion, and some of them look as far as a century into the future. Were there a local Chamber of Commerce it would doubtless have such a program under consideration. This would be fitting, for in an atomic age with the national population increasing at the rate of 2,500,000 annually, expansion is inevitable, and it will not be in the larger cities.

There are two areas in Waldoboro which form a natural outlet for future growth. The first of these is the section west of the main business blocks on Friendship Road, which reaches down to the river side. This is the logical field for municipal expansion, since it would make for a more compact business district and check the present trend of the town to sprawl hideously and planlessly in all directions. In the second place, a planning program would aim to make of the village a more compact and centralized residential area as the town grows with the years. Best adapted to this purpose is the large cleared area on the west side of the river known as "the old Smouse farm." Here a modern real-estate development would lay the area out in hard surfaced streets, install sewerage and water facilities, and sell lots for new homes. It is a picturesque location which would be easy of development, and it is by no means a dream that in the course of the next century this "farm" may be covered by streets and houses. Dreams far more fanciful than this have come to be realities in the fullness of time, and ofttimes such realities are not as remote as they seem.

There are other realities whose need is by no means remote in a growing town, and one of these is the advent of new industries — industries that are sound, well managed, and backed by ample reserves of capital, rather than industries that are weak and faltering by reason of operating in a field in the American econ-

omy characterized by over-production. One is a decided asset, the other an equally decisive liability in any community. An excellent example is the plant of the Sylvania Electric Corporation already established in the town. A better example, perhaps, is the Lawrence Portland Cement Plant in the town of Thomaston which pays an annual tax to that town of approximately \$34,000 dollars. Every new industry in Waldoboro means an added increase in tax revenues, which would enable the town to make a beginning at least of a long-range planning program leading to an improved and larger community. The Waldoboro Industrial Realty Corporation with its present energy and vision has a pregnant mission for the town's future.

II

The preceding outline has revealed a hopeful phase of our history, but a flourishing economy is not entirely an end in itself. Any economy has secondary as well as primary objectives. Its primary aims are to provide people with the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, and simple comforts. Beyond this point wealth has no social significance unless it be translated into the higher human values, and the degree to which it provides and supports such values is the most meaningful fact in human history. For "the life is more than meat and the body more than raiment," and in fact they always have been, even though there are communities where this is not clearly understood.

Our own throughout a considerable period of its history has been one of them, and in consequence any surveys of its spiritual experience must still reveal the cultural, in all its aspects, as lagging behind the physical or economic phases of our community life. It is only recently that this trend has reversed itself and that in an ever increasing measure, the town's economic resources are being used to build and buttress its cultural life. Some decades still must pass before this cultural lag is overcome. Consequently the following evaluation of the town's spiritual or cultural status must, perforce, carry in it the unpleasant revelation of ugly gaps and jarring facts. These will be noted along the entire spiritual front as we survey the social, educational, religious, and cultural life of our community in the year 1950.

The discussion of such abstractions will carry us over into the area of the intangibles and imponderables, in short, into the field of opinion where individual views will vary, sometimes radically, from one another. From this fact, the inference that one man's evaluation would be as valid as that of another is unwarranted. For there are scholars, social scientists, educated and trained to observe, weigh, apply criteria, and evaluate social phenomena,

whose judgments carry preponderant weight. The many are not so trained and hence lack the experience and the method to handle expertly the great masses of highly complex and bafflingly inter-related appearances, forces, and factors that are tightly and organically integrated in all social phenomena. The evaluations set forth in the following pages are basically mine, but also to some degree those of other students of our local life, who in its different areas are qualified observers. The conclusions which follow have been discussed critically with keen and patient collaborators in the town. In many cases yielding to their insights, I have modified my own views and offer here in part a composite evaluation of local life in the year 1950.

The first estimate in this analysis should perhaps deal with the *social*, a term so comprehensive that it may be construed to embrace the whole of man's relationships to his fellow men. But here the term will be limited largely to the life of the town in its leisure hours, to cooperation for common social gains, to polite and pleasant talk, which may be profitable beyond measure in man's experience, or a tragic misuse of his time. There was a period of twenty years in the life of Dr. Samuel Johnson when he made little use of the written and much use of the spoken word. His conversation alone would have been enough to make him one of the central figures in English literature, and it places the man who recorded much of it in the "greatest biography in the English language" among the immortals. To be sure, such a fact represents a peak rarely reached in man's social life; it also provides us with a criterion by which to measure the values which we can develop in our own social experience.

As I look back to the year 1900 and survey the last half century, it becomes clear that there have been many changes and shifts of emphasis in our social growth. Gone is the old neighborhood unit, a social scheme based on propinquity, on mutual aid, on frequent association, and long evenings passed together by friendly firesides. Gone are the cracker-barrel gatherings and the nail-keg symposia of evenings around the pot-bellied stoves in the village stores, but still a social vogue at those of Genthner, Kaler, Scofield, and other suburban stores. Gone the old days of independence and proud self-sufficiency, when no shame attached to poverty, but when a person seeking town aid felt himself stigmatized forever.

Changes due to rapidity of communication have modified relations of men and nations throughout the earth. In our own area the narrower groups of family and neighborhood have been dissolved. For the life of the small group is substituted that of the herd. Now the social unit is the town, the county, the state, or

even New England. But our survey is limited to the town, and here there has developed a new concept, replacing neighborhood consciousness with a suburban or community consciousness.

On the Dutch Neck, in West Waldoboro, South Waldoboro, Orffs Corner, Feyler's Corner, larger social units have banded together and developed a strong local loyalty. This has institutionalized itself in each area in a community house — an active center of social life fostering that area's interests and needs, good roads, care of cemeteries, support of a little chapel or church, and cooperating from time to time in support of the larger social interests of the town. This is on the whole a new, unique, and highly admirable development. So long as it abstains from placing a greater emphasis on the part than on the whole, it represents a forward step in the evolution of a social and civic-mindedness which is a sizable asset in the life of the town.

Of social life at its highest level there is too little in the community; for there are few places or homes where men and women gather who share a common interest in the sciences, art, letters, history, politics, and philosophy. Hence there is little opportunity to spend an evening in an atmosphere of ideas, enjoying a vivid exchange of views, where the give and take of logical and experienced thinking is carried on with vigor, pleasure, and profit.

Man develops best when constantly functioning at his best in ever widening areas of human experience. In fact, it is probable that there is nothing in the whole gamut of human living that enables a human being to continue his growth and to approach so rapidly and pleasurably the optimum of his personal development, as social life of this character. It is in itself symptomatic of a high cultural level, and one which should to a far greater degree than in the present be set as a goal in our social life. The fact that there is so little such life at its optimum arises in some degree from inertia and weariness.

An active and demanding economic life impinges too deeply in this area of higher values, and in consequence experience loses much of its beauty, variety, and excellence because it courses too exclusively in a restricted channel. Bread, meat, animal comforts, provision for old age, are in the category of survival values and hence assume a necessary priority, but after this preamble has been accorded its full weight, the fact remains that the rarest and most exquisite flower in human civilization is the fully developed personality. A society that does not stimulate and foster such a growth remains shoddy and drab, and its individual members come to the end of their days with the finest essence of life having escaped them. This is true of the whole American scene, for most

surely ours is a civilization that prostitutes itself to getting and spending with a ruinous exclusiveness.

There is an ancient Chinese adage to the effect that great men talk about ideas, lesser folk about things, and common folk about people. Probably most of our social life locally rests on the middle ground of this proverb, as it does at the bourgeois level in many other of our Maine towns. Our discourse stumbles and fumbles over things. On occasion we may toy rather awkwardly and inexpertly with abstractions, but this is an area in which too few of our people feel entirely willing to enter. We have not accepted the challenge of continuous growth and the discipline pertaining thereto. Even on this middle social level life at its best is a by-product of education, and education is a continuous process from the cradle to the grave. The great curse here as elsewhere is that it stops when school stops, at the sixth or eighth-grade levels, or on graduation from high school.

This is the point at which it should really start as a matter of individual initiative. From here on it becomes a project of keen, studied, and constant observation and of the judicious reading of the better books, for as Francis Bacon has observed, "reading maketh a full man." Herein is to be found the reason that life fails to become what it should be — an ever growing realization, understanding, and appreciation of the endless wealth and values inherent in nature and civilization, values that man, by the exercise of diligence and wisdom, can appropriate to his own uses and translate into an ever expanding personality. Herein it is that our local social life falls short of its destiny — a failure that has a crippling effect on every phase of our common life wherever higher human values are involved.

It is clear that we find our social life in the town a satisfying one. Even though it fails signally to meet the criteria of any ultimate standard of man's social potential, it does possess the redeeming quality of warmth, kindness, good will, humility, simple charm, and a respect for what it cannot itself achieve. Amid such virtues one should give merely a passing mention to the little evils of smugness and complacency which the old-timers would be slow to recognize and admit, but which the newcomers have at times sensed all too keenly and quickly. They complain that it takes long to secure acceptance and to effect a pleasant integration with the life of the community. Such an attitude tends to engender within them feelings of disappointment, frustration, loneliness, and a sense of not belonging and not being wanted. Such an attitude on the part of the local folk now seems largely to be a thing of the past. Today it lingers most strongly, perhaps, in the area of the town's political life.

Near the bottom of our Chinese foot rule we find the limited class of those who are overfond and overfree in making talk about their fellows the central theme of their social life. But they are everywhere in this universe, and the local scene in all probability is blessed with no less and cursed with no more of them than the percentage allotted by the normal probability curve. That they produce some social wreckage is true, but on the other hand, they are known, and their reputation immunizes their victims against all but limited damage.

No survey of our social life would be complete without reference to a small but unique group to be found in every community — the social parasites or neutrals. This is not a reference to the poor who are compelled to draw their sustenance from the bounty of others, but rather to a limited number of people in comfortable, often well-to-do circumstances, who live exclusively to and for themselves; who derive their wealth from the existing social order; who live selfishly and colorlessly a life that is peculiar to themselves alone, and who support none of those good causes which in this world make for a richer common life.

The poet, Dante, has given an evaluation of this type of social aberration which has become in the course of centuries the classic one. In the third Canto of his *Inferno* he pictures them vividly in an upper circle of Hell, endlessly and eternally chasing a flag around the confines of a dark plain. Very justly the poet conceives of their penance in Hell as a vain and eternal pursuit of those values, symbolized by the flag, which they failed to realize in life. To Dante the guide, Vergil, observes: "These are the unhappy people who never were alive, never awakened . . . to care for anything but themselves." Then he adds in sadness and contempt:

Heaven chased them forth to keep its beauty from impair;
And the deep Hell receives them not . . .
Report of them the world permits not to exist;
Mercy and Justice disdain them;
Let us not speak of them; but look, and pass.

III

In the year 1950 the schools of the town have emerged from an eclipse of two centuries. In the earlier chapters of this history there has been traced in concrete detail that unhappy sequence of events which over the decades slowly but increasingly immersed the common life in a fog of ignorance and illiteracy. This dark pall has been thinning out during the last century, but it has not entirely disappeared, and still casts something of its long shadow into the present. This is a condition of which few are conscious, because the effects of this ancient blackness still reach into the

present in forms that are subtle and indistinct but none the less pervasive. They prompt our prejudice; they lead us into the miscalculations of bigotry and ignorance; they color our attitudes on questions of progress and public weal; they move us to turn aside in anger from constructive and valid criticism, and they move us to support short-sighted policies. Though few would admit it they are still latent and at times potent. Against this background, which is a legacy of our past, the present stands out with a brighter promise.

Education is fundamentally a process of change and human improvement. We start life with no knowledge or experience. What we become is conditioned by two factors: heredity and environment. About heredity we can do little, and we shall do no more here than to say that intelligence is an inherited trait. Generations of intermarriage and interbreeding in the earlier decades have not exactly conduced to an enriched biological heritage. About this we can do nothing, since we have to take ourselves as we find ourselves.

The environmental factor in education is the only one subject to human control. This we can break down into the general social milieu, the home environment, and the school. As an educational force the social milieu is all-pervasive. With the decay of the ancestral order in the late nineteenth century, largely induced under the pressures of science against the long-established moral bastions of mankind, there came into being new and decidedly looser norms of social behavior, relaxing and dissolving the older moral scruples, standards, and inhibitions. Under the colorful allurements of commercial advertising, the cheap and shameless pandering of the comics, the sex movies and novels, the social order has moved along generally in the direction of moral anarchy. Since behavior patterns and ideals are highly contagious, this shift in moral emphasis has bitten into the older standards of decency with the force of a virulent corrosive, and wields its influence against the best in the life of every child and adult. It invades the home, creating tension between parents and children, and vitiating the influence of those interested in the function of the family as a necessary part of the child's training.

This is not the sole effect of this change in outlook, for in many cases it is just as demoralizing in the life of the parent as in that of the child, and through both its influence reaches potently into the schools and there sets up its brick wall of resistance to the more constructive program of education and the efforts of teachers. This very obviously is an evil against which no town or home can completely quarantine itself, and one that must be combated on a national front, for it represents a nationwide condition.

Any survey of education in the town in the year 1950 must, perforce, center mainly on the school and the home. We may feel with reasonable justice and pride that the schools in the town have never been better, while on the other hand the conclusion is inescapable that as instruments of education there are homes which have never been weaker. In the face of such an unpleasant generalization one should gratefully concede exceptions, homes which struggle sincerely with the educational problem and which in some cases are brilliantly successful. But by and large this side of the ledger is too deep in the red. This condition can, perhaps, be most clearly realized by effecting a contrast of the Waldoboro home of a half century ago with that of the present day.

In the year 1900 or thereabout most of the children of the town lived in homes where they knew the discipline of obedience, cooperation, and physical labor. They dressed plainly, comfortably, economically, and were schooled to do without; they were thoroughly grounded in the moral outlook and religious convictions of that period; around the home strong taboos were inculcated against waste, tobacco, liquor, and the immoralities of sex; there were few children on the streets at night or in those lounging and loafing places frequented by the rougher village characters; the will of the parent was accepted as law; church and Sunday school were a part of the weekly routine; in the day school the teacher was usually right and the pupil usually wrong; a thrashing by the teacher oftentimes meant another on arrival home; in the evening the preparation of school work was generally mandatory; the diversions of leisure were home games and the reading of books; a high valuation was set on education at school even by the more limited parents, and the deficiencies in instruction were more than made up by the industry of the pupils, who in their schoolwork were competitive and ambitious. All in all, the atmosphere was puritanic and the end result was usually a stable and disciplined boy or girl.

In the half century which has since elapsed home life has undergone a radical change. Discipline has relaxed and in too many homes the will of the child is stronger than that of the parent; parental responsibility in education has been transferred in too large a measure to the school; reading is a diversion of the past and is becoming a lost art; smoking by teen-agers is rather general, and drinking is not uncommon; sex inhibitions are in a state of collapse, and the "must" marriages of those in their teens has become a matter of more than passing comment; language between the sexes is both profane and coarse; manners are too crude and good manners too infrequently practiced; ambition in the mass fails too frequently to reach beyond a car on the highway and such jobs as chance and accident may provide. For most of the

younger generation education stops at the statutory state limit or on graduation from high school, and is too frequently a matter of mere routine, of being exposed to so and so many years of schooling. There is too little intellectual curiosity and community idealism; pride and civic-mindedness among the young is almost an undeveloped social area.

This half-century contrast is a rather unpleasant one, mitigated as it were by the realization that the trends affecting us are those affecting in varying degree every community in the United States. In the year 1950 there are, however, real signs of progress and promise. In 1900 our high school was attended largely by village pupils, and its graduating classes ranged in number from six to a dozen, while today the school is filled by pupils from every section of the town, and those not spending some time in the school are definitely exceptions. Earlier in this survey the fact was emphasized that our schools have never been better. Of none is this truer than the high school which, in the current year, is staffed by eight teachers of exceptional social and personal fitness. These constitute the strongest deterrent in the contemporary picture against current teen-age trends, for they accept the task of educating the whole boy and the whole girl not only in subject fields but in the areas of manners, morals, and good taste — areas in which the family as a training agent sometimes functions rather lamely.

Another promising aspect of the present picture is that the local high school has reached college preparatory status. This is evidence of a school far stronger than that of 1900. To revert again to our contrast with that year we recall that in the period from 1900 to 1910, five boys went to college from Waldoboro — to Bowdoin and Harvard. In each case, they were compelled to attend schools out of town for their preparation. In the present, boys and girls go to college every year from the local school, and in the last decade a number of them have broken through the higher standards of admission by which such institutions as Harvard, Dartmouth, Bowdoin, and Williams are fenced around. This in itself is *prima facie* evidence that where the boy or girl is possessed of good native aptitude, and does his or her sincere and industrious best, the school is equal to the task of preparing students for colleges of top-grade requirements. This fact in itself furnishes irrefutable evidence that the school has reached a high level of excellence.

The last and one of the most important facets of the educational situation to be noted here is to be found in the fact that in the past few years the citizens of the town have allotted without question such monies for the support of education as the Board has asked. If such support continues and if parents as a whole can be interested in constructive cooperation with their school, the

town in a single generation can go far in the direction of overcoming the lag of indifference and inertia which from the beginning of its history has been a ball and chain on its spiritual progress.

IV

The power of contrasts can nowhere be sensed more sharply than in the religious life of the town. Two centuries ago, after the simple basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter, the greatest hunger of the people was for the mercy and love of God. On the Sabbath all save those stricken by illness and infirmity could be found at their worship in the churches. A century ago 142 new members, more than the total membership today of any communion in the town, were admitted in the ministry of a single pastor to one of the village churches. In the year 1950 the man, woman, or child who devotes any part of the Sabbath to the worship of God in the churches is a curious exception. Statistically a census of church attendance shows that these exceptions are about one in every ten in the town's population. The significance of this figure becomes apparent when compared with nationwide church attendance of Protestants in the United States, where a survey¹¹ shows thirty-two per cent who never attend church, forty-three per cent who attend regularly and twenty-five per cent who are weekly church goers. Using the very lowest per cent of church attendance for purposes of comparison, it becomes clear that Waldoboro with its one in ten deviates so far from the national averages of one in four as to become an exceptional phenomenon.

In the face of such facts it is difficult to escape the conclusion that over the more recent decades the town has been slowly becoming secularized. In fact, in the present it has reached the point where its population is only ten per cent "professed" Christian. Lest such a condition be made the basis of invidious charges it should be noted that throughout its long past there has been a slow infiltration of Christian ethics into the thought and behavior patterns of the local folk, which frequently reflects itself in large and generous acts of spontaneous kindness and good will, in which the whole community may unite to succor a needy family or restore a home destroyed by fire. The most charitable interpretation to be placed on its attitude to institutional religion is that the town is thoughtless in respect to its churches. It seems to take the serene and uncritical viewpoint that the Church always has been and hence must be an institution that lives forever.

But the church in Waldoboro is a human as well as a divine institution, and institutions, while extremely tenacious of life,

¹¹Nationwide survey of religious beliefs and practices made by an independent research bureau and sponsored by the *Catholic Digest*. Report summarized in the *New York Times* of Dec. 9, 1952.

do die, and churches in this town have died. The Lutheran Church, the chapel in the Genthner District, the Monroe Chapel have ceased to be, and the proudest, the loveliest, and the once strongest of them all, the "Old North Church" died within the memory of men now living. The Methodist Church in North Waldoboro, too, in recent years reached the closing-up stage. It remained open not by reason of its own vitality, but through secular aid from that district, and through sharing its pastor with another small parish. Churches of the same denomination in the village and outlying districts share one pastor in common, who like his predecessors of a century and a half ago, "rides the circuit" each Sabbath, ministering to four churches. Only one of the older churches is seemingly able to survive by virtue of its own ebbing vitality. But appearances are not always identical with reality, and in this case this church could not be supported by its own membership alone. Its seeming vitality is rather a sort of vicarious grace imparted through the loyalty of its parish and friends in the town, whose ancestors at one time had their religious roots in it.

From what has preceded in this section it is clear historically that churches have died in our town. Just as clear is it that what is now left of the surviving older churches in this community are already far along in this slow decline toward ultimate extinction. Today in the suburbs churches cling to life only through the support of a devoted handful; in the village through the support of two handfuls; and a future is foreseeable when worship in the town in its more dignified and historical forms will cease to be. In effecting a community survey of religious life and faith — the most ancient, the most fundamental and the most essential of man's spiritual experiences — the conclusion becomes unavoidable that those who through blindness, selfishness, or indifference withhold their support from the churches while the latter are still living, will, sooner than they may think, be confronted by the issue whether they wish to live in a community without churches. Here necessity may prompt us to action where the voluntary virtues of generosity and wisdom have failed.

In this survey reference has been omitted to those branches of the Christian church in the town which in their modes of worship hold and revert to the more primitive forms and beliefs of the early church. In such institutions there is evidence of the vigor of the earlier centuries, and there can be no question but that they minister strongly and effectively, albeit perhaps strangely, to those who find their inner needs fed and fired by more exciting modes of worship. Religious experience is as varied as human individuality, and all forms that satisfy man's craving for oneness and harmony with God and His righteousness will eventuate in good. It is clear, however, that the appeal of these newer sects is to a limited public,

and that it is beyond their power to serve satisfyingly that group of intelligent but spiritually unleavened men and women which should constitute the main nucleus of an active, dignified, and vigorous religious life in the town.

The brief, preceding analysis has outlined the religious condition which prevails in the town. That its people are religiously inert and indifferent; that the number who seldom or who possibly have never set foot in a Christian church is impressive; that the older churches are in a state of slow dissolution — all leads to a query that can be phrased in a single word, why? Since this question is complex in character there must be many answers. In the listing of some of them it should in the first place, in justice to the laity, be made clear that the Church cannot entirely free itself from a heavy degree of responsibility for the condition existing.

It is an unfortunate and regrettable fact that too frequently in the past its pulpits have been served by men inferior in education, intelligence, wisdom, and spirituality to many of the laity of the town. Such a view is amply evidenced by the churches' own leaders. At the national convention of one of the largest of our Protestant denominations, held at Atlantic City in May 1947, the Reverend Dr. Milton C. Froyd, Director of that church's program of study for ministerial training, stressed the fact that to a considerable degree the deterioration in the churches could be ascribed to too many poorly educated ministers. He further stated that of 5,300 pastors in the 7,000 churches of his denomination "only thirty-six per cent could qualify for the standard requirements of ordination, viz.: four years of college and three years of seminary study."¹²

This is a fact of decided relevance to this analysis, for of Dr. Froyd's sixty-four per cent of semi-educated clergymen there have been too many in this town in recent decades. Lacking as they have been in education, wisdom, and spiritual maturity, unquestionably their ministrations have been found "stale, flat and unprofitable" by too many local people. Under the leadership of such men, the drift of any church in any normally intelligent community is inevitably downward. This cannot be otherwise, where the leader lacks the essentials of a strong, rich, and appealing spiritual personality and where many of the laity, superior to the priest, find his social role in the community gauche and inept, and his utterances from the pulpit repellent to their sense of truth.

The obverse of the preceding paragraph presents another facet of this problem which in justice to the church should receive its due emphasis. One summer not so long ago the pulpit of one

¹²*New York Times*, May 22, 1947.

of the town's churches was occupied by a professor in a large American theological seminary. He was gracious in manner, liberal in thought, and eloquent in speech. There was an appreciable rise in church attendance and a somewhat less appreciable rise in financial support.

To clarify the situation further let us proceed on the basis of an highly improbable assumption. The assumption is that suddenly and for no apparent reason church attendance and financial support in the town trebles itself. In consequence it becomes possible for the churches to divest themselves of lower salaried preachers, and for a stipend of \$5,000 per annum secure preachers of unusual educational, personal, and spiritual endowments — men who would be a grace to the community and a power in the pulpit for making the good life appealing, attractive, and irresistible. All this would, indeed, be a miracle, and yet it could come to pass on the next Sabbath and on all the Sabbaths thereafter, if the community *willed it*. The significant thing is that this miracle does not happen because the *community does not will it*. This simple, hypothetical illustration admits of rather compelling inferences.

At this point our analysis narrows down to one specific focal issue — why do not the people of the town support their churches? The answers to this question can, perhaps, best be arrived at by defining the attitudes of the citizens as they affect the town's religious life. First of all, there is unquestionably a rather large group who are inactive or conventional believers in the traditional theology of the church, the doctrines of original sin, salvation through the blood, and the last judgment, followed by heaven or hell. This is a peculiar group. Their act of believing and yet doing nothing by reason of such belief can be explained only as a frozen conventional attitude, or as an expression of sheer animal lethargy.

Another group to be mentioned in passing is made up of the gayer, lighter spirits for whom the car, the motorboat, and the picnic exercise a far stronger pull than the Church of God. Still another group, so sizable that it may be said to represent a trend, is made up of those with whom the economic impinges on all the higher values of life, including the religious. For these the Sabbath is just another work day to be used for gainful employment at home or in the open marts of labor. Locally this is a highly characteristic and humanly demoralizing trend. Such a judgment on the part of the analyst finds strong confirmation in an independent source, that of a great living historian of the United States, Professor Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University. In commenting on the national weaknesses of our time Morison states his conviction that a very fundamental one is "the decay of religion, and the filling of that vacuum by an almost universal pursuit of gain," and he adds "this decline in religion has been

felt all along the line: it has weakened the ethical system that Christianity inherited from Hellas and Judea, and produced a state of public and private morals comparable only to that of Juvenal's Rome." This judgment not only states the problem vigorously and authoritatively but it definitely points back confirmatively to the view of the analyst relative to the social and moral consequences ensuing in the nation from pagan attitudes.

In addition, there is a sizable number of those who half-consciously practice an ethical cult, living uprightly and believing that in the sight of God this is the sole essential and a sufficient guarantee of a state of future blessedness. While still adhering to its ethical teachings these people find the dogmatics of the Christian faith out of line with their convictions. With such the church is felt to be an unnecessary adjunct to their lives. Consequently they do not feel impelled to participate in its work. Another and much smaller group are the Deists, although they would not, perhaps recognize themselves by this name. These believe in the direct worship of God and hold the Christ to be the last and greatest of the prophets. They are few in the community, and some of them participate in the work of the churches, while others, not being able to make the necessary adjustments in their own consciences, abstain, realizing that if their religious views were known they would be labelled in the church as heretics.

This leaves but two small and rather negligible categories for further consideration, the few agnostics and atheists in our midst. The agnostics are for the most part sincere persons who hold that naught can be known of God's will for man and naught of man's ultimate destiny. From this it would follow that such people find the cocksureness of the Church distasteful in reference to matters which they hold to be unknowable. Atheism, the most irrational and untenable state of mind in reference to religion, is a negligible factor in the local problem of church attendance and support. In these classifications of the large, nonchurch supporting public we have the answer to spiritual lethargy and religious indifference in Waldoboro.

This review of our religious life has dealt entirely with that of adults. It certainly would be incomplete without some reference to the younger, twenty per cent of the town's population, and incomplete without a brief comment on the correct Christian attitude of the churches to the many who are indifferent to their offerings. It may be truly said that childhood, and more especially adolescence, in the town represents an area of spiritual fallowness. The whole responsibility for religious instruction devolves on the Church schools. They meet it as best they can, but in this age of world-wide scepticism they face a most difficult, even perhaps an impossible task. There is no area of education requiring greater

finesse and skill. Were the Church schools equipped to handle religious instruction with the same professional adequacy and sound pedagogy as our day schools, and were there teachers available who were carefully grounded and trained for this work, it is highly probable that there would be more children seeking out such schools to their real and enduring profit.

As it now stands, many of these minors find the instruction of their amateur teachers such an unpleasant and unprofitable pabulum that they become candidates for graduation before they become adolescents. There lies in this fact a great spiritual loss which comes just at that time in life when the dreams, the hopes, and idealism of youth are in their fullest flower, when the need of spiritual sustenance is greatest and usually most decisive in imparting to life the set of its future course. On the whole, here is a lack which keeps ever adding to the great unleavened mass of our indifference to religious values.

There are in every one of the older churches in the town, as in all the older denominations in the nation, those members who are orthodox, and members, friends, and occasional worshippers who are more liberal in their religious beliefs and behavior patterns. Herein are buried the seeds of latent controversy. Such a condition, however, should never be construed by the Church as a challenge to combat within itself. What is needed is rather a breadth of view, a Christian tolerance, and that deep and abiding good will which readily unifies differences in order to serve better the larger aims of righteousness. T. S. Eliot has judged this cleavage pertinently and wisely in pointing out that "the Faith can, and must find room for many degrees of intellectual, imaginative and emotional receptivity to the same doctrines."¹³

In such an outlook there could be for the Church light, vigor, and life and within such a gentle tolerance the spiritually lethargic, the exponents of an ethical practice, the Deists, and conceivably even the agnostics might find an area for making the good life more attractive to themselves and for building out of the Church a power leading to a richer and more spiritual community experience. But such a vision calls for high leadership — men in our community pulpits possessed of the education, the wisdom, the personal magnetism, and the persuasive power to save the Church from its own blindness, and to make it again a center of local life radiating spiritual power and hope.

V

There is no task more difficult than to evaluate the culture of a community; for either local or personal culture is a most

¹³T. S. Eliot, *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949), p. 27.

complex, subtle and elusive essence, so much so that man can merely talk and write about it and around it, but none has ever penetrated to its core. As in poetry it is an essence which can be felt but never entirely defined. Hence only this or that can be said of it. Contrary to general opinion, personal culture is in no sense snobbishness, for it is possessed by a whole society, and like the Christian faith is free to anyone who appropriates and individualizes it. Those, however, who do appropriate it become essentially different, and by reason of this fact become a class, which gives ground to the general feeling that culture means snobbishness.

At the national level culture is closely synonymous with civilization; at the local level it consists of a sub-layer of national traits plus certain quaint overtones which give it its peculiar local savor. In the past, in areas where population was spread thin and much of life was lived in semi-isolation, human beings tended to develop personalities with flavor and crust. That, too, is passing. In the last half century our local culture has lost much of the uniqueness, the color, and the raciness which once gave to our life an original and eccentric charm. With the automobile, the hard surface roads, the comics, and the radios, a great levelling process has been going on. We have become more and more like Americans everywhere else. Over myriad lines of contact the national culture has moved in, displacing and obliterating much of that which was unique, flavorful, and attractive in our local life. The rural seers, soothsayers, statesmen, weather prophets, oracles, and philosophers are gone. With their disappearance the uniqueness which they imparted to our local culture has become a tradition of the town that used to be, leaving our peculiar cultural essence preserved only in the poetic works and sketches of writers such as Robert Coffin and John Gould.

The fountainhead of any cultured society is the individual. The character of his creative contribution and its diffusion through the common life forms the basis of group culture. Hence the cultural level in any community is a measure of the impact of its more gifted individuals on its mass. This is not an aristocratic concept but a verifiably historical fact. In this personal sense we shall define individual culture as the integration within the human spirit of its knowledge and experience into an artistic oneness. The significant thing is probably not the amount of knowledge and experience which an individual may possess, but rather the degree to which he is able to integrate them within himself into an harmonious unit. Hence it follows that personal culture is not exclusively a matter of education. The farmer or the artisan possessed of a sense of aesthetic form, natural or acquired, has the main integrating factor in the assimilation of his knowledge or experience.

He is cultured — perhaps not as profoundly as the scholar, but just as pleasantly and agreeably, so, even more, naïvely and picturesquely so.

It cannot be gainsaid that there are marked lacks in our midst of those influences which make for a heightened awareness of the values of which a full and rounded personal experience must consist. There is, for example, little aesthetic education in our schools: no training in the arts or art appreciation; musical education at the high school level only, and here in a very limited degree; the arts of the stage are little cultivated, and literature as studied and understood falls far short of its possibilities as a cultivating agent. What is true in the schools has a close parallel in the town. Here there is little musical life and little community development of this great art; among adults small interest in an expanding intellectual experience either through adult study or purposeful reading; little dignity or beauty in our worship and too little of the cultivation of grace and charm in our social life.

As a community we give little heed to our common natural legacy, to the care, increase, or preservation of the trees along our streets and highways which are the glory of so many New England towns; we do not hesitate to gash into lovely hillsides for gravel or to leave our unsightly debris behind us once Nature has been scarred to serve commercial ends. It is also true that as a town we are not disposed to mark appropriately our historical sites, to preserve quaint and lovely landmarks, to eradicate ugliness or to create beauty, even though we clearly recognize the mere economic advantage of so doing as we have seen clearly exemplified in some of our neighboring towns.

On the other hand, there are counter-trends which betoken a deeper and richer appreciation of the value of the beautiful in our common life. A comparison with the town of a half century ago reveals a vast improvement in the care of property. The houses in all sections are painted, yards are clean, and lawns are closely mown, with flowers and shrubs in appropriate places. In the interior of homes there has also been a marked change, and today many of them, instead of presenting the garish clashings of color and design of an older period, offer the more completely balanced harmonies of pleasing aesthetic effect. These are unquestionable gains. Accruing over a number of decades they represent a sharpened aesthetic perception and appreciation which point to a more advanced cultural experience.

These gains suggest that we give further consideration to the sources in our community life which are furnishing the standards, the norms, the insights, and the heightened appreciations which are ever awakening within us a growing receptivity to the beautiful, and leading to rich integrations of it in our experience.

First and least important, perhaps, is the influence of what might somewhat ironically be called our intellectual class — the seventy-odd men and women in the town who hold college degrees. While many of these live exclusively to and for themselves in their sunset years, yet there are exceptions who have given to the community stimulus and guidance in dramatic art, increased purposefulness and power in its educational program, technical expertness in phases of its economic life, leadership in adult education, and constructive effort and guidance in strengthening agencies making for a richer common life, and have also brought an added refinement to our social leisure.

Lest the latter seem a snobbish concept, it should be recalled as pointed out by T. S. Eliot, that "the emergence of more highly cultivated groups does not leave the rest of a society unaffected, for it is itself a part of a process in which the whole society changes." George Santayana further clarifies this process by stressing the historical fact that "culture has hitherto consisted in the diffusion and dilution of habits arising in privileged centers," or, we might add, in privileged groups.

A more vigorous culturizing influence is that of the local library, recently built up and supported at a level comparable to that in neighboring towns. The moral, intellectual, and aesthetic power of books and reading simply cannot be overestimated. In themselves they constitute potent forces of both good and evil, of growth and decadence. At their worst their influence is not one of unmitigated evil, for along with their sins there is always the beauty of language, the grace and charm of good manners, and many of the finer and nobler dignities inherent in human life. At their best they represent the strongest intellectual and culturizing force in man's experience. Herein there is growth in the beauty and mastery of language, an experiencing vicariously of that which is most noble and heroic in human life, a plumbing to the very outer periphery of man's knowledge, a penetration to those areas where man's poetic insights and intuitions have reached beyond his knowledge and where goodness, truth, and beauty fuse into the loveliest realizations and perceptions of human imaginative powers. Those who read discriminatingly and purposefully cannot escape the higher human destiny of becoming educated men and women. As André Maurois has pointed out, "most of the greatness in man comes from the imitation of great lives."

There are in the town about four hundred occasional and regular patrons of the library, a figure representing a very definite increase of the town's reading public, and while the reading done is by no means of the most rewarding character, nevertheless, it represents a most potent asset of community development in the higher areas of the intellectual, the moral, and the aesthetic. It may

be likened to the little leaven which a good woman placed in four measures of meal and left there until the whole was leavened.

Another strong cultural influence in the town is the Waldo Theater, one of the fine small amusement centers in New England. Its effect on local good taste, while unmeasurably mixed, is, none the less, both deep and constant. Here the individual is lifted vividly out of his own humdrum routine and projected panoramically into a world, which, while beyond the range of his contact and observation, is, nevertheless, a portion of the great life scene. Conceded that the "movies" are oftentimes drab, muddy, cheap, and overdrawn, nevertheless, there is to be found in them the varied experience of every area of man's life — rich and harmonious interiors of fine homes, palaces, public and state dining and reception rooms, lovely designs in furniture and dress, grace and courtliness of manners, pictures of gorgeous color harmonies, vistas of nature's majesty and loveliness, historical scenes from the past and the great events of the present, and in the best of the screen dramas, man, struggling in the entanglements of his destiny and giving expression to his joy, his sufferings, his bewilderment, and his pain.

In short, here are to be found all the arts focusing their rich harmonies as background and part of great, human experiences. Even the most limited among us cannot sit in silent witness of such scenes without unconsciously undergoing slow and subtle transformation of their feeling for the tragic and the beautiful, and without emerging with a more acute appreciation of the higher human values. Happily we do grow, develop, and change with no realization of the source or potency of the forces constantly working on us and within us. It is only needful that they be good.

There is in all men to some degree, greater or less, a love and appreciation of the values of beauty. They are not born with it, though they may be born with a disposition thereto. It is borne in on them from infancy from one source, the world of Nature; for here is beauty in ever changing variety, grand and unparalleled — the great panorama of the heavens with the sharp, metallic glitter of the stars on a winter night; the march of the constellations; clouds, hazy and fierce; the fast shifting glories of sunsets; the ominous onrushing of the summer storms; the endless variety of the seasons as the earth turns; the lovely colorations on hill and mountains under ever varying intensities of light; the crystal palaces and spires of the evergreens under the weight of winter snow, and the cold diamond glitter of a world encased in ice — no heart is impervious to such beauty and therein is laid the groundwork of an universal aesthetic experience. The degree to which it is nourished and fostered by the other human agencies, the extent to

which man transmutes it into the environment of home and town, into his personality and into his attitudes and modes of feeling, is one of the central values of human society, an experience which lends to individual and collective life its final significance.

With this essay the history of a centuries-old Maine town comes to its close. The writing of its final chapter has been both a pleasurable and a painful task — pleasurable, because the problems of social analysis are always challenging and intriguing ones; painful, because when the life of the present-day town is weighed in the balance of critical judgment it has, in some significant respects, been found wanting. The reader in charity should remember that charity is not a virtue of the historian, and that his evaluations of the human scene and state are made without respect for desire or sentiment. Furthermore, lest he should regard this chapter as superfluous, he should realize that states of being, states of feeling, and states of mind are in themselves as much a part of human history as when they are objectified in events and facts.

I am concluding this long task with the same conviction as at the beginning, that Waldoboro has the most unique and interesting history of any town in Maine. It came into being as a small feudal state immunized against alien influences by its well-nigh complete isolation in a wilderness accessible to the world only by water — a feudal community with a culture entirely continental European in character, reaching back in its essence to the very beginnings of medievalism. Truly it may be said that this little town's mother was Feudalism, its father the Protestant Reformation; in childhood it both clashed and played with the nonconformist breed of old England; in youth it became an apostate, renouncing the cultural creed of its forebears and accepting that of its early Puritan playmate; in its young manhood it retained only the invisible heritage of its Germanic ancestry — the mysticism, the sentimentalism, the poetic dreaminess, and the folklore; in its externals it had become English.

In its present it is decidedly of the hybrid strain of our common American culture. Of its future — who can say? But here, too, we may have our beliefs and convictions. Mine are that here in this western world the long period of our urbanized culture has passed its peak, and that today the human tide is moving toward the more rational and satisfying modes of life and work in the smaller country communities. The past has been elsewhere, and, if we read the portents of the present aright, the future is ours.

THE END

S U P P L E M E N T

THE MAKERS OF THE PRESENT

There is in America need for big men in little places.

ANONYMOUS

IT IS A SIGNIFICANT FACT in human history that the standards, spiritual insights, enthusiasms, and creative powers of Western civilization have in the past originated in, and radiated outward as constructive forces from very small centers. The Jerusalem of some of the major Prophets, the Athens of Pericles, the Florence of the Medici, the London of Elizabeth I, and the Weimar of Goethe were, compared with modern city populations, little places. Yet their creative achievement and the influence emanating from them account for much of what is richest and most enduring in the texture of our modern life.

In no sense is it suggested here that the Waldoboro of the present is a cultural center. We wish to point merely to the simple psychological law that wherever a group of talented and thoughtful men live closely associated, as is possible in a small community, their energies, enthusiasms, interests, and visions set up a strong mutual interaction which oftentimes in a given direction eventuates in amazing results. This was true of the Great Days in the town. At that time there was a large group of able, bold, and energetic men in the community who stimulated one another strongly in the direction of individual and collective action. This process invariably repeats itself when the conditions necessary to it are met. The present in the life of the town corresponds to such a period and in consequence the community seems economically to be in the second great creative period of its history. The makers of this economic strength are a group of men of energy, courage, and civic vision, whose boldness and initiative have built the foundation of the structure of our local life in the present day. Hence passing comment will be made on those who largely, through individual and concerted action, have added signally not only to the town's wealth and prosperity but also to that wide

diversity of achievement which goes to make up a richer life in a small community.

BUSINESS

In this area of activity the town owes much to a few individuals of the more recent past who in its years of uncertainty expressed their confidence and interest by starting and stimulating new enterprises. Notable among these pioneers were Carroll Cooney, his brother, Russell Cooney, and Mr. Stuart Hemingway. Following these earlier beginnings a period of steady expansion has set in leading up to a reasonably assured permanence in the present. Today the well-being of the town rests on a few large businesses and a considerable number of widely diversified smaller enterprises. Most of the larger undertakings are contemporary in their origins and the outgrowth of the drive and initiative of resourceful individuals. The wide range of their activities add, of course, to the economic stability of the community. It is not, like other towns in the county, a single-industry town.

Figuring prominently in the tourist business is the vacation resort of Frances B. Quiner on Dutch Neck, and in the center of the town what is probably the largest single enterprise of this character in the county, founded and expanded into one of the community's major economic units by the executive drive of Percy B. Moody. Other enterprises of note are the grain business of Victor Burnheimer, Sr., the mill business of Ellard Mank, and the heavy building and contracting enterprises of Alton B. Prock. A whole new section is growing up — an upper village — on lower Jefferson Street and along the Atlantic Highway, where much of this new life is localizing.

From sheer volume of business the town owes much to its becoming a distributing center in the automotive trade. The fine blocks erected on the Atlantic Highway by John H. Miller and Harold Ralph are active foci of this new automotive business which meets the demands and needs of a wide area. The significant fact relative to these businesses is that they are all recent and were all started from small beginnings by the same men who now administer them. To these makers of the town's economy in the present should be added the names of some of the more successful agriculturists — Ernest Black, Foster Jameson, Russell McLeod, Ivan Scott, Melville Davis, John Burgess, Philip Lee, John Rines, Frank Salmi, and others, who through their industry and skill have added materially to the town's economic activity and wealth.

If a selection were to be made of an individual who has been the most successful in business among these makers of the town's present economy the choice by common agreement would undoubtedly be John H. Miller. In recognition of a fine achieve-

ment there follows here a brief narrative of his life and labors. Mr. Miller, a son of William and Ida Gross Miller, first saw the light of day on July 25, 1895, in the house on Friendship Road now the home of Ralph Dean. The whole of his education was received in the town schools, and on graduation his start in life was his good health and his willingness to work. His first job was in resort hotels in Michigan and Southern Pines and this furthered his education by way of being an introduction to the big world. After a period of service in the First World War he entered the automobile business in his home town by forming a partnership in 1918 with John T. Gay, Jr.

His start was on two thousand of his own dollars and four thousand of borrowed capital. These were hard years, but the business prospered, and in 1937 he bought his partner's interest. More hard years followed and success came as the result of long hours. Mr. Miller personally supervised all garage activities, and his wife, Marian, handled the office detail. The Ford proved itself a good seller, business expanded rapidly, and in 1947 the large garage and salesroom was erected on the Atlantic Highway. In 1952-1953 a second large shop and sales center was built in the Rockland area. Over these later years the volume of business has increased to a point where Mr. Miller now has an annual payroll close to \$200,000 in the two centers.

After he had secured himself in business, John Miller bought the old Bulfinch Mansion and without sparing costs has done a beautiful job of restoration. Here in this home, the finest in the town, is housed a collection of Amberina glass, which Faunce Pendexter has called "one of the best of its kind in the entire country." Apart from this restoration and preservation of an old landmark in the town, Mr. Miller's civic interest has touched the developing community at every vital point. He has aided in all new enterprises, both with his experience and his capital. Without notoriety or ostentation, he is probably the most generous patron of institutions promoting the town's cultural and spiritual life. Looking backward over the town's past it may be said that from the standpoint of capital involved in his enterprises he is clearly the most successful businessman in our history.

INDUSTRIAL PROMOTION

The major impetus in the town's present industrial life has not come from accident or chance but rather through concerted action on the part of determined and public-spirited men. Realizing that the pulsing life of economic America did not always reach to the outer periphery of the nation's boundaries, a group of local men banded together and brought into being the Waldoboro

Lockers, Inc., and the Waldoboro Industrial Realty Corporation. Backed by their energy, courage, and foresight a locker plant — the only one between the Kennebec and Penobscot — has become firmly established, and following it, the factory of the Sylvania Electric Products, Inc., has proven itself an invaluable adjunct to the local economy.

Both structures were conceived in the determination of local men, and both were born of local capital widely subscribed — and both ventures have met with high success. In the fullest sense both enterprises are the outcome of a widely ramified cooperative effort and both provide a conspicuous example of what civic-minded men can accomplish when their wills are set on raising themselves literally by their own boot-straps. The indebtedness of local people to these leaders is indeed a heavy one, as is that of those over a wide area ranging north and south from Whitefield to Friendship and Bristol, and east and west from Camden to Bath, for drawn from this area are the two hundred hands now employed at the Sylvania Plant. The names of those who have made these additions to the town's economic life follow as a kind of local industrial honor roll: Leonard Bidwell, John Burgess, Victor Burnheimer, Sr., Merle Castner, Forrest Eaton, John Foster, Maynard Genthner, Roland Genthner, Harold Gross, Foster Jameson, Raymond Jones, Arnold Levensaler, John H. Miller, Percy Moody, Harold Ralph, Frank Salmi, Ivan Scott, Stanley Waltz, Kenneth Weston, and Laurence Weston.

But these men had a leader — a man of executive force, experience, and vision. There follows a brief outline of his career. John H. Foster was born at Butler, Pennsylvania, in 1893. He received his education in the Butler schools and thereafter by taking special courses at La Salle University and the Pace Institute of Accounting. He began his business career in the Forged Steel Wheel Company and moved on, assuming larger responsibilities in various corporations. In 1924 he joined the Florence Stove Company of Gardner, Massachusetts, in which he served as corporation clerk, treasurer, vice president and director. He saw service in the A.E.F. in France in 1918-1919.

In 1946 he came to Waldoboro. After his return from a trip in the East Indies in quest of some word of his only son, shot down in an areoplane, he devoted his energy and experience wholeheartedly to the advancement of the town's economic well-being. Under the new manager form of social control he served as Chairman of the Board of Selectmen up to the time of his resignation in 1954. In this period the community experienced a sound business administration of its affairs; its outlook widened and its services expanded. It was during his period of leadership that the Locker

Plant came into being, that a factory was built, and largely through his personal effort and influence that the Sylvania Electric Products Corporation located in the town. Certainly throughout its entire history there has never been any single individual to whom the community is more heavily indebted. In February 1954 and amid general regret John Foster left the town to become the financial analyst for the Perfection Stove Company in Cleveland, Ohio. Though the absence be relatively temporary, still it will be too long for a community that has gained so much from his business wisdom and his virile direction.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

It was in the present century that women were finally accorded political equality with men. In the relatively short time since the ratification of the nineteenth amendment of the Federal Constitution (1920) women in the nation and state and in this town have moved rapidly forward into positions of leadership in both the political and economic spheres, until in the present they are touching our common life creatively at many points. Within thirty years they have taken on a considerable share of the male burden. In this town's political, civic, educational, and cultural life their activities and influences have contributed to a marked enrichment, for in these areas their participation has been wide and fruitful. It is indeed a hazardous task to point out all those individuals whose services have been most constructive in the local sphere. The responsibility for essaying such a feat can only be approached with a sense of apprehension and inadequacy. In consequence the following is offered apologetically. Rena Crowell, Mildred Damon, Katherine Dow, Maude C. Gay, Fanny Gray, Elizabeth Hilton, Faye Keene, Jessie Keene, Viola Kuhn, Sarah Lash, Marion MacRae, Elsa Mank, Gladys Patrick, Theresa Chute, Ida Stahl, Frances Storer, Betty Thomas, Mary Weston, and Dora Howard York.

Of these women Maude Clark Gay has clearly been the outstanding figure as a local and a state leader. She was born in Waldoboro in 1876, the daughter of Webster C. Mayo and Annie Atherton Clark Mayo. Her ancestry was excellent. She was the granddaughter of Colonel Atherton and Mary D. Clark and the great granddaughter of Joseph W. Clark, one of the great shipbuilders of Maine. She received her education at public and private schools in Waldoboro and at Lincoln Academy in Newcastle. At the age of eighteen she joined the local Woman's Club and in the course of time became its president. From this office her rise was rapid. She served as President of the Lincoln County Union of Woman's Clubs, also of the Lincoln County Home Association for the Aged.

During the First World War she was a leader in the Red Cross and County Chairman of the Woman's Branch of the National Defense Committee.

In 1927 Maude Gay entered politics and served in the Maine House of Representatives from 1927 to 1930. In 1933-1934 she was a member of the Maine Senate and Chairman of its Committee on Education. In her later years she served on the State Board of Education. Her activities in club work continued to the end of her days, and she served effectively in the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs as chairman of its endowment fund, district director, recording secretary, vice president and president. During this period she represented the General Federation as a director and travelled widely, speaking in many states in the interests of the organization.

The many faceted activities of this woman included also the field of letters. She was a member of the American League of Pen Women, the Pemaquid Chapter of the D.A.R., Daughters of Colonial Wars, and the Maine Writers' Research Club. Her writings included newspaper and magazine articles and two novels: *The Knitting of the Souls* and *Paths Crossing*. In 1896 she became the wife of John T. Gay, Jr. (dec. 1937). One daughter was born to this union, Anne Gracia Gay Bailey of Evanston, Illinois. Mrs. Gay's death took place in the Eastland Hotel in Portland in September, 1952. The passing of this woman — civic leader, stateswoman and author — left a gaping void in the life of the town. She and Harriet Haskell were clearly the two greatest women in its history.

EDUCATION

In the field of education the town has done well by the schools of the nation and in this generation it has at long last set its own house in order. Among those who have been active and successful on distant scenes are Allen Rogers Benner, the dearly beloved Professor of Greek at Phillips Academy in Andover for the greater part of his life; William Daggett, teacher and librarian at the Drury College in Springfield, Missouri, and his son, Athearn, Professor of Government at Bowdoin College; Faye M. Keene, teacher at the Ethical Culture High School, Fieldston, New York; Jessie L. Keene, one time Dean of Women at the Gorham State Teachers College; Charles C. Lilly, teacher of English in Osaka, Japan; Harvey Lovell, Professor of Biology at the University of Louisville; Susan Ludwig, a landmark at the elementary level in Waldoboro schools and the gracious preceptress of generations of local villagers; Gladys Patrick, Supervisor of Elementary Education in the State Department of Education; Stephen Patrick, Director of Vocational Education in the same department; Jasper J.



JASPER JACOB STAHL

Stahl, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures at Reed College in Portland, Oregon; and Ada Winchenbaugh, a teacher in the public schools of Massachusetts through the active years of her life.

Locally the Waldoboro school system has in our day been brought to the high point of its excellence under the resourceful supervisorship of Alvra D. Gray and Earle W. Spear, supported by lay and professional members of the Board of Education including John Burgess, Elizabeth Hilton, Jessie Keene, Ida Stahl, Philip Weston, and Jasper J. Stahl. Local folk active on the state scene in recent years have been Maude Clark Gay, a member of the State Board of Education, and Jasper J. Stahl appointed by Governor Payne to the five-year term on the Maine School Building Authority.

The most scholarly, vibrant, and picturesque of these personalities has been Allen Rogers Benner (1870-1940), affectionately known as "Zeus" to generations of American boys at Andover. Mr. Benner was born at Waldoboro in the year 1870, the eldest son of Edward Randall and Sarah Allen Benner. He received his early education in the local schools and in 1886 entered Andover where he was graduated as class valedictorian in 1888. Continuing his education at Harvard he was graduated in 1892, *summa cum laude*, with highest honors in the classics, and here again he stood first in his class, a striking index of the man's intellectual powers.

In the autumn following his graduation he accepted the invitation of Dr. C. F. P. Bancroft, Headmaster of Andover, to become an instructor in his old school. There he remained, in spite of many offers from other quarters, throughout his active career. When the "new foundations" were established there in 1927 by Thomas Cochran, Allen Benner became the first holder of the Professorship of Greek on the Jonathan French Foundation and for forty-six years at the Academy he "did a strong man's work," to keep burning the flame of classical learning. In 1938 he was retired from his long and faithful career and returned to his native town. Here he was vouchsafed but two years before the sudden ebbing of the tide. His editions of the *Anabasis* and of Homer have been for decades standard texts in the nation, and at the time of his death he was working on a translation of the letters of Alciphron for the Loeb Classical Library.

The influence of this man on generations of the élite of American youth has been simply incalculable, for he had the true genius of a great teacher—the spirit's quickening breath. During his years at the Academy a continuous stream of "old boys" were ever dropping in at Andover Cottage to pay their

tribute of affectionate veneration. "They came singly, in groups, often fathers and sons, both of whom had benefited from his tutelage." Nor was his reputation and prestige limited to the boys of Andover. President Pease of Amherst, on awarding Allen Benner an honorary degree in 1928, made use of the following citation:

For nearly four decades at Andover a Kindler of interest in Greek language and life among the pupils of Phillip's Academy, and knowledge far outside its limits to many a student of Homer; amid your daily duties of precision at no moment deaf to the "surge and thunder of the Odyssey"; in placing your name upon its roll Amherst College honors not itself alone, but also the distinguished school which for one hundred and fifty years has based its training on solid classical foundations.

Perhaps the crowning moment in Allen Benner's career was a dinner given in his honor by some of the Harvard faculty, on which occasion he was presented a copy of Aristotle's *Poetics*, once the property of Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. I believe that the truest suggestion of Allen Benner's personal philosophy is to be found in his contribution to his Class Report on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary at Harvard, from which a brief excerpt follows:

For me, however, life has pursued an even tenor; it has been my happy experience to spend my days with youth, and to read the ancient classics with eager and willing boys. One can always turn to the Greeks for cheerfulness and recreation, and reread with comfort the books of a gifted race who never heard of Bolshevism, the income tax, the Eighteenth Amendment, and other delectable conceits of the Twentieth Century.

On reading these words all who knew Allen Benner will fondly recall the picturesque and stubborn quality of his individualism. Of him history will record that he was the great teacher — the most gifted of the many fine teachers which this little town has given to the larger world.

ART, LETTERS, MUSIC, SCHOLARSHIP

The economic is the constant and universal obsession of the present day, while the spiritual remains an area of scant attention and thought. This perversion of values leads straight in a causal sequence to the decadence and degeneration of our times. Such a consequence has been ordained from the beginning. That man shall not live by bread alone is a law of nature, an integral of human life, vainly enunciated, to be sure, by those great spirits who have most clearly discerned that which alone gives significance to life itself. Hence to turn to the spiritual aspects of the local scene is a welcome task. It is quite true that Waldoboro is not now

nor ever has been a town where the arts have flourished richly. This is perhaps just as true of any little center which might be compelled to rely on its own productive genius for the enrichment of its cultural life. But a study of its past and a survey of its present do reveal an increased interest in the arts and a vitality accruing to them stronger than in any previous period. This condition applies to painting, letters, music, and scholarship.

In the area of drawing and design Barbara Cooney Porter, until recently a familiar figure in the town, has achieved nationwide recognition as an illustrator of children's books. This is perhaps an inherited talent, for her mother, Mae B. Cooney, is a painter of recognized excellence whose first public exhibition of work in this vicinity was held at the Farnsworth Museum in the summer of 1953. Best known, perhaps, is Bruno Risannen, a Finnish resident of the town and a person of professional craftsmanship, who participated in the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg. He is no less distinguished as a painter, and his exhibit at the Farnsworth Museum in the summer of 1952 revealed a skill of professional distinction.

A bit away from established convention is Earl Jackson Russell, something of a deviationist in the practice of his art — holding that it is a legitimate function of painting to reveal the impact of nature on the person of the painter without literal reference to specific subject matter. His exhibit at the University of Maine in the summer of 1953, revealing as it did this aesthetic philosophy, was a matter of wide public interest. Mr. and Mrs. William A. B. Kirpatrick in their younger days were both painters of distinction, and Martha Cobb ably represents a more recent tradition in her commercial art. Amateurs, if there be enough of them, do much to popularize art in a community, and this town has a few excellent ones. Outstanding among them are Caroline Abbott, Hazel Blaney, Katherine Mayo, Betty Thompson, Donald Flagg, and Dr. Stanley Lenfest. Over the years their interest and skill have served to stimulate other undeveloped talent in the practice of this art.

A half century ago Waldoboro was a singing town. In the present it may be said to have touched in interest and practice the nadir of this art. Despite the lack of a supporting milieu locally it furnishes a few good amateurs to the Lincoln County Orchestra. But this art falters in our midst for lack of any widely diffused public interest, and seldom does it create anything of note from home talent. This is not to say that there are no good performers in the town. Among the latter are Arthur Bacon, now a music director in the Navy; Harold Sprague, a violinist, skilled in the field of popular music and leader of a dance orchestra; Elsa and Philip

Lee, violinist and trombone players; and Gabriel Winchenbaugh, a violinist of near professional excellence. Mrs. Katherine Dow is a Boston Conservatory graduate and has in many ways generously supported the art in community life. Floyd O. Benner, organist at the Village Baptist Church, is locally notable for his fine programs of Christmas and Easter music. Seasonal visitors and recent residents, too, have given something of their talent. Noteworthy in this group are the Princess Evelyn Shahnazaroff with a glorious soprano voice, and Leonard Marks with an excellent tenor — a rarity in the town.

By far the largest contribution, however, has been the work of Marion Waltz MacRae, who in a few short years here has effected a renaissance of musical interest and skill in the younger generation. Her influence has been incalculable. She has aided with professional zeal and skill in all musical undertakings in the town, has rekindled an enthusiasm for vocal music in the local high school, and most important, has trained between thirty and forty boys and girls in piano, thus providing a musical basis for the community of the future.

In the field of letters the community, while apathetic as a whole, has effected a contribution considerably greater than normal for small towns. Mention has been made elsewhere of the popular writings and the two novels of Maude Clark Gay. Barbara Cooney Porter, apart from her illustrating, has written one child's book with a local background, *The King of Wreck Island*, and two additional works, *The Kellyhorns* and *Captain Pottle's House*. Carroll T. Cooney, Jr., during his residence in Waldoboro published his *Green Field for Courage* (1942) and *David* (1943). Mrs. Truman Thomas is a writer and occasional publisher of poetry, and Mrs. Otis Benner, one of the more unusual women of the town, is possessed of both literary taste and talent. Such activities, while limited, give to the town a position comparable to that reached only by a few small communities.

The town, too, has not been without its scholars. Prominence has already been given to the work of Allen Benner in the area of humanities, and John Lovell, who will be accorded more detailed recognition in this chapter, has achieved an international reputation in the field of science. Jasper J. Stahl has published historical articles in learned journals and done other work in the field of history. Since his two-volume study in local history is the most ambitious project ever undertaken by any local scholar, it is believed fitting to include a brief autobiographical sketch at this point.

The author of this history has seldom pored over old books without having his curiosity awakened concerning the author —

where he lived, what was his scholarly competence, and how did he look. In the fullness of time this will probably be a part of the destiny of this work. The following narrative is modestly designed to satisfy this reasonable curiosity.

Jasper Jacob Stahl was born November 14, 1886, at Waldoboro, Maine, the son of Captain Albion Francis Stahl and Lucy Heyer Keene. His first paternal ancestor in this country was John Stahl, a glass-blower, who came from the Rhine Country to old Braintree in Massachusetts in 1752 and who (*circa* 1760) migrated to Broad Bay in Maine. Other German antecedents in his ancestral line were the Hiltz, the Winchenbaches, and the Heavens. On the maternal side his earliest ancestors in America were Richard Warren, one of the *Mayflower* passengers of 1620, Josiah Keene (b. London, "on London Bridge") who came to Hingham in the 1630's, and Martin and Conrad Heyer (Broad Bay, 1748).

The author attended the village schools and after one year in the high school transferred to Lincoln Academy in order to prepare for college. After graduating from the Academy in 1904 he taught the high school in Friendship Village for one year before entering Bowdoin College. He completed work at Bowdoin in 1909 — graduating *summa cum laude* with the top scholastic standing in his class — and was awarded the Henry W. Longfellow Fellowship for European study. His graduate work was done at the Universities of Munich and Berlin in Germany and at Harvard University in the United States. From 1911 to 1919 he was Assistant Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures at Reed College in Portland, Oregon.

Following the First World War, in which he served as an officer in the United States Navy, he became Director of Studies at The Hill in Pottstown, Pennsylvania. In 1931 he acquired the old Isaiah Cole Homestead in Waldoboro in which he took up residence in 1947. The two volumes of this history are a product of his intermittent research from 1937 to 1953. In the town the writer has served as a trustee of the Waldoboro Public Library, as Chairman of the Board of Education, and as a founder and President of the Waldoboro Historical Society. He has been active on civic committees and as a lecturer around the state. In 1952 he was appointed by Governor Payne to a five-year term on the Maine School Building Authority. He is a member of the Zeta Psi and Phi Beta Kappa Fraternities.

POLITICS

The rebirth of economic activity in the town has also brought a renewed invigoration of its political life. During the quiet decades it abdicated its old primacy in the county and state to other towns

in the area, but in the last ten years it has entered on the most brilliant era in its history and is again playing a conspicuous role in the county, state, and nation. Among local leaders are Alton G. Winchenbach,* who as chairman presides over the destiny in the county of the once locally powerful Democratic Party.

On the Republican side of the party line Rena Crowell, Elsa Mank, and Maude Gay have served their time on the State Committee. Among those descended from Waldoboro stock who have achieved distinction at the state and national levels are Raymond Fogler, assistant Secretary of the Navy in the Eisenhower administration, and Judge F. Roger Miller, born, reared, and educated in the town, who in his later years has had a distinguished career in the Berwicks, where he has been prominent in the law, a leader in civic enterprises, and an influential force in the political life of western Maine. Forrest Bond, while a native of Jefferson, has been in business in town for the past thirty-six years and in this time has served as representative, senator and member of the Governor's Council. He enjoys the distinction of being one of the most astute political geniuses in the state. Mr. Wilmot S. Dow is the present senator from the county; E. Ashley Walter, Jr., has been on the Board of County Commissioners for successive terms; Maude Clark Gay we have already covered; Colonel Stanley G. Waltz is the present High Sheriff of Lincoln County; and Jasper J. Stahl is on the Maine School Building Authority. But pre-eminent among these local figures is Colonel Frederick G. Payne, Governor of Maine, 1949 to 1953, and the present junior United States Senator from the state.

"Fred" Payne, as he is known locally, was born in Lewiston, Maine, July 24, 1900. He was educated in the schools of that city and at the Bentley School of Accounting and Finance in Boston. His first major step up the political ladder came with his election for three successive terms (1935-1941) as Mayor of Augusta. The second step was his appointment by Governor Burrows to serve as Commissioner of Finance and Director of the Budget for the State of Maine (1940-1942).

Then the scene shifted for the future statesman, and he found himself Squadron Commander of the 66th Headquarters and Headquarters Squadron at Gunter Field, Alabama, with rank of captain. The next step in the service was to become Air Inspector and Administrative Inspector at Nashville Army Air Field and Aviation Cadet Classification Center, Nashville, Tennessee, with rank of major. But Mr. Payne's experience in the field of finance was such as to place on him heavier responsibilities, and shortly he was serving as Chief of the Budget and Fiscal Division, Army

* Deceased 1954.

Air Force Training Command, at Forth Worth, Texas. His last assignment was to Headquarters Army Air Force, Washington, D. C., to establish budget and fiscal procedures for all installations of the Army Air Forces.

In 1944 he was married to Ella Marshall of Waldoboro, and following his release from service with the rank of lieutenant colonel, he took up residence here in the home of a former governor, the Honorable S. S. Marble, and entered business with his brother-in-law, John H. Miller. In 1949 he became Governor of Maine for two terms. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1952 — becoming the first governor to go directly from the Blaine Mansion to the Senate.

SCIENCE

The arts and sciences flourish best in this modern age in larger communities where men and women in considerable numbers are engaged in such activities and live under the constant stimulus of their associates. Those are rare individuals indeed, who, relatively isolated from such centers, carry on their work without the supporting interest of colleagues, and without the aid arising from contact with minds as fertile as their own. Such men carry on buoyed up only by their own passion for knowing and by the love for their own labors. Two Waldoboro scientists of the present era are men who have labored under such conditions and the fruits of their disciplined labor has reached to all parts of the earth. These men are John Russell Cooney in the field of applied science and John Lovell in botany and plant biology.

“Jack” Cooney was born in Brooklyn, New York. From early childhood when not at school his life was spent in this town. After the completion of his education at Exeter, Yale, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a world was open to him where there was plenty of room for his brilliant mind and high inventive skill. Instead of entering this larger arena he elected to return to this town where he could live the kind of life he loved. Here in recent years has been erected the laboratory of the Vocaline Corporation of America, in which Jack Cooney is the Director of Research. He has already five inventions to his credit which are protected by patent. Three of these, having to do with motion picture sound reproduction, have been sold to the Radio Corporation of America. Another invention is the *vocatron* which is an intercommunication apparatus transmitting sound effects over existing power lines. To date 50,000 such sets have been manufactured and are in use in all parts of the world. In the present, work on other devices is in progress in the monastic seclusion of the laboratory on Friendship Road.

The second of these local scientists, John Harvey Lovell, ecologist, field-naturalist and plant biologist, was at the time of his death the most widely known citizen of the town. His life was in and of Waldoboro where he was born in 1860, the son of Captain Harvey H. and Sophronia Bulfinch Lovell. This was a good heredity, for his father was a resourceful and daring master of clipper ships, and his maternal grandfather, Squire Bulfinch, was of the famous Boston family.

Mr. Lovell entered Amherst College at the age of seventeen and received from that institution his bachelor and master degrees as well as a Phi Beta Kappa appointment. Thereafter his life was spent largely on the local scene. His inheritance from the family estate had left him with an income sufficient for his needs, and this enabled him to devote his life with rare singleness of purpose to his master passion which was natural science. In this field John Lovell's achievement was prodigious and his recognition was world-wide. He corresponded with scientists in distant lands whose letters he could read, and answered letters addressed to him in languages he could not read. He was elected to membership and held offices in scientific societies too numerous to mention in the scope of this brief biography. His two books were: *The Flower and the Bee* (Scribners, 1918) and *Honey Plants of North America*. But it is his scientific articles published in learned journals that reveal most fully this man's versatility and amazing productivity. These articles number no less than one hundred and twenty-one. John Lovell in his seventy-odd years carried on in the tradition of Henry David Thoreau, and while he never rose to the latter's literary and philosophic prominence, his contribution to learning was perhaps equally great. His last article, "Pollination of *Verbena Hastata*," appeared in print during his confinement in his last illness. He died in Sanford, Maine, on August 1, 1938. A more detailed narrative of John Lovell's distinguished and useful career may be found in the *American Bee Journal* of December 1939. His life was an incarnation of devoted scholarship, and no individual in the history of this town has attained a recognition so universal.

SPORTS

In this era of economic and cultural regeneration in the town there has been a marked quickening of interest in sports and their development. This has been made largely possible by the playing floor in the new high school building and by the acquisition and development of the adjacent athletic field. The high school program of sports leads directly into the program of the town, for its student athletes in time have become the generation of young men who have been the builders of this new and health-

ful activity in local life. While athletics have in the present day been elevated to a primary activity in the town, their role in life is in reality secondary, for physical skills and well-developed healthy bodies are important only as they contribute to effective activity in areas of larger human significance. But to many, sports have become a primary interest and an end in themselves. This is by no means an unmixed evil, for the wide enthusiasms which they have created locally have unquestionably displaced much that would be far less constructive in the life of the young, and have given to the youth of the town an incentive to play games well, and worthwhile goals at which to shoot.

In the high school in recent years and on the playing fields and floors of the town teams, Charles M. Begley has been the directing and moving agent. Harold Ralph and Victor Burnheimer, Sr., have been among the most generous patrons of the town baseball and basketball teams, while Percy Moody has been the ever-functioning spark plug who has led in the development of the playing field and in the financial support of baseball teams. This new interest has spread into neighboring towns, bringing their athletes on to the Waldoboro scene, and it has reached deep into the ranks of youth. Under the able directorship of John Foster, a Little League has come into being from which boys graduate successively into the Pony League, the High School Varsity, and then the town teams. A whole host of local people have in one way or another made possible this fine civic project. Conspicuous in the field of promotion have been William Brooks, Philip Cohen, William Freeman, Maxfield Forbes, Edward Genthner, Maynard Genthner, Henry Hilton, Russell Hilton, Henry Ilves, The Lions Club, Brainerd Paul, Ronald Ralph, Earle Spear, Kenneth Weston, Laurence Weston, Carleton Wight, and Roy Winchenbach. An interested public has provided a generous backing, but the largest contribution has undoubtedly been made by those young men in Waldoboro and adjacent towns who have played the games.

This highly significant phase of community life has enjoyed the professional guidance and generous patronage of that man who in the history of the town has been the outstanding figure in the field of sports. Clyde Sukeforth stems from the old German stock of the town. His local progenitor was Andreas Suchfort, a Hessian captured at Saratoga, interned in the Boston area, and then paroled to a Broad Bay German. The family ultimately located in the town of Washington, where Clyde was born in 1903.

His first experience with baseball was on the sand lots of Washington. His skill as a player, highly developed at an early age, led him on to Millinocket, Coburn Classical Institute, and Georgetown University. Leaving the latter institution in 1925

he was signed with the Cincinnati Nationals the following year and optioned to Manchester, New Hampshire, in the New England League. Recalled by the Reds in 1927 he remained with this team for several years and went to the Dodgers in 1931. Here in his role as a catcher he acquired the sobriquet of "The Iron Man in the Mask." An eye injury sustained in a hunting accident in 1934 ended his playing career. Thereafter for a number of years he scouted for the Dodgers and managed in minor leagues. In 1945 and during the war years he returned to Brooklyn as player-coach, frequently slipping into the reserve catcher's role, and became temporary manager of the Dodgers in 1947. In this period he batted 294 in eighteen games. His best average was 354 in 1929 with the Reds in eighty-four games — a possible championship mark had he scored this average in one hundred games.

Sukeforth resigned from Brooklyn in 1952 and joined his long-time friend and former boss, Branch Rickey, of the Pittsburgh Pirates. In the interim between seasons Mr. Sukeforth spends his leisure at his Waldoboro home, hunting, assisting in baseball clinics at the colleges, and fraternizing with his many friends in this area.

All the divisions of local life, here so briefly reviewed, represent values for which men strive, and values enter into the texture of history. But they do not always enter it in an harmonious integration. This is true of the values of our present which will inevitably be integrated into our ongoing life. Some of these values exist in our social fabric in great strength, while others are tragically weak. If some creative and masterful mind could in the next decade channel the energies and interests of the community into the common life, each in its own fitting proportion, it would accord a larger role to cultural and spiritual values, for the good life is not one overstocked with riches and stunted in spirit. It is and always has been universally true that "the life is more than meat and the body more than raiment." We do not quite yet know what Greek and Renaissance man knew so well, that the real triumphs of man are not to be found in material advancement, but in the incorporation of the values of the spirit into human personality. The comment of a contemporary philosopher of history is particularly relevant to our present: "The chrysalis is struggling somehow to release itself. It feels the change coming, but it does not yet know what it is to be a butterfly."

APPENDICES

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SOME OF THE SHIPS BUILT AT WALDOBORO: 1800 TO 1830

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1800		Schr.	106	Elizabeth	1 deck, 2 masts, sq. stern. Certified by Joshua Howard
1801		Brigantine	176	Two Brothers	
1801		Schr.	103	Resolution	1 deck, 2 masts, sq. stern
1803		Schr.	110	Independance	1 deck, 2 masts, sq. stern. Owners: Wm. Fish, John Fogler, Eliz. Sampson, Chas. Trowant, Mrs. James Crocker, Dan. Sampson
1803 or before				Eight Sisters	Capt. French. Reported by <i>New England Palladium</i> , Jan. 1804
1804 or before			93	Waldoborough	Sale advertised, <i>Salem Gazette</i> , Jan. 22, 1805
1806		Sloop			
1807 or before		Schr.	103	Rambler	1 deck, 2 masts, sq. stern
1807 or before		Schr.		Fair Lady	Coaster, arrival Boston reported by <i>Boston Gazette</i> , Aug. 11, 1808
1807 or before		Schr.		Nancy	<i>Ibid.</i>
1807 or before		Schr.		Ex. Bashaw	<i>Ibid.</i>
1808		Schr.	106	Salem	
1809		Schr.	112	Export	
1810	Probably James Schenck				Built at Schenck's Point. Mr. Merritt of Broad Cove, master builder. James Hall of Nobleboro supervised the launching
1811		Sloop	95	Joseph	Capt. Farnsworth
1812		Sloop	105	Industry	1 deck, 1 mast, sq. stern
Circa 1812	Anthony Castner			Bertha	Named after the only daughter of Anthony, son of Ludwig Castner

Before 1813	Sloop		Sukey	Reported by
<i>Circa</i> 1813	Schr.	Anthony Castner	The New World	21, 1813
1813 or before	Schr.	Anthony Castner	Langammon	Alfred Burns, owner and Captain, drowned by falling overboard from vessel, night of May 9, 1813. Reported by Bangor <i>Northern Border</i> , May 10, 1813
1815	Schr.	Probably Anthony Castner	Globe	103
1816	Schr.	Anthony Castner	American Eagle	105
1818	Schr.		Fair Trader	101
1819	Schr.		George Washington	102
1819	Brig	Probably Charles Miller	Francis Miller	174
1819	Schr.		Chas. Kaler	103
Before 1820	Schr.		Milo	
"	Brig		Only Son	
"	Schr.		Harriet Storer	
1820	Schr.		Fair Play	116
1820 or before	Schr.		Joseph & Mary	
In the 1820's	Brig		Roxanna	
	Schr.		Alden Boyd	
	Brig		Pandora	
1822	Schr.		Star	
1822	Schr.		First Attempt	52
Before 1823	Brig		Calliope	191
	Brig		Dolphin	
"	Sloop		Thomas	
"				Reported by <i>Eastern Argus</i> , Portland, June 24, 1823
"				<i>Ibid.</i> , Nov. 18, 1823

SOME OF THE SHIPS BUILT AT WALDOBORO: 1800 TO 1830—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
Before 1823				Francis Maria	Reported by <i>Eastern Argus</i> , Portland, June 10, 1823
" "				Enterprise	<i>Ibid.</i>
1823		Schr.	131	General Knox	
Before 1824		Brig		Medomak	<i>Ibid.</i> , Nov. 18, 1824. Capt. Rawson
" "		Schr.		Hope	<i>Ibid.</i> , May 1824
1824	Creamer	Schr.	111	Illuminator	
1824		Schr.	108	Juno	
1824 or before		Schr.		Garland	
Before 1824		Sloop		Champion	Capt. J. Winchenbach. Vessel capsized in a squall off Seguin, Sept. 1825, <i>Bath Inquirer</i> , Sept. 30, 1825
" "		Schr.		Eclipse	Reported by <i>Maine Gazette</i> , Bath, Dec. 1825
" "	Probably Charles Miller			Susan Miller	<i>Ibid.</i> , <i>Amer. Patriot</i> , Boston, June 2, 1825
" "				Wm. Cole	<i>Ibid.</i> , July 10, 1825. Capt. Davis
" "	Ship			Adeline	<i>Ibid.</i> , July 10, 1825
" "				Boston Packet	<i>Ibid.</i> , Dec. 12, 1825
" "				Hope	<i>Ibid.</i> , <i>Lincoln Intelligencer</i> , Wiscasset, Nov. 1824
1825 or before		Brig		Betsey & Mary	<i>Ibid.</i> Capt. Clark
1826		Sloop	101	Dave	<i>Ibid.</i> , Jan. 27, 1826. Capt. Decker
1827		Schr.	102	Echo	
1827 or before	Charles Miller	Schr.		Garland	Capt. Miller in 1830 Sam. Morse of Waldoboro, one of three owners Chas. Miller, principal owner. Vessel lost in West Indies, Sept. 1827. Letter, D. Collins to Geo. D. Smouse, N. Y., Oct. 6, 1827 (C. T. Cooney)

1828	Charles Miller						Capt. Gay
1829	Probably Fred Castner	Schr.	93	Fannie Miller			Miller's <i>History of Waldoboro</i> , p. 196
1829		Schr.	115	Hampton Bayne			Wm. Cole owned ½; other owners Fred and John T. Castner, Geo. and Jacob Siden-sparker
1829		Schr.	117	Banner			Benj. Creamer, master
1830		Schr.	69	Albert			Miller's <i>History of Waldoboro</i> , p. 196
1830		Schr.	110	Billow			1 deck, 2 masts, 11/16 owned by members of the Winchenbach family
1830	Probably Joseph Clark	Schr.	116	Amaranth			1 deck, 2 masts; owners Jos. Clark, Geo. D. Smouse, Jacob Hahn, Edw. Benner, Chas. Benner, Jr., and Fred Hahn
1830 or before		Schr.		Washington			Capt. Castner
1830 or before		Brig		Montano			Reported by <i>Lincoln Intelligencer</i> , Dec. 1830.
1830 or before		Brig		Chas. Miller			Capt. Creamer
1830 or before	Charles Miller	Brig		Flora			<i>Ibid.</i> , May 3, 1829. Capt. Gay. Spoken
1830 or before		Brig		Dandy			Went ashore near Gt. Egg Harbor Inlet, Oct. 24, 1829, Capt. Farnsworth. <i>Christian Intelligencer</i> , Wiscasset, Nov. 6, 1829
1830 or before		Brig		Trial			Reported by <i>Christian Intelligencer</i> , Wiscasset, Dec. 12, 1828. Capt. Miller
1830 or before		Sloop		William			<i>Ibid.</i> Capt. Creamer. Spoken
1830 or before		Schr.					Reported by <i>Lincoln Intelligencer</i> , Wiscasset, July 29, 1831

SOME OF THE SHIPS BUILT AT WALDOBORO: 1830 TO 1860

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1830	Joseph Clark	Schr.	117	Amaranth	Machias Records. Owners: J. Clark, Alfred Ames, master. Reported March 1, 1831 at Wilmington, N.C., with loss of foremast
1831	Wm. Matthews	Schr.	135	Vesta	Capt. John A. Haupt. Sailed the seas for over half a century
1831		Schr.	107	Atlantic	Capt. Rob. Bickmore, Sam. Bickmore $\frac{1}{4}$ owner
1831		Brig	149	Salem	Registers of Salem & Beverly
1831		Schr.	112	Jane Loud	Lloyd's Register, 1874, still operating in 1874
1832		Schr.	131	Halcyon	Capt. Wm. Jamieson (Marblehead's Foreign Commerce)
1832		Brig	199	Antares	Registers of Salem & Beverly
1832		Schr.	129	North Carolina	<i>Ibid.</i>
1832		Schr.	108	Oscar	<i>Ibid.</i>
1832		Schr.	113	Baltic	Josiah Hupper, master; owned in St. George
1832	Sam. Nash	Schr.	119	Columbus	Owners: H. Flagg, Ch. & S. Nash, Sr., and Jr.
1832	Charles Miller	Schr.	117	Packet	
1832	Wm. Matthews	Brig	204	Triumph	
1832		Schr.	89	Free Trader	Lloyd's List, 1866
1833	John Kaler, Jr.	Schr.	113	Firm	
1833	Samuel Nash	Schr.	112	Jane	
1833	James Hovey	Schr.	107	Othello	Machias Records: James Hovey an owner
1833	Fred Castner	Schr.	143	Example	<i>Ibid.</i> , largely Waldoboro owned; Jos. Bryant, master
1833	Joseph Clark	Brig	175	Grand Turk	J. Clark & Henry Hilt, part owners; Wm. French, master.
1833	John Kaler, Jr.	Brig	161	Monhegan	Wm. Hyley, master.

1833	Reuben Miller & Co.	Schr.	131	Tribune	Lloyd's List, 1866 Capt. Edw. Killeran, master builder Nathan Hart, master Owned by the Harts, St. George Waldoboro owners: James Hovey, Fred & James Schwartz Geo., Wm., & Peter Benner, G. D. Smouse, & Nath. Matthews, owners The first full-rigged ship built in Waldoboro George Kaler & Thomas Burkett Yates of Waldoboro, reported missing in 1842 Capt. Nath. Hart Capt. James Pitcher The 24th vessel built by Capt. Charles Miller Reed, Haskell & Co. owned 7/16
1833	Saml. Nash	Schr.	147	Vanda	
1833	Charles Miller	Schr.	149	Waldoboro	
1833		Schr.	113	Mora	
1834	Wm. Matthews	Brig	229	Hockomock	
1834	B. & J. Eugley, Saml. Nash	Schr.		Sarah Nash	
1834	John Kaler, Jr., B. & J. Eugley	Brig	175	Andes	
1834		Schr.	109	Bahama	
1834		Schr.	106	Bertha	
1834		Schr.	112	Mary Jane	
1835	James Hovey	Schr.	143	Forest	
1835	Probably James Hovey	Schr.	119	Orion	
1835	Joseph Clark	Ship		Mary Ann	
1835	Kaler & Burkett	Brig		Benjamin	
1835	Wm. Matthews	Bark	146	Wm. James	
1835	Wm. Matthews	Brig		Mentor	
1835	John Lash	Brig	160	Oswego	
1836		Schr.	30	J. W. Crawford	
1836	Edwin Achorn	Schr.	125	St. George	
1836	Jacob Eugley	Schr.	114	Groton	
1836	Joseph Clark	Ship		Caroline Clark	
1836	John Kaler, Jr.	Schr.	113	Medomak	
1836	Edward Benner	Schr.	67	Yankee	
1836	Saml. Nash	Schr.	118	James	
1836	Kaler & Burkett	Brig	198	Tom Paine	
1836	James Cook	Schr.	79	Boston	
1836	Charles Miller	Brig	196	Morocco	
1837	Reed, Haskell & Co.	Brig	189	Virginia	

SOME OF THE SHIPS BUILT AT WALDOBORO: 1830 TO 1860—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1837	Henry Kennedy	Schr.		Columbia	Wrecked on Norman's Woe in a gale of 1839.
1837	John Lash	Schr.	111	Jane Fish	Capt. Kaler and his brother drowned
1837	Reed, Haskell & Co.	Bark			
1837	J. & R. Miller	Schr.	116	Surplus	
1837	Joseph Clark	Ship	480	Avon	
1837	Wm. Matthews	Brig		Ceylon	
1837	Benner & Schwartz	Schr.			
1837		Schr.	112	Jane	Lloyd's List, 1868
1838	Fred. Castner	Schr.	129	Lodi	Solomon Winchenbach, master
1838	Geo. Sproul	Schr.	132	Peru	
1838	Henry Kennedy	Schr.		Moscow	
1838	J. R. Groton	Brig	150	St. Lawrence	
1838	James Cook	Brig	200	Antares	Cf. Antares, 1832
1838		Schr.	23	McDonaugh	Pink stern
1838	Shuman & Welt	Brig			
1838		Schr.	117	Watchman	
1838		Schr.	115	Boyne	Lloyd's List, 1868
1838		Brig	170	Mayflower	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1864
1839	J. & R. Miller	Bark	304	Ten Brothers	
1839	Saml. Nash	Schr.	130	Edward Kent	Oliver Winchenbach, 1st trip to Appilachi- cola
1839	Wm. & Alf. Storer	Ship	543	St. Andrew	
1839	Geo. Kaler, 3rd.	Ship	388	Massachusetts	
1839	Joseph Clark	Ship		Mallabar	
1839		Bark	345	Antoleon	
1839	Saml. Nash	Schr.	130	Van Buren	Sailed the seas until 1882 at least, perhaps longer

1839	John Lash	Schr.	92	Mary Catherine	
1839	Achorn, Reed & Haskell	Ship		Georgiana	
1840		Brig	250		
1840	John Achorn & Co.	Bark		Gibraltar	
1840	Shuman & Welt	Ship	33	Hudson Hewett	
1840	Shuman & Welt	Schr.		Em	Abbreviated from Emily to save money on lettering
1840	Benj. L. Harriman	Brig			Capt. Orris Wheeler
1840	Joseph Miller	Bark			Capt. Farnsworth. Lloyd's List, 1874
1840	Geo. Kaler	Schr.	118	Redondo	Registers of Salem and Beverly, Jos. Keen, master
1840	John Lash	Schr.	140	Lafayette	Job Tolman, Bremen, master. Lost on Alligator Reef, July 1844
1840		Schr.	126	Frederick Hahn	Foundered on coast of Spain, 1854. Valued at \$10,000
1840		Schr.	104	Armadillo	
1841		Schr.	128	Mexican	
1841	Wm. Matthews	Brig	205	Alwiddu	
1841	Prob. Fred Castner	Bark	290	Averon	
1841	J. & R. Miller	Schr.	97	Olive Elizabeth	
1841	Achorn, Haskell, & Reed	Brig	260	Washington	
1841		Bark	276	Toulon	3/16 owned by Col. I. G. Reed, registered New York
1841	Joseph Clark	Ship	625	Desdemona	
1841	Kennedy & Welt	Brig	279	Toronto	
1841	Saml. Nash	Brig	250	Ohio	
1841	Geo. Kaler, 3rd.	Bark	300	George Henry	
1841	Benj. L. Harriman	Schr.		Waldoboro	
1841	Benj. L. Harriman	Bark	309	Avola	
1841	John Kaler	Schr.		Stranger	Lloyd's List, 1861
1842		Schr.	75	Antwerp	Owners: James Hovey, James R. Groton
1843	James Hovey	Ship	414		

SOME OF THE SHIPS BUILT AT WALDOBORO: 1830 TO 1860—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1843	Welt, Reed & Co.	Schr.		Orland	
1843	John Lash	Bark		Romeo	
1843	Geo. Kaler, 3rd.	Schr.	133	Herman Hunroy	
1843	Wm. & Alf. Storer	Ship		Braganza	
1843	Geo. Sproul	Brig	150	Malabar	Geo. Young, master
1843		Ship	648	Caroline Clark	Lloyd's Register, 1861
1844	Joseph Clark	Schr.	163		J. Clark one of five owners, Chas. R. Ketchum, master
1844		Schr.	136	Sarah Gardiner	John Gardiner, master
1844	Saml. Nash	Schr.	169	Sarah Nash	Isaac Collamore, master
1844	Benj. L. Harriman	Brig		Pedemonte	
1844	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	164	Carolus	
1844	Wm. & Alf. Storer	Ship		Civilian	
1845	James R. Groton	Schr.	165	Ontario	
1845		Schr.	170	Algonia	
1845	Saml. Nash	Schr.	127	Richmond	Lloyd's List, 1869
1845	Geo. Kaler	Schr.	125		Capt. John Pitcher
1845	J. R. Groton	Schr.		Jesso	
1845	Genthner & Morse	Brig	98	Jane & Eliza	Capt. Creamer, Lloyd's List, 1874
1845		Schr.	52	Olive	Lloyd's List, 1861
1845		Schr.	132	Bay State	Jos. Clark, master, also owned 1/8
1846	Joseph Clark	Schr.	189	General Taylor	J. & R. Miller owned 3/4
1846	Joseph & Reuben Miller	Brig		Laguna	Lloyd's List, 1874
1846	Prob. Jos. Clark	Schr.	127	Torcello	Geo. Sproul owned 1/4
1846	George Sproul	Brig	150	Mary Jane	
1846		Schr.	22	Oceola	
1846	Welt, Reed & Co.	Schr.			

1846	Welt, Reed & Co.	Schr.	123	Sarah Ann	
1846	Henry Kennedy	Schr.		Mary H. Chappell	
1846	J. R. Groton	Schr.		Lane	
1846	Henry Kennedy	Brig	169	J. L. Whipple	Capt. Francis Geyer
1846	Prob. Welt, Reed & Co.	Brig	244	Irene E. Meservey	
1846		Schr.		Susannah	
1846	J. R. Groton	Brig	259		
1846	Saml. Nash	Brig			
1846	J. & R. Miller	Brig			
1846	Genthner & Morse	Brig			
1846	Genthner & Morse	Schr.	97	Romeo	Capt. David Hart
1846	Welt, Reed & Co.	Schr.	120	Redington	
1846		Schr.	175	Matamoras	
1846		Brig	158	Elmira	Capt. Creamer, Lloyd's List, 1874
1846		½Brig	599	Monterey	Lloyd's List, 1861
1846		Ship	190	Caroni	Chas. Vannah, Jr. & Allen Hall, among owners
1847	Chas. Vannah & Co.	Brig	299	Chicora	
1847	James Cook	Bark	723	George Evans	Joseph Clark an owner
1847	Joseph Clark	Ship	175	Markland	Francis Gracia, master
1847	George Sproul	Brig	34	Ocean	Capt. Sylvester Davis
1847		Schr.	199	Egyptian	
1847	George Kaler	Brig	149	Albano	
1847	Saml. Nash	Schr.	263	Mary Ellen	
1847	Edwin Achorn	Bark	200	Pedemonte	
1847	Welt & Co.	Bark	199	Cymbrus	
1847	Geo. Kaler	Brig	149	Mary Groton	
1847	J. R. Groton	Schr.			
1847	J. R. Groton	Schr.	141	Luella	Capt. Albert Winchenbach
1847	James R. Groton	Schr.	174	Times	
1847	James R. Groton	Brig	129	Allegan	Capt. Aaron Stahl
1847	Thomas Gay	Schr.	136	Montrose	Lloyd's List, 1874
1847		Schr.	140	Alps	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1861

SOME OF THE SHIPS BUILT AT WALDOBORO: 1830 TO 1860—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1848	Saml. Nash	Schr.	162	Jenny Lind	Machias Records, Isaac W. Comery, master; Waldoboro Records, Brig Joseph Fish, owner
1848	Wm. Fish	Schr.	148	Almira Ann	
1848	Henry Kennedy	Bark	385	Amazon	Owner Henry Kennedy; Wm. Thompson, master
1848	B. L. Harriman	Bark	292	Byron	Benj. L. Harriman, sole owner
1848	J. R. Groton	Ship	632	Medomak	James R. Groton only Waldoboro owner
1848	John A. Benner & Co.	Ship	134	Albion	
1848	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	135	Sarah Gardner	
1848	J. R. Groton	Schr.	138	Canary	
1848	Vannah & Hall	Schr.	146	Pushaw	
1848	Genthner & Morse	Schr.	145	Waterloo	
1848	B. L. Harriman	Bark	271	R. Adams	Capt. Sam. Pitcher
1848	Sol. Mink & R. Orff	Schr.	100	Lunker Sue	
1848	Thomas Gay	Schr.	134	Samuel Nash	
1848	Saml. Nash	Schr.	149	S. D. Hart	
1848	Welt & Co.	Schr.	258	Drummond	
1848	M. M. Rawson	Bark			
1848	Robert Miller	Brig			
1848	J. R. Groton	Ship			
1848		Schr.	78	Romeo	Lloyd's List, 1868
1848		Schr.	105	Juliette	Capt. Matthews, Lloyd's List, 1874
1848		Schr.	141	Alabama	Lloyd's List, 1874
1848		Schr.	199	Lodebar	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1868
1848		Brig			<i>Ibid.</i> , 1861

1848									
1848	Robt. Miller	Brig	199	Aonian	Capt. Burkett, master				
1848		Brig	197	John Dutton					
1848		Brig	199	Parthenon					
1848		Brig	200	Rageline					
1849		Brig	163	Argola	Edw. R. Kaler owned 3/16				
1849	Stahl & Co.	Schr.	135	Hudson	Largely owned by Stahls & Heavens on Dutch Neck				
1849		Schr.	132	Juliet					
1849		Bark	449	Nimrod	Probable builder J. R. Groton				
1849	James Hovey	Brig	159	Oberon	James Hovey owned 7/10				
1849	Harriman & Comery	Bark		Antelope					
1849	Wm. Achorn & Co.	Schr.	157	Orlando	Capt. John B. Stahl				
1849	Wm. Welt & Co.	Brig	157	Tortola					
1849	Jacob Hahn & Co.	Schr.		Nineveh	On leaving river for first trip without ballast, she capsized				
1849	J. R. Groton	Bark			"Mr. Clark's ship will be lost on the Narrows rock, being badly on."				
1849	Joseph Clark	Ship	814	Caroline & Mary Clark					
1849	Edwin Achorn	Schr.	140	Mohawk					
1849	Thom. & Wm. Achorn	Brig	158	Susan Ludwig					
1849	S. Nash & Rob. Miller	Schr.	144	Robert Miller					
1849	Chas. Vannah & Co.	Brig	163	Angola	E. Kaler offered her for sale in N.Y. Feb. 24, 1850, for \$7500.00				
1849	Kennedy & Hall	Schr.	139	Martha Hall					
1849	J. R. Groton	Schr.		St. Marie					
1849	Edwin Achorn & Co.	Schr.	129	Denmark	Lloyd's List, 1868				
1849	S. Nash & R. Miller	Schr.	77	Denmark					
1849	Wm. Achorn & Co.	Schr.							
1849	Thomas Gay	Bark	300	Brunette					
1849		Bark	610	Elena	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1874				
1849		Schr.	93	Lady of the Ocean	<i>Ibid.</i>				
1849		Bark	224	Aerial					

SOME OF THE SHIPS BUILT AT WALDOBORO: 1830 TO 1860—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1849	Joseph Clark	Brig	174	H. B. Crosley	Lloyd List, 1861 Owners: J. Clark 5/16, E. O. Clark 4/16, Enoch Benner of Boston 3/16
1850		Brig	175	Edwin	
1850	Stahl & Co.	Schr.	107	Lebrunt	Joseph L. Kaler, master Capt. Joseph L. Kaler John Sides owned 9/32 Lloyd's List, 1868
1850		Schr.	106	Mariel	
1850		Schr.	76	Mary L.	
1850		Schr.	106	Morril	
1850		Schr.	107	Lebanah	
1850		Brig		Zyder Zee	
1850	George Sproul	Bark		Emblem	Lloyd's List, 1874; owned in Liverpool in 1872
1850	Saml. Nash & Co.	Bark		Eastern Queen	
1850	Edwin Achorn & Co.	Bark		Muscongus	
1850	M. M. Rawson	Ship	758	New World	
1850	Reed, Welt & Co.	Ship	699	Illuminator	
1850	Prob. Anthony Castner	Brig		Catherine Beale	
1850	Fred Creamer	Schr.	99	Oregon	
1850	Henry Kennedy	Ship	449	Orbit	
1850	John A. Levensaler	Schr.	82		
1850	Stahl & Co.	Schr.		Allegash	
1850	Joseph Clark	Ship		George Evans	Lloyd's List, 1864 <i>Ibid.</i> , 1866 <i>Ibid.</i> , 1861 <i>Ibid.</i>
1850		Bark	220	Amelia	
1850		Bark	785	Clara	
1850		Brig	145	Lorango	
1850		Bark	228	Mary C. Porter	

1851	Henry Kennedy	Schr.	Henry A.	Masters: Michael Newbert, L. L. Kennedy, Thomas Wade
1851	Alfred Storer	Ship	Leavitt Storer	Francis Gracia, master
1851	Joseph Clark	Ship	R. B. Sumner	J. Clark ½ owner; R. B. Sumner, New Orleans, ½ owner, Capt. Elisha Dyer Capt. Thomas Geyer
1851	James R. Groton	Brig	Wm. M. Groton	Lloyd's List, 1868
1851	Chas. Vannah	Brig	Bucentaur	
1851	Thomas Gay	Schr.	Mary Ellen	
1851	Edwin Achorn	Bark	B. L. Harriman	
1851	B. L. Harriman	Ship	Three Sisters	Justin, a brother of Henry Kennedy
1851	J. R. Kennedy	Brig	Edward	Justin Kennedy & Alex. Young
1851	Reed, Welt & Co.	Brig	New England	
1851	Young, Kennedy & Co.	Ship	Lucy Ann	
1851	J. R. Groton	Brig	Julia Ann	James Schwartz & Daniel Castner, Isaac W. Comery 5/32, master
1851	Henry Kennedy	Brig		
1851	Swartz & Castner	Brig		
1851	Henry Kennedy	Ship	Toulion	
1851		Ship	Coburg	Lloyd's List, 1868
1851	Prob. James Cook	Bark	James Cook	<i>Ibid.</i>
1851		Bark	Mary	<i>Ibid.</i>
1851		Bark	Mary F. Gibbs	Lloyd's List, 1861
1852	B. L. Harriman	Bark	Antelope	Owners: C. Comery, B. Harriman, Chas. Sides; master: Chas. Comery
1852	Charles Vannah	Brig	Mary Frances	
1852	Saml. Nash	Brig		
1852	Hovey, Reed & Co.	Brig	Peerless	
1852	Edwin Achorn	Ship	Edward Stanley	Geo. W. Gleason, Capt. and ½ owner
1852	Prob. Chas. Vannah	Ship	Woodcock	
1852		Schr.	D. B. Barnard	
1852		Schr.	Lucinda Jane	
1852	Henry Kennedy	Schr.	Alabama	

SOME OF THE SHIPS BUILT AT WALDOBORO: 1830 TO 1860—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1852	Aaron Kaler	Ship	770	Suratt	Capt. Allard, Lloyd's List, 1868
1852		Ship	1337	Madagascar	London, Lloyd's List, 1868
1852	Edw. Achorn & Co.	Ship	916	Wings of the Morning	Capt. Harvey H. Lovell
1853		Brig	254	Mahala H. Comery	Isaac W. Comery, master
1853	W. Storer & C. Comery & Edwin Achorn	Ship	895	Spark of the Ocean	Chas. Comery, Capt. Clipper Treat
1853	Joseph Clark	Ship	998	Ella A. Clark	Herman Kopperholdt, master
1853	Chas. Vannah & Co.	Schr.			
1853	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.			
1853	Aaron Kaler	Bark	352	Moro	
1853	Thomas Achorn	Brig	247	Seabreeze	
1853	Wm. Welt & Co.	Brig		Thomas Achorn	
1853	Henry Kennedy	Schr.	143	George Willard	Capt. Wm. Vannah
1853		Bark		Amazon	
1853		Ship	1096	Golden Age	J. Thomas, master, London, Lloyd's List
1853		Brig	276	Marie Louise	Lloyd's List, 1868
1853		Brig		D. Schwartz	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1866
1854	Schwartz & Castner	Brig	200	Shibboleth	Capt. Vincent Richards
1854	Joseph Clark	Brig	396	White Cloud	
1854	Prob. Chas. Vannah	Bark	258	Henry	Saml. Nash owned 3/16
1854	Saml. Nash	Brig			
1854	Chas. Vannah	Bark			
1854	Rufus Achorn	Schr.	98	Rough & Ready	
1854	Stahl & Co.	Brig	249	Trindelin	Capt. Jacob Heavener
1854	Thom. Achorn & Co.	Brig	277	Amanda Jane	
1854	Thom. Genthner	Brig			
1854	Hovey, Reed & Co.	Brig	246	E. Drummone	

1854	B. B. Haskell & Co.	Ship	1270	E. Wilder Farley	Saml., father of Granville O. Waltz was killed on this ship. Owned in Bombay
1854	Reed, Welt & Co.	Ship	1096	Ocean Belle	Burned at Muscongus on the morning of Jan. 3, 1855
1854	Edwin Achorn & Co.	Ship	1250	Achorn	
1854	Chas. Vannah	Ship	806	Moonlight	
1854	Joseph Clark	Brig	175	Edwin	
1854	Schwartz & Castner	Brig		D. O. Castner	
1854	Alf. Storer & Jas. Hovey	Ship	1116	Alfred Storer	Lloyd's List, 1864
1854		Ship	1269	Tyabeye	<i>Ibid.</i>
1854		Brig	299	Three Sisters	Lloyd's List, 1861
1854		Ship	1242	Chicago	B. B. Haskell & John H. Kennedy each owned $\frac{1}{2}$
1855	B. B. Haskell & Co.	Brig	261	Florinda	
1855	Henry Kennedy	Ship	820	Moonlight	
1855	Alf. Storer & Jas. Hovey	Ship	1148	James Hovey	
1855	Aaron Kaler	Bark	417	George Allen	Capt. Aaron Kaler
1855	Geo. W. Caldwell & Co.	Brig	269	Leviathan	
1855	Saml. Nash	Brig	270	Ocean Wave	
1855	J. R. Kennedy	Brig	202	Two Boys	
1855	Geo. D. Smouse & Co.	Brig	240	Eliza Ann	
1855	Young, Roberts & Co.	Brig	197	Susan Emily	
1855	Saml. Nash	Brig		Francis Geyer	
1855	Thom. Achorn & Co.	Bark	357	Sanford Achorn	Capt. Thomas Achorn
1855		Schr.	87	Algonia	
1855	B. L. Harriman	Schr.	577	M. B. Harriman	Capt. Jos. W. Simmons
1855	Henry Kennedy	Bark	231	Almore	
1855		Brig	1027	Jeanne Alice	Lloyd's List, 1868
1856	Smouse & Welt	Ship	185	Wm. Jones	
1856	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	200	Damon	
1856	Storer & Comery	Ship	1700	Wm. F. Storer	A Black Ball Liner, Bryant, master, 1868
1856	Joseph Clark	Ship	1308	Joseph Clark	

SOME OF THE SHIPS BUILT AT WALDOBORO: 1830 TO 1860—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1856	Storer & Comery	Ship	1628	Hamilton Fish	A Black Ball Liner
1856	Henry Kennedy	Schr.		Canary	
1857	Caldwell & Morse	Brig	338	Wm. C. Clark	Saml. Farnsworth, master
1857	Alfred Storer	½ Brig	300	Ambrose Light	Roger Bickmore, master
1857	Kennedy & Hall	½ Brig	346	Fannie Lincoln	
1858	McIntyre, Caldwell & Co.	Brig	318	Annie D. Jordan	
1858		Ship	1088	Pickforton Castle	Capt. J. Guthrie, Liverpool, Lloyd's List, 1868
1859	Chas. Comery	Schr.		Charles Comery	
1859	Reed, Welt & Co.	Ship	657	Village Belle	Owned Londonderry 1868
1859	Joseph Clark	Ship	1308	J. Webster Clark	Herman Kopperholdt, master
1859	Schwartz & Castner	Brig		Ida C. Comery	
1859	Joseph Clark	Ship	1318	Lach Na Gar	J. Deal, master, Liverpool, Lloyd's List, 1859

SHIP LISTS OF THE LATER PERIOD: 1860 TO 1945

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YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1860	Joseph Clark	Bark	516	William Brown	Owned in Boston
1860	Reed, Welt & Co.	Sch.	199	G. W. Rawley	British owned
1860	William Fish	Sch.	257	Joseph W. Fish	
1860		Ship	1171	Dharvar	
1860		Brig	244	Alexander	
1860		Ship	1171	Erasmus	Owned in Rotterdam
1860	Wm. Fish	Schr.	239	Frederick Fish	Owned in Thomaston
1860		Schr.	245	Irene Meservy	Owned in St. George
1860	Chas. Comery	Brig	244	D. O. Castner	Owned in Waldoboro
1860	Reed, Welt & Co.	Ship	1100	Weston Merritt	
1861	William Fish	Schr.	213	Samuel Fish	
1861	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	231	Sedona	Jesse Hart, master
1861		Schr.	40	Frank Gould	Port, St. Andrews
1862	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	178	White Sea	W. Jones, master
1862	Joseph Clark	Ship	1240	Gebroaders van Walig	Owned in Amsterdam. Originally named Otis Norcross
1862	Chas. Comery	Brig	378	Ida M. Comery	Port, New Orleans
1862	Storer & Caldwell	½Brig	326	John H. Kennedy	Owned in Holland
1862		Ship	1240	B. H. Vandess Worden	Joseph Fish, master
1862	Wm. Fish	Schr.	274	Union Flag	
1863	Geo. W. Caldwell	Schr.	257	William Flint	
1863	Wm. Fish	Schr.	287	Sarah Fish	Capt. David Hoffses
1863	Henry Kennedy	½Brig	480	Sarah E. Kennedy	Capt. Herm. Kopperholdt
1863	Jos. Clark	Ship	782	Edwin Clark	Port, Londonderry
1863		Ship	850	Lady Emily Peel	Owned in Thomaston
1863	Wm. F. Storer	Schr.	350	S. H. Jackson	
1863	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	350	Stephen G. Hart	

SHIP LISTS OF THE LATER PERIOD: 1860 TO 1945—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1864	Wm. F. Storer	Schr.	254	Whitney Long	
1864	H. Kennedy & Son	Brig	392	Edwin H. Kennedy	
1864	Welt, Feyler & Reed	Schr.	253	Chas. W. Holt	
1864	Wm. Fish	Schr.	293	Charlotte Fish	R. Jones, master
1864	Geo. W. Caldwell & Co.	Schr.	276	Josiah Whitehouse	Owned in London
1864	Joseph Clark	Ship	942	Morning Glory	
1864	Reed, Welt & Co.	Bark	737	Celeste Clark	
1864	Benner & Reed	Ship	233	Sarah C. Welt	
1865	Schwartz & Castner	Schr.	472	Rising Sun	Levi S. Jones, master
1865	Jos. Clark	Brig	386	John Hastings	Port, New York
		Schr.		American Eagle	Michael Singer, master. Enoch Benner & J. H. Whitaker, carpenters
1865	Benner & Reed	Schr.	253	Grace Clifton	
1865	Wm. F. Storer	Schr.	298	Hattie B.	R. H. Benner, master
1865	Alfred Storer	Schr.	257	J. B. Marshall	Owned at St. George
1865	Chas. Comery & Co.	Bark	256	Avola	
1865	Wm. Fish	Bark	458	Reunion	Owned in Boston
1865	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	243	Ella Fish	Owned by Wm. & Joseph Fish
1865	Wm. Fish	Bark	685	Joseph A. Davis	Orlando C. Welt, master
1865	Wilbur Newhall	Schr.	296	Fannie K. Shaw	
1865	Henry Kennedy	Bark	575	Chimborazo	
1866	Alfred Storer	Schr.	244	Irene E. Merservey	
1866	Geo. Caldwell & Co.	Bark	750	Laura A. Kennedy	Owned in Waldoboro
1866	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	264	Daniel Pierson	Geo. Winslow, master carpenter
1866	John W. Welt & Co.	Schr.	268	Alice G. Grace	Owned in Boston
		Schr.	254	Jesse Hart, 2nd	
1866		Schr.	330	Laura Bridgman	Port, Waldoboro

1866	Welt, Reed & Feyler	½ Brig	277	Mary W. Hupper	Port, St. George
1866	Wm. F. Storer	Brig	348	Mary C. Comery	
1866	Wm. Fish	Schr.	222		
1866	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	276	Starlight	
1866	John W. Welt & Co.	Schr.			
1866	Joseph Clark	Bark	516	William Brown	
1866	William Fish	Schr.	239	Frederick Fish	
1867	Joseph Clark	Ship	1258	Gold Hunter	Joshua Freeman, master
1867	Alfred Storer	Ship	1070	Alfred Storer	
1867	A. R. Reed & Co.	Bark	611	Rosetta McNiel	
1867		Schr.	60	Alice M. Gould	
1867	Geo. W. Caldwell & Co.	½ Brig	281	Catawba	
1867	Chas. Comery	Schr.	152	Charles Comery	Thos. Kuhn, master
1867	Alfred Storer	Schr.	266	Maggy Mulvy	Port, St. George
1867	Reed, Welt & Co.	Bark	635	Mary G. Reed	Port, Waldoboro
1867	Alfred Storer	Schr.	111	Nellie Bell	J. B. Stahl, master. Owners: Storer & Stahl
1867	Wm. Fish	Schr.	68	Agnes I. Grace	
1867	Wm. Fish	Schr.	165	Wm. Penn	
1867	Henry Kennedy	Bark	748	Elodia A. Kennedy	David Hoffses, master
1867	Wm. Fish	Schr.	279	Thomas Fish	
1868	Caldwell, Flanders & Co.	Schr.	272	Oneida	
1868	Henry Kennedy	Schr.	234	Zeta Psi	
1868	Alfred Storer	Schr.	237	Oriola	Capt. John B. Stahl
1868	Wm. Fish	Schr.			
1868	Reed, Welt & Co.	Ship	1496	Annie Fish	
1868	Joseph Clark	Brig	233	I. Howland	
1869	Reed, Caldwell & Co.	Ship	1122	Alex. McNeil	Owned in New Orleans
1869	William Fish	Brig	316	Loretta Fish	
1869	William Fish	Schr.	186	Joseph Fish	
1869	Storer & Benner	Brig	463	Annie R. Storer	Roscoe K. Benner, master, Wm. F. Storer, sole owner
1870	Joseph Clark	Brig	336	Joseph Clark	John B. Stahl, master

SHIP LISTS OF THE LATER PERIOD: 1860 TO 1945—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1871	Alfred Storer	Schr.	339	Edw. R. Emerson	
1871	Charles Comery	Schr.	116	General Hall	Andrew Kaler, master
1871	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	210	Samuel Hart	
1871	Edwin Achorn	Schr.	138	James Hall	
1871	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	225	Stephen G. Hart	
1872		Schr.	58	Boston	
1872	Reed, Welt & Co.	Schr.	280	Clara G. Loud	Capt. Welt. Owned in Waldoboro
1872	Boyd S. Creamer	Schr.	12	Glendale	
1872	Reed, Caldwell, & Co.	Schr.	237	Nathan A. Farwell	
1872	Joseph Clark & Son	Bark	782	Nina Sheldon	Mary E. Flanders of Waldoboro owned 1/32
1872	Edwin Achorn & Son	Schr.	173	Georgia D. Loud	
1873	William Fish	Schr.	376	Agnes E. Grace	
1873	Joseph Clark & Son	Bktn.	484	Mignon	
1873	Alfred Storer	Schr.	476	Lula	
1873	Geo. Caldwell & Co.	Schr.	250	Lena R. Storer	Charles A. Grover, master
1873	Edwin Achorn & Son	Schr.	279	Tannahauer	
1873	Joseph Clark & Son	Brig	424	Emily T. Sheldon	Eugene Wade, master
1873	Kennedy & Comery	Schr.	449	Ella M. Storer	Albion F. Stahl, master. As a boy I cruised around Cape Horn in this vessel
1873	A. R. Reed & Co.	Bark	873	Alice Reed	E. G. Doane, Harwichport, Mass., master
1873	A. Storer & Son	Schr.	498	John Proctor	Owned in Waldoboro; Isaac W. Comery, master
1874	A. Storer & Son	Schr.	377	George E. Young	
1874	Edwin Achorn & Son	Schr.	87	Achorn	
1874	A. R. Reed	Schr.	359	Eva C. Yates	
1874	Geo. W. Caldwell & Co.	Schr.	246	Winnie Laury	
1874	Joseph Clark & Son	Bktn.	598	Josephine	John B. Stahl, Jr., master

1874	Reed, Welt & Co.	Ship	1435	Rosie Welt	
1874	H. Kennedy & Co.	Schr.	435	Mary J. Cook	
1874	William Fish	Bktn.	469	Fred Eugene	
1874	Joseph Clark & Son	Ship	1326	Carrie Clark	
1875	A. R. Reed & Co.	Schr.	395	John W. Welt	
1875	H. Kennedy & Co.	Bktn.	448	Florence L. Genovar	
1875	William F. Storer	Schr.	315	Theresa A. Keene	William A. Keene, master
1875	A. R. Reed & Co.	Ship	1550	Isaac Reed	
1876	Reed, Welt & Co.	Bark	747	Annie Reed	
1877	A. R. Reed & Co.	Ship	1449	Willie Reed	Oscar S. Yates, master
1877	A. Storer & Son	Bktn.	604	Ralph M. Haywood	
1877	Edwin O. Clark	Ship	1661	Mabel Clark	
1878	C. Hanrahan	Schr.	462	Fannie L. Kennedy	Lincoln L. and Almore Kennedy, owners
1878	H. Kennedy & Co.	Bark	758	Stacy Clark	John B. & A. F. Stahl, masters
1879	Edwin O. Clark	Brig	373	Isaac T. Campbell	
1879	A. Storer & Son	Schr.	586	Stephen G. Hart	
1879	Welt, Caldwell & Co.	Bktn.	620	Frank Harrington	
1880	A. Storer & Son	Schr.	634	Matanzas	
1880	H. Kennedy & Co.	Bark	711	Emily Reed	
1880	A. R. Reed & Co.	Ship	1564	Fannie L. Child	
1881	Augustus Welt & Co.	Schr.	425	Woodward Abrahams	Sunk in Mediterranean Sea, First World War, by a German submarine
1881	A. Storer & Son	Schr.	744	Jennie L. Hall	
1881	Wm. Fish	Schr.	450	John H. Cross	
1882	H. Kennedy & Co.	Schr.	404	George H. Ames	
1882	A. Storer & Son	Schr.	421	Nantasket	
1882	Edwin O. Clark	Schr.	496	Annie B. Hoffses	
1882	H. Kennedy & Co.	Schr.	428	Stephen G. Loud	
1882	Wm. Fish	Schr.	474	General Hancock	
1882	Edwin O. Clark	Schr.	12	Evie B. Hall	
1883	Carter & Lilly	Schr.	404	Bessie	
1883		Sloop	9		

SHIP LISTS OF THE LATER PERIOD: 1860 TO 1945—(continued)

YEAR	BUILDER	RIG	TONS	NAME	NOTES
1883	H. Kennedy & Co.	Schr.	407	Ida Frances	
1883	Augustus Welt & Co.	Schr.	488	Maggie G. Hart	
1883	A. Storer & Son	Schr.	550	Joshua Baker	
1883	Edwin O. Clark	Bktn.	655	E. O. Clark	John B. Stahl, master & owner of 2/64
1883	H. Kennedy & Co.	Bktn.	639	Rachel Emery	Jesse A. Wyman, master
1883	Wm. Fish	Schr.	504	S. G. Hart	
1884	A. R. Reed	Ship	1745	George Curtis	Thomas Sproul, master
1885	A. Storer & Son	Schr.	756	J. Manchester Haynes	Jonathan Matthews, master
1885	A. R. Reed	Schr.	645	Maggie S. Hart	
1885	Thomas Creamer	Sloop	9	John W. Caswell	
1886	George L. Welt & Co.	Schr.	852	Josiah Hart	
1887					
1888	Leavitt Storer	Schr.	1689	Governor Ames	First five-masted schooner ever built
1889	Welt & Co.	Schr.	1162	Augustus Welt	Sunk by a German submarine in the Mediter- ranean Sea in the First World War
1890	Thomas F. Creamer	Sloop	8	No Name	
1890	Leavitt Storer	Schr.	1064	James W. Fitch	
1891	Thomas F. Creamer	Sloop	8	Jennie Maud	
1891	Reed & Co.	Schr.	1220	Hattie P. Simpson	
1892	A. R. Reed & Co.	Schr.	777	Ida C. Southard	
1892	Thomas F. Creamer	Sloop	9	Gracie	
1892	A. R. Reed & Co.	Schr.	750	Madeleine Cooney	Millard Wade, master
1893	Thomas F. Creamer	Sloop	8	City of Everett	
1894	Thomas F. Creamer	Sloop	5	Ethel	
1896	Thomas F. Creamer	Schr.	13	Marguerite	
1897	Thomas F. Creamer	Schr.	13	Olive May	
1898	Charles E. Carter	Sloop	7	Au Revoir	

1899	Thomas F. Creamer	Sloop	10	Geraldine
1900	Clyde Winchenbach	Sloop	6	Clyde & Astor
1900	George L. Welt	Schr.	2075	Fannie Palmer
1900	Thomas F. Creamer	Schr.	14	Eliza A. Benner
1901	Clyde Winchenbach	Sloop	7	Minnie
1901	George L. Welt	Schr.	2240	Baker Palmer
1902	George L. Welt	Schr.	1763	Paul Palmer
1903	George L. Welt	Schr.	2315	Dorothy Palmer
1904	George L. Welt	Schr.	2357	Singleton Palmer
1904	George L. Welt	Schr.	2400	Harwood Palmer

NAME OF VESSEL	DATE OF KEEL-LAYING	DATE OF DELIVERY	FOR WHOM BUILT	BRIEF DIMENSIONS
Nancy B.	10-1-42	10-15-43	John Bruno, Boston, Mass.	82 x 17'6 x 9
YT-293	12-14-42	9-25-43	U. S. Navy	66 x 16 x 10
YT-294	12-16-42	10-14-43	U. S. Navy	66 x 16 x 10
YT-291	1-6-43	8-9-43	U. S. Navy	66 x 16 x 10
YT-292	1-26-43	9-2-43	U. S. Navy	66 x 16 x 10
Olympia La Rosa	7-12-43	6-1-44	Charles La Rosa, Everett, Mass.	82 x 18 x 10
Moonlight	8-1-43	7-8-44	Northeastern Fishing Co., Boston, Mass.	82 x 18 x 9
Evzone	9-27-43	5-8-44	Soffron Brothers, Fishing Vessels, Ipswich, Mass.	82 x 19 x 10
Andarte	11-4-43	6-26-44	Soffron Brothers, Fishing Vessels, Ipswich, Mass.	82 x 19 x 10

*All craft, beginning 1942, were built by Carroll T. Cooney & Company, in the old Reed & Welt yard and two yards next south of it.

SHIP LISTS OF THE LATER PERIOD: 1860 TO 1945—(continued)

NAME OF VESSEL	DATE OF KEEL-LAYING	DATE OF DELIVERY	FOR WHOM BUILT	BRIEF DIMENSIONS
Moonglo	11-4-43	9-25-44	Northeastern Fishing Co., Boston, Mass.	82 x 18 x 9
Little Nancy Edith and Lillian	2-1-44 6-26-44	10-13-44 12-11-44	John Bruno, Boston, Mass. Frank Rose and Manuel P. Domingos, Jr., Gloucester, Mass	75 x 18 x 10 103 x 22'6 x 12'6
Judy	1-1-45		C. T. Cooney, Jr., Waldoboro, Maine	34 x 9'6 x 4
Wm. H. Winters	3-6-45	6-27-45	Ed. G. Winters, Long Island, N. Y.	45 x 13'6 x 5
Hornpipe	3-10-45	8-10-45	Malcolm Seavey & Company, Thomaston, Maine	28 x 9 x 6
Catherine B. (No Name) Yard Hull CD-11	5-10-45 9-1-45	10- -45	John Bruno, Boston, Mass. Sylvester Ferrigno, Cambridge, Mass.	77 x 18 x 10 85 x 19 x 10'6

APPENDIX D

The compilation of this listing of the town's thirty-one school districts is based on the earliest extant reports; on the first contour map of the Waldoboro area made by the U. S. Geological survey of 1915, and on data furnished by Miss Agnes Creamer of this town.

LIST OF THE TOWN'S SCHOOL DISTRICTS

DISTRICT
NUMBER

1. Dutch Neck
2. West Waldoboro
3. Kelly district (midway between Waldoboro and Winslow's Mills, west side)
4. Hoch district (east side of river midway between Winslow's Mills and Orff's Corner)
5. Orff's Corner (near Mr. Harold Achorn's)
6. Village
7. Winslow's Mills (near Creamer's blacksmith shop, east side of river)
8. Winslow's Mills (west side of river by Bird's factory)
9. Hahn district (east side, midway between village and Feyler's Corner)
10. Feyler's Corner
11. North Waldoboro
12. (On old crossroad, connecting road above Winslow's Mills east side to North Waldoboro Road at Davis Corner) "Old Proctorville"
13. Chapel Corner
14. (Classed with Nobleboro on Route 1)
15. Manktown
16. Goshen (school near Reeve's Corner)
17. Slaigo
18. Farnsworth
19. Back Cove
20. Ledge School
21. Finntown (Red School)
22. Genthner Neighborhood
23. (On old Hoch Road leading across to Feyler's Corner)
24. (Classed with Bremen's Broad Cove)
25. Gross Neck
26. Orff's Corner (near the late Albion Achorn's residence)
27. Levensaler or Belscop School
28. Weavertown
29. Kaler's Corner
30. Flander's Corner
31. Teague at Bogue's Corner
(Little Red School House)

APPENDIX E

ROSTER OF VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I

- Achorn, Raymond E. — Enlisted Nat'l Guard, Augusta, May 25/17. Co. M 2nd Inf. Me. Nat'l Guard to July 5/17; Co. A. 103 Inf., 1919. Aisne-Marne; St. Mihiel: Raid on Riaville. Discharged Apr. 28/19.
- Avantaggio, Frank O. — Inducted Newton, Mass., May 31/18; duty at Fort Slocum, N.Y. Transf. to Battery B., Field Artillery Repl. Depot, Camp Jackson, S. Carolina. Discharged with rating of Sergeant, Camp Devens, Mass., Jan. 21/19.
- Baldwin, Sterling W. — Enrolled New Haven, Conn., May 1/18. Seaman 2c. Naval Training Cp., Pelham Bay, N.Y. Naval Air Station, Montauk, L.I., N.Y. Discharged Mar. 31/19.
- Benner, Leroy J. — Enrolled U.S.N.R.F., Rockland, Aug. 1/18. Training Camp, Hingham, Mass., Aug. 1/18 — Nov. 11/18. Discharged Jan. 7/19.
- Benner, Ralph J. — Inducted Wiscasset, Nov. 14/17. Private, 151 Dep. Brigade. Discharged Dec. 27/17. Re-enlisted Dec. 27/17, E.R.C. Cp. Devens, Mass., 1st Co., Portland, C.A.C. Me. Discharged Feb. 3/19.
- Black, Roland — U.S.N.R.F., Bath, Me., April 10/17. Seaman 580 days service on U.S.S. *Topeka*, U.S.S. *Long Island*, U.S.S. *Kanawha*, U.S.S. *Western Ocean*, U.S.S. *Los Angeles*. Discharged Oct. 2/19.
- Blackington, Bertrand L. — U.S.N.R.F., Bath, Me. Dec. 26/17. Seaman 2c. 320 days, Naval Training Cp., Hingham, Mass. Naval Port Guard, Boston, Mass., Sept. 11/18; Boston Base Hq., Sept. 16/18 — Sept. 28/18 — Nov. 11/18. Discharged April 8/19.
- Bragg, Calvin L. — Inducted Lewiston, Mar. 30/18. Private, 20 Co. 5 Trng. Bn.; 151 Dep. Brig. to May 16/18; Co. B. 4 Am. Inf. St. Mihiel; Aisne-Marne; Defensive Sector; Meuse-Argonne. Severely wounded in action, Oct. 7/18. Discharged Oct. 29/19.
- Brooks, William — Enlisted U.S.N.R.F., New York City, April 28/17. Seaman 1c. Service on mine sweeper, in gun crews on freighters and transports. Hon. Discharge, Brooklyn, N.Y., Nov. 1919.
- Brown, Ralph L. — U.S.N.R.F., Orono, Mar. 20/18. Seaman 2c. 236 days. Never called to active duty. Disenrolled Boston, Mass., Nov. 25/19.
- Bryant, Josiah S. — Inducted Wiscasset, June 25/18. 44 Co. 11 Dep. Brig., Discharged July 5/18.
- Burton, Maynard — U.S.N. No service records available. Reported in service from Waldoboro by *Lincoln Co. News*, Dec. 18/17.
- Castner, Herman A. — Inducted Wiscasset, Oct. 2/17. P&T. 1st cl. Battery B. 303 F.A., Meuse-Argonne Defensive Sector. Overseas July 16/18 — April 26/19. Discharged May 1/19.

- Castner, Linwood V. — Inducted Wiscasset, Sept. 18/17. Battery B. 303 F. A.; Battery A. 20 Fa. Discharged April 30/19.
- Castner, Walter J. — Inducted Wiscasset, Aug. 14/18. Private, Wentworth Institute, Eng. Det., Boston, Mass. Discharged Dec. 3/18.
- Chute, Arthur M. — Inducted Rockland, Mass., Sept. 20/17. Private, Camp Devens, 302 Inf. Co. G. Served in France and Germany. Sergeant, Prisoner of War Escort, Co., 230, A.S.C. Discharged Camp Dix, N.J., Nov. 6/19.
- Clark, Harold E. — Enlisted, Manchester, N.H., July 18/17. Private 1c. Med. Corps. Eng., Chemin des Dames, Mar. 1918; Toul Sector, April 1918; Aisne-Marne Offensive, July 6-26, 1918; St. Mihiel Offensive, Sept. 12-16, 1918. Discharged Camp Devens, Mass.
- Creamer, Harry W. — Inducted Wiscasset, May 26/18. Private, Co. I. 302 Inf. to Dec. 19/18; Nov. 15/18, Co. A., 148 M. G. Brig. to discharge. Overseas July 5/18 — Feb. 23/19. Discharged Mar. 14/19.
- Creamer, Maurice L. — Inducted Wiscasset, June 25/18. Private, 151 Dep. Brig. to Aug. 1/18, Co. M. 74 Inf. to discharge. Discharged Jan. 27/19.
- Creamer, Millard — Inducted Wiscasset, June 25/18. Private, 44th Co. 11 Bn. Dep. Brigade. Discharged July 2/18.
- Davis, Percy — Inducted Wiscasset, June 14/18. Private, 151 Dep. Brig.; Co. C. 42 Inf. Discharged Jan. 25/19 with grade of Corporal.
- Davis, Wilmont L. — Enlisted Kennebunk, Nat'l Guard June 1/17. Private, 13 Co. Me. N.G. C.A.C.; F.A. Brig. 26 Div. Discharged Sept. 26/17. Inducted Wiscasset, July 25/18, 151 Dep. Brig. Discharged Dec. 5, 1918.
- Deymore, Ernest B. — U.S.N. Service record given in casualty list.
- Duane, Ernest — U.S.N. No service record available. Reported by *Lincoln Co. News* as from Waldoboro (Dec. 18, 1917).
- Duffy, Frank L. — Inducted Wiscasset, Sept. 18/17. Private, Hdqs. Co. 303 F.A. Toul Sector; Discharged as Corporal May 1/19.
- Eugley, Clarence W. — Ind. Wiscasset, Dec. 12/17. Private, Hon. discharge on S.C.D.; Jan. 5/18.
- Eugley, Maurice B. — U. S. Army. Service record given in casualty list.
- Eugley, Ralph C. — Enrolled U.S.N.R.F. Newport, R.I., May 26/17. At sea 159 days F. 2c.; 375 days F. 1c. Inactive duty, June 26/19.
- Feyler, Ralph B. — Inducted Wiscasset, Oct. 2/17. Private, 1c. Battery B. 303 F.A. to Jan. 3/18; Q.M.C. to discharge May 9/19.
- Foster, John — Entered military service, Cleveland, Ohio, April 1918. Overseas service 1 yr. Discharged as Corporal, May 1919.
- French, Lawrence W. — Inducted Wiscasset, Dec. 12/17. Private, Battery B., 54th Arty., C.A.C. to May 17/18. Battery D., 57, Arty. C.A.C. to discharge. St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Discharged Jan. 22/19.
- Glidden, Carl M. — Enrolled U.S.N.R.F., Boston, July 19/18. N.T.S. Great Lakes, Ill., Sept. 6/18 to Nov. 11/18. To inactive duty Jan. 11/19.

- Gray, Alvra D. — Enrolled U.S.N.R.F., Bar Harbor, April 14/17, Q.M. 1c. Aptd. Ensign (D) Jan. 25/18. Det. Navy Yard, Boston, Mass., assumed command of S.C. 267; Aug. 1/18, Det. S.C. 267, Section Comdr., Boston, Mass., for duty Aug. 20, 1918, to duty on *Machigonne*; Nov. 7/18 det. to Flagship of Rear Admiral Graves, Comdr. Cruiser and Transport Force for temporary duty. Inactive duty, Aug. 26/19.
- Higgins, Leslie G. — Inducted Wiscasset, July 25/18. Private, 151 Dep. Brig. to Oct. 24/18. Vet Hosp. 24 Cp. Lee, Va. to discharge Jan. 15/19.
- Hoch, Elmer R. — Inducted Wiscasset, July 25/18. Private, 151 Dep. Brig. to discharge Dec. 5/18.
- Jackson, Daniel C. — Inducted Wiscasset, May 28/18. Private, Co. 3 Bn. 151, Dep. Brig. Discharged June 3/18.
- Jackson, Sumner W. — To active service from O.R.C. Aug. 9/17. 1st Lieut. Aug. 9/17, Capt. Feb. 27/19. Med. Corps. Attending Surg. District of Paris. Discharged Sept. 12/19.
- Jameson, Foster D. — Enrolled U.S.N.R.F., Jan. 10/18. Q.M. 3c. Section Hq. Rockland, Me., to May 6/18; U.S.S. *Marold* to Oct. 7/18; U.S.S. *Aztec* to Nov. 11/18. Commissioned Ensign (D) Mar. 1/18. To inactive duty Apr. 15/19.
- Jameson, Josiah O. — Enrolled U.S.N.R.F., Rockland, May 9/18. Seaman 2c. 145 days, M. M. 2c. 41 days. Section Hq. Rockland, June 30/18 to Nov. 11/18. To inactive duty May 11/19.
- Jenkins, Harvey E. — Inducted Wiscasset, June 14/18. Private, Co. G. 42 Inf. Discharged June 12/19.
- Jenkins, James C. — Inducted Wiscasset, Apr. 29/18. Co. E. 304 Inf. to Aug. 3/18; Co. G. 116 Engrs. to Sept. 20/18; Co. C. 14 Engrs. to discharge. Somme defensive; Meuse-Argonne, Defensive Sector. Discharged May 2/19.
- Jones, Melvin H. — Inducted Rockland, Sept. 3/17. Private, Overseas Sept. 24/18 to May 24/19. Discharged June 5/19.
- Kuhn, Maynard H. — Enlisted E.R.C. at Augusta, June 19/17. Private, Q.M.C. Cp. Merritt to July 3/18; Q.M.C. Det. No. 4 to Mar. 7/19; Q.M.C. Det. No. 3 to discharge. June 3/19.
- Lambert, Raymond S. — Inducted Boston, Mass., L.B. No. 6, July 22/18. 151 Dep. Brig. to discharge. Discharged Private 1st cl. May 27/19.
- Lilly, Charles C. — Service record given in casualty list.
- Mank, Ellard L. — Inducted Wiscasset, Jan. 4/18. Private. Unassigned. Discharged Jan. 7/18, S.C.D.
- Mank, Gardiner J. — Inducted Wiscasset, Jan. 14/18. Private, 17 Co. Me. C.A., N.G.; Ord. Det. 72 Art. C.A.C.; 1st Co. 1st Rec. Bn. 151 Dep. Brig. Overseas Aug. 6/18 to Mar. 14/19. Discharged Mar. 25/19.
- Mann, Leo — Enlisted Dec. 11/17. Private, 305 Field Remount Sqdn. In action at Toul, Verdun, Soissons. Discharged Jan. 9/19.
- Miller, Edwin G. — Inducted Wiscasset, Dec. 12/17. Private, 54 Arty. C.A.C. A.E.F. to Sept. 6/18; Tractor Arty. Repl. Bn. to Oct. 19/18; Btry. D. 44 Arty. C.A.C. to discharge. In action in Lorraine. Discharged Feb. 13/19.

- Miller, Elden — Inducted Wiscasset, Oct. 2/17. Private, 1st cl. Battery B., 303 F.A. Meuse-Argonne Defensive Sector. Discharged May 1/19.
- Miller, John H. — Inducted Wiscasset, Oct. 1/18. Private, Air Service. Unassigned to discharge Dec. 12/18.
- Miller, Percy L. — Inducted Wiscasset, May 2/18. Private, Co. A., 115 Inf.; Mob. Cas. 324 to discharge. Wounded in action Oct. 16, 1918. Discharged Apr. 3/19.
- Nash, Harold L. — Inducted May 28/18. Private, 11th Co. 3rd Bn. 151 Dep. Brig. Hon. Discharge S.C.D. June 4/18.
- Nash, Maurice — Inducted Wiscasset, May 28/18. Private, 11th Co. 3rd Bn. 151 Depot Brig. Hon. Discharge S.C.D. June 4/18.
- Nash, Merton — Inducted Wiscasset, May 28/18. Private, 151 Dep. Brig. to June 15/18; Co. F. 303 Inf. to Aug. 6/18; Co. M. 162 Inf. to Aug. 15/18; Co. B. 28 Inf. to discharge. St. Mihiel Defensive Sector. Discharged Dec. 24/18.
- Nickerson, Fred W. — Enlisted U.S.N., Portland, Dec. 13/15. Bkr. 2c. Served on U.S.S. *Nashville*, U.S.S. *Pennsylvania*, U.S.S. *Leviathan*. Discharged Aug. 6/18.
- Orff, Leland R. — Inducted Wiscasset, June 25/18. Private, 157 Dep. Brig. to discharge. Discharged May 17/19.
- Osier, Waldron D. — Enlisted Nat'l Guard, Boston, July 8/16. Co. 1, 9 Inf. Mass. N.G.; Co. 1, 101 Inf.; 290 Co. M.P.C. to discharge. Wounded at St. Mihiel, Sept. 24/18. Discharged July 12/19.
- Palmer, George T. — Inducted Wiscasset, Sept. 18/17. Private, 1c. Battery B. 303 F.A.; Battery C. 20 F.A. to discharge. St. Mihiel; Meuse-Argonne. Discharged Aug. 15/19.
- Perry, Frederick M. — Inducted Wiscasset, May 28/18. Private, Ord. Det. 301 Am. Tn. 151 Dep. Brig. to discharge. Hon. Discharge S.C.D. Sept. 19/18.
- Pollard, Ralph J. — Enlisted Lowell, Mass., April 30/15. 4th Pioneer Inf. 1st Army Hq. Regt., 330 Inf.; Staff of Provost Marsh., General's Dept. A.E.F. 1st Lieut. To inactive duty 1936.
- Post, William M. — Inducted Wiscasset, Sept. 3/18. Private, 151 Dep. Brig. Discharged Jan. 15/19.
- Scott, Ivan M. — Enlisted Nat'l Guard Hoosick Falls, N.Y., Apr. 23/17. Co. M. 2 Inf. N.Y. N.G.; Co. M. 105 Inf. Overseas May 18/18 to Mar. 6/19. Defensive Sector, Discharged April 16/19.
- Scott, Melrose — Enlisted U.S.N. Portland, Dec. 15/17. N.T.S. Newport, R.I.; U.S.S. *Pueblo*, Mar. 18 to Nov. 11/18. Discharged Seaman Feb. 27/19.
- Sears, Merton L. — Inducted Wiscasset, Apr. 29/18. Private, 151 Dep. Brig.; Co. L. 304 Inf. St. Mihiel; Meuse-Argonne Defensive Sector. Discharged Feb. 12/19.
- Shuman, Alfred L. — Enlisted R.A. Ft. Williams, Dec. 29/17. Private, M.D. Fort Williams, 3 Bn. 54 Arty. C.A.C.; M.D. 54 Arty. C.A.C. Overseas Mar. 22/18 to Mar. 6/19. Discharged Mar. 13/19.

- Shuman, Samuel — Service record given in casualty list.
- Smith, Oscar C. — Enlisted Nat'l Guard Bath, Mar. 27/17. Private 1st cl. 4th Co. C.A.C. Me. N.G. Btry. D., 54 Arty. C.A.C.; Hq. Co. 51 Arty. C.A.C. St. Mihiel, Meuse-Argonne. Discharged Feb. 15/19.
- Stahl, Jasper J. — Enlisted Oregon Naval Militia, Portland, Ore., June 7/17. Chief Yeoman, Commissioned Ensign (D) U.S.N.R.F. Jan. 16/19; Executive Officer, U.S.S. *Rose*, Jan. 20 — June 19/19. To inactive duty U.S.N.R.F. June 19/19.
- Stahl, John B. — Lt. Comdr. U.S.N.R.F. Mar. 14, 1917. Never mobilized.
- Stahl, Ralph M. — Inducted Wiscasset, July 25/18. Private, 151 Dep. Brig. Discharged Dec. 3/18.
- Stahl, Samuel E. (Jr.) — Enrolled U.S.N.R.F. Detroit, Mich., Apr. 16/18; U.S.S. *Carola* — U.S.N. P.O. Brest, France; U.S.S. *Pittsburgh*; U.S.S. *Olympia*; U.S.S. *J. Fred Talbott*. To inactive duty as M.M. 1c. R.S. Philadelphia, July 7/20.
- Storer, Alfred — Inducted Wiscasset, July 25/18. Co. B., 34 M.G. Bn.; Co. K. 36 Inf. Discharged Dec. 6/18.
- Vannah, Arthur L. — Inducted Wiscasset, June 14/18. Private, 1st c., Motor Sup. Tn. 424; M. Trk. 497; M. Trk. Co. 520. Overseas Sept. 16/18 to June 21/19. Discharged June 23/19.
- Vannah, Fred G. — Enlisted Ft. Slocum, N.Y. Mar. 15/18. Private, Q.M.C. Discharged Jan. 10/19.
- Wade, Millard — Twin brothers, commissioned as Lieut. Commanders; Wade, Willard — U.S.N.R.F. Further data not available.
- Waltz, Stanley G. — Inducted Lewiston, Nov. 7/18. Private, S.A.T.C. Bates College, Discharged Dec. 10/18.
- Welt, Clarence — Inducted Wiscasset, Oct. 2/17. Private 1st c.; Btry. B. 303 F.A.; Co. 8, Bn. 151 Dep. Brig.; Sup. Co. 328 Inf.; Co. M. 328 Inf. St. Mihiel Offensive; severely wounded Sept. 15/18. Discharged Jan. 25/19.
- Weston, Lawrence T. — Inducted Portland, L.B. No. 1, May 31/18. 156 Dep. Brig. Discharged as Sergeant Jan. 23/19.
- Winchenbach, Astor J. — Inducted Wiscasset, Sept. 18/17. Private, Discharged S.C.D. Sept. 30/17.
- Winchenbach, Clyde A. — Inducted Wiscasset, Aug. 28/18. Private, 151 Dep. Brig. Discharged Dec. 28/18.
- Winchenbach, Thomas F. — Enlisted Providence, R.I. Jan. 24/18. Private 1st cl. 4th Ret. Co. Unit A., 175 Aero Sg.; Discharged Feb. 15/19.
- Winchenbach, Walter R. — Enlisted U.S.C.G. Port Clyde, Oct. 17/15; Co. Ga. Sta. 7. Discharged Oct. 16/17.
- Winslow, Willis S. — Inducted Wiscasset, Oct. 10/18. Private, S.A.T.C. Univ. of Me. Discharged Dec. 8/18.
- Wood, James — Enlisted Cicero, Ill., Sept. 22/17. Private, 1st cl. 311 F. Sig. Bn. Discharged Feb. 9/19.



